



Oscar White Muscarella

BRONZE AND IRON

Ancient Near Eastern
Artifacts
in The Metropolitan
Museum of Art

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART/NEW YORK

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OSCAR WHITE MUSCARELLA

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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FOREWORD

THIS CATALOGUE of the bronze and iron artifacts in the collection of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art is a significant addition to the list of publications that have appeared in the last few decades on pre-Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum. Recent volumes include the results of archaeological excavations in Iraq and Iran supported by museum funds—Ctesiphon, Qasr-i-Abu Nasr, and Hasanlu—and studies of particular objects—Sasanian silver vessels, works made in Bronze Age Bactria, Assyrian reliefs, cylinder seals, and cuneiform tablets.

Many of the objects in the present catalogue arrived in the Museum before the creation of a separate Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art in 1957. In the 1930s bronzes allegedly found in Syria and in Luristan in central Iran were given to the Museum. Other artifacts acquired during this same decade came from archaeological excavations in Palestine (Tell ed Duweir–Lachish), Mesopotamia (Ctesiphon), and Iran (Qasr-i-Abu Nasr). Since these objects are included in the publication of these expeditions, they do not appear in the present volume. After World War II the Museum engaged again in archaeological fieldwork, and numbers of bronze and iron artifacts came into the collection after each season as the Museum's share in the division of antiquities between the expedition and the Antiquities Ser-

vice of the country of origin. These objects, of known provenience, appear in this catalogue at the beginning of each geographical section. They are followed by gifts and purchases through 1980, acquisitions that have added a number of masterpieces, as well as works of particular art-historical interest. Many of the major works of art will be familiar to readers already through articles written by members of the department's curatorial staff and other scholars. But there is also a considerable body of material that appears here for the first time. Some objects are minor works; other artifacts are enigmatic pieces for which a cultural and chronological context is now offered by the author. In each instance, Dr. Muscarella has incorporated references in the existing departmental records with the results of his own extensive research to produce as comprehensive a study of the collection as possible.

The aim of the Museum in publishing this catalogue is to give the general reader an understanding of the cultural history of the ancient Near East as illustrated by artifacts made of bronze and iron. At the same time the specialist is provided with a detailed documentation of each individual piece. In the years to come we hope that the material collected in this volume will serve as a basis and a stimulus for continuing studies in this elusive but fascinating art-historical and archaeological field.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO
Director

Dedicated to

VITO W. CAPORALE AND RODNEY S. YOUNG

who taught me to ask the right questions,

and to

STEVEN J. HYMAN

who enabled me to answer them.

NOTES FOR
THE ARCHAEOLOGISTS' COPYBOOK

I keep six honest serving-men;
(They taught me all I knew)
Their names are What and Why and When
And How and Where and Who.
I send them over land and sea,
I send them east and west . . .

RUDYARD KIPLING,
"The Elephant's Child," *The Just-So Stories* (1902).

The past is today's food and today's honor.
We are the present growing from the past.
Not one of us can be what we all are not.
Stories yet untold will be forever ours.
Now listen!

Spoken by JICH MAN, first father of the Mayan people of Xajlá, Guatemala, *El Kanil, Man of Lightning*, recorded and written by Victor Dionicio Montejo, translated by Wallace Kaufman (Pittsboro, N.C., 1982), 5.

INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CATALOGUE is to present a survey of the corpus of ancient Near Eastern bronze and iron artifacts housed in the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Preserved in the Museum's collection are objects that have been acquired by a variety of means: through excavations, exchanges with other institutions, purchases, and gifts. In ordering the material for publication I have chosen to keep separate the categories of excavated objects and unexcavated objects. The reasons for this are to signify the real distinction that exists between these categories, those with a known provenience and those without, and to clarify precisely that it is the former category alone which informs archaeology and makes possible an archaeological perspective for the latter—the stray, the orphan. Rather than place all culturally and geographically related objects—swords, bowls, and so forth—together in a typologically oriented sequence (a characteristic of catalogue ordering in general, and justified if the objects are all unexcavated), I have catalogued the excavated material from a specific geographical region as a discrete unit, followed immediately, where appropriate, by those unexcavated objects that I consider to be geographically or culturally related. In this system of classification, objects of the same type, even of the same culture and chronology, may be presented in separate sections, the excavated ones in their natural position, the unexcavated ones in theirs; cross-referencing allows the reader to integrate related pieces while at the same time recognizing the epistemological distinctions.

In this context it must be noted that, throughout this catalogue, when I refer to the apparent or suggested area of origin of an unexcavated object, I mean that I believe it probably ultimately derived from there, may have been manufactured there. Concomitantly, I am not concluding that the object was necessarily unearthed in the assigned area in recent times, for its actual findspot, its provenience or penultimate place of deposition (the ultimate being the Metropolitan Museum), is unknown. The place or general area of manufacture or generation may or may not have been the place or general area of final deposit or discard, and discrimination between the two is fundamental. Therefore, an

assigned provenience for an unexcavated object is never facetiously presented; only a suggested place of origin is posited. And it follows logically and as a copybook mandate that I never affirm ancient trade or other social contacts between two areas based on the alleged or arbitrarily accepted findspots of unexcavated artifacts. Put another way, "I never guess. It is a shocking habit—destructive to the logical faculty."

Many archaeologists and art historians have absorbed from their environment—the classroom, the seminar, the literature—the sense that "provenience" is a word one says and writes but does not honor. To them "provenience" has no evidential value and is a word that does not mean the actual, historical, and empirically documented locus or findspot. But provenience is manifestly absent in the unexcavated objects so cherished by these scholars. And it cannot be supplied by the use of inchoate masking phrases, such as "said to come from" or "reputedly from" (and it is never revealed who said or reputed the alleged attribution). It cannot be conveniently discovered in dealers' shops or in curators' files in order to satisfy subjective or solipsistic needs. Provenience is not separate from archaeological structure and content. It is not an externality that enters archaeology from the outside or as an obiter dictum. It is a one-time event that exists or does not exist—an object was excavated or it was not excavated. Provenience is the bread of archaeology.¹

Aside from the distinctions relating to provenience, the sequence in the text of the geographical areas within Iran is arbitrarily selected. I begin with the excavated material from Hasanlu, Dinkha Tepe, and Sé Girdan, sites in northwestern Iran, followed by unexcavated material that I suggest probably derives from the same or nearby areas. Presented next is the excavated material from northeastern Iran, from the sites of Yarim Tepe, Tepe Hissar, and Shahr-i-Qumis, then the Luristan bronzes, beginning with the excavated examples from Surkh Dum, followed by unexcavated material. After the large Luristan section are the Median and Achaemenian period bronzes, the excavated material from Nush-i Jan and Persepolis and the unexcavated Achaemenian examples. Next are the bronzes assigned by style to Elam, and a large section, general Iranian in

nature, that contains objects of probable Iranian origin, but which to my mind do not allow precise attribution to a specific area therein; most may derive from western Iran. When I use the term “Iranian” to define an object culturally or art historically, I am not thinking linguistically or ethnically. Rather, I use the term to signify that a given object is assumed to have been made within the borders of Iran, in an area still to be defined, by a people or culture likewise still to be defined. Finally, there is a section on the unexcavated material that by style clearly belongs to the Parthian and Sasanian periods; while these objects are not claimed to be necessarily from Iran, they are placed here as a convenience. Following the Iranian sections, which represent the majority of the Metropolitan Museum collection, there are entries on excavated and unexcavated finds from Mesopotamia, South Arabia, Palestine, North Syria, the Near East in general, Anatolia, and the Caucasus, and finally objects that cannot be placed in these categories or for which there are no known parallels.

The geographically arranged sections are occasionally separated by short essays that are either summaries of the archaeological history of the area or brief introductions to the catalogue entries that follow. Not intended to be definitive, they reflect my own interests and serve to avoid a sequence of objects that seems meaningless without a larger frame of reference. Within each geographical or cultural section I have ordered the entries by type, not by chronology. In the entries themselves each object is described in some detail, related to its own background and culture, supplied with comparanda when available, and given a reasonable date. The varying length of the entries is determined both by the perceived internal and cultural significance of the object and by my own interests and limitations of knowledge. I have considered each object to be distinct, to stand on its own, as it were, while at the same time recognizing it as part of a tradition and related to other objects, some included in this catalogue. As a result, information and bibliography in a given entry may be repeated in other entries because the individual objects warrant the same reference or comment. The reader will thus be able to read each entry in sequence or skip from one to another, seeking related artifacts. I have placed the mandatory bibliographic citations within the text to reduce the number of footnotes. Notes are therefore restricted to asides, to tangential, personal, or subjective thoughts, or to views and comments that seemingly go beyond the constraints of the entry discussions.

Over the years, in the laboratory of the Metropolitan Museum, a number of metal analyses were accomplished, with no error estimation. The results are

presented in notes, undated. In 1986 Pieter Meyers of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art took samples from artifacts and tested them in Los Angeles using the following method: a small sample weighing at least 25 milligrams was drilled from each piece using a steel twisted drill bit mounted on an electric drill. A 25-milligram fraction of each sample was accurately weighed and dissolved in 2.5 cubic centimeters of 6 normal hydrochloric acid containing 3 percent hydrogen peroxide. After dissolution, the excess hydrogen peroxide was removed by gentle reheating, and the solution was diluted to 5 cubic centimeters with distilled water. Each sample was then analyzed by induction-coupled plasma emission spectrometry (ICP).

The elemental concentrations are listed as fractions by weight expressed as parts per hundred and normalized to 100 percent, with the total of all elements determined before normalization also given. The reported values are estimated to be accurate within 5 percent for the major components. The uncertainties increase to 50 percent of the reported values for some of the elemental fractions in the range of 0.01–0.05 percent. I have called attention to Meyers’s analyses by including the date (1986).

There is nothing sacred about the conclusions and opinions offered here, and I am well aware that some will be challenged and that a number of objects assigned to one cultural area or to a specific chronological frame could in fact be placed elsewhere. Further, I am aware that the dates offered here, especially for the third and second millennia B.C., are subject to revision, and I do not consider them sacred either. In addition to discussing the objects in the context of their ancient history, I have presented information about their modern history, that is, about the methods by which scholars have studied them and perceived their original functions and depositions. In doing so, I have disassembled and rejected received information and conclusions that are casually and improperly repeated without attention to original research and to common archaeological sense. Equally, I have concentrated on liberating archaeology from its anti-historical tendency to colonize with stray artifacts a number of nonexistent or well-known sites. Too much has been written in the name of archaeology that a scholar with a respect for evidence would not wish to take seriously.

I have found that the most difficult part of catalogue writing, oriented as it is by a narrow concern for material objects listed conveniently but unnaturally in linear fashion, is to be continuously aware, and to convey the awareness that, as Hortense Calisher has neatly expressed it, “however we catalogue to ourselves their beauty, significance, or innocence, to their originators they

meant something beyond that catalogue." I have tried to be aware of the originators, tried to be aware that each object is an artifact to be perceived as a cultural document mentally conceived and physically made by ancient man for a specific purpose—even if that purpose eludes us. Indeed, each of the hundreds of artifacts presented here signifies something far beyond its present housing in a museum case and offering in a museum publication. All the more so must these perceptions be contained in the archaeologist's mind with respect to the many strays, orphaned as a result of the activities of modern predators, artifacts devoid of their geographical and cultural contexts.

A number of the entries in the catalogue contain no special insights or new information, only a summary of the present state of our knowledge and appropriate bibliography. Other entries present what I view as a dialogue with the reader (whose voice is still to be heard), offering information and thoughts that may expand and flesh out our ideas and perceptions about ancient Near Eastern cultures and clarify old problems and interpretations. One may attempt, but I believe rarely fully achieve, the task of correctly discerning (in a historical and anthropological meaning) the purpose of an artifact's creation, its real and true significance as appreciated by its creators and their targeted audience. Deprived as it is of independent cultural access and empirical involvement, the modern mind cannot categorically claim to know and interpret for each artifact encountered what mundane or spiritual values precipitated its manufacture. Yet the faded hieroglyph and partly erased cuneiform wedge may be read in meaningful ways and isolated sherds reconstructed into recognizable shapes. Thus, each entry and essay in this catalogue represents but one individual's interrogation of the objects and interpretation of their answers, with cognizance of the problems of attempting to give ancient artifacts a new life in a new world. And the writing of the catalogue itself implies the belief and trust that the new life is not untrue to the old.

Although all the comments and opinions expressed in the text are my own, they could be achieved only because of the published works of many scholars, colleagues in the archaeological collective who have wrestled with the same problems and material. Whether I agree or disagree with their conclusions in all instances is not the issue, for what is relevant is that their work has been the base from which my research has commenced and moved on, and to which it has returned. The bibliography lists these scholars alphabetically, and the citations of their publications in the text document the significant roles they have played in the formation of this catalogue. A number stand out prominently in

the study of ancient art and archaeology and deserve special attention and thanks: R. M. Boehmer, Peter Calmeyer, P. R. S. Moorey, Edith Porada, J. A. H. Potratz, and L. vanden Berghe. That these names are not gratuitously noted is made quite clear from the numerous citations of their publications and ideas in the text.

I also wish to offer special thanks to Susan Pattullo, for reading a number of my entries and essays and for always making valuable suggestions; to Elizabeth Simpson, for her drawings of Nos. 4, 191, 264, 308, 338, 346, and 463; to Grace Freed Muscarella, for her drawings of No. 145 and Fig. 23.

And both the reader and I equally must appreciate the work of Margaret Aspinwall who edited the catalogue, eliminating scores of typographical errors, wrong dates and page citations, incomplete bibliographical references, and inconsistent statements. She has also made intelligible a number of tortuous sentences and gently suggested that I eliminate certain rhetorical phrases. Jean Wagner also painstakingly checked each bibliographical reference in the text and in the bibliography, thereby making it easier for readers to find the correct reference. I thank them both for their help and continuous good spirits in their difficult tasks.

The writing of this catalogue was completed in April of 1984. In the editing process a number of revisions occurred, and occasionally I was able to insert in the text or the bibliography an additional reference that came to my attention.

THIS CATALOGUE does not include any of the bronze material in the Metropolitan Museum's collection from Afghanistan-Bactria, some of which has been published in Pittman 1984; none of the material from Qasr-i-Abu Nasr, for which see Frye 1973 and D. S. Whitcomb, *Before the Roses and Nightingales: Excavations at Qasr-i Abu Nasr, Old Shiraz* (MMA, New York, 1985); a few objects from Lachish, for which see O. Tufnell et al., *Lachish IV (Tell ed-Duweir): The Bronze Age* (London, 1958), pls. 22:18, 51:19 (MMA 34.126.1), pl. 22:19 (MMA 34.126.15), pls. 24:8, 51:18 (MMA 34.126.2), and pl. 24:7 (MMA 34.126.3); and MMA 34.126.16, 17, toggle pins. Also omitted are some Sasanian bronzes from Ctesiphon: MMA 32.150.95-104, ten amulet cases; MMA 32.150.191, a small animal figure (purchased near Ctesiphon); MMA 32.150.196, pin; MMA 32.150.197, ear spoon; MMA 32.150.202, a handled bowl; MMA 32.150.204, plain bracelet; MMA 32.150.209, kohl stick (?). The latest-acquired objects catalogued are from 1980.

NOTE

1. An unexcavated object not only has no known provenience, it has, by virtue of the mechanism of its revelation to the scholarly community, no empirically guaranteed birth date: it may be an ancient artifact or it may be a modern creation, a forgery. And a writer involved with unexcavated material, whether the cataloguing of disparate material or of a single object, must confront with each object the issue of establishing the period, past or present, of manufacture. This position is beginning to percolate into the literature (e.g., Merrillees 1981).

A forgery of an ancient artifact/work of art is the result of deliberate intent on the part of a modern craftsman/merchant to deceive contemporary purchasers and observers with respect to the object's actual cultural, chronological, and qualitative position in space and time. These forgeries, whether they are copies, adaptations, or modifications of an ancient artifact, may embody "accurate" or "authentic" motifs, iconography, and forms, thereby duplicating in substance what one perceives or intuitively to be consistent with ancient art. Many a forgery has been accepted as ancient because of the coincidence of these features. Yet, it is generally presumed, and is theoretically if not practically true in all instances, that a forgery of an

ancient style, method of execution, and technique of manufacture will not be, in part or collectively, accurate and authentic in spirit, consistent with the character of ancient art. Nor will its physical aging process be consistent with what is empirically expected from a natural chemical reaction over a long period of time. And it may be posited that most (if, it may be argued, not all) forgeries are inconsistent in these respects.

An exact copy or an aftercast of an ancient object (a counterfeit) may be "authentic" in all stylistic attributes, and in this regard alone it does not distort our perception of ancient art and its original message, except, not insignificantly, with concern for modern quantitative analyses. But in all instances of forgery and counterfeiting, a perverse manipulation is intended, not only of time and space perspectives, but of physical and spiritual forces, the attributes of essence and message. The intent reaches fruition precisely at the moment the forgery is misread, when it is accepted/published by modern scholars as something other than what it is. Further comments on these issues will be presented in *ad hoc* discussions in the entries; see also Muscarella 1977a, 157ff., 165ff.

I IRAN

Northwest Iran, Excavated Objects

The Hasanlu Project

THE SITE of Hasanlu in Azerbaijan, northwestern Iran, was placed on the archaeological map for the first time as a result of the limited but controlled excavations of Sir Aurel Stein in 1936 (1940, 389ff.). In 1934, preceding Stein, commercially licensed dealers (apparently Messrs. Farhadi and Rad) dug (not excavated) at Hasanlu in the cemetery area; their finds went into both the Iran Bastan Museum in Teheran and the art market. A selection of the objects apparently recovered was published by Ghirshman (1938–39, 14, 78f., pl. c: labeled “Nécropole de Solduz”; how many of these objects were in the Teheran museum was not revealed). In 1947 and again in 1949 the Iranian Archaeological Service conducted excavations there which resulted in a preliminary publication (Hakemi and Rad 1950). In 1957, following a ten-day survey in 1956, full-scale and extensive excavations were initiated by Robert H. Dyson, Jr., under the sponsorship of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. The Metropolitan Museum of Art joined forces with the University Museum in 1959 and continued as cosponsor of the excavations until 1974 when work was completed.¹ Both T. Cuyler Young, Jr., and I served as co-directors over the years.

From the very beginning the campaigns have been referred to as “The Hasanlu Project,” for, although the site of Hasanlu itself was considered to be the prime area of research, a major element of the excavation strategy was to investigate other local sites with the view to establishing “the cultural development” and “overall chronology for the Solduz valley, and not simply . . . at Hasanlu itself” (Dyson 1960a, 132). Thus, in the very first years of activity, excavations were conducted simultaneously at the nearby neolithic sites of Pisdeli, Dalma, and Hajji Firuz (Dyson 1967, 2952ff.), and in 1964 at the apparently Urartian site of Agrab Tepe (Muscarella 1973a), as well as at Ziwiye near Sakkiz in

Kurdistan (Dyson 1965, 205f.; 1972, 50f.).² Work was suspended at Hasanlu in 1966 and 1968 and shifted to the neighboring Ushnu valley to the west, where the Bronze and Iron Age site of Dinkha Tepe on the west bank of the Gadar River was excavated (Muscarella 1968a; 1974b). Simultaneously with the second campaign at Dinkha Tepe, and continuing into 1970, other Ushnu sites were investigated: the late-ninth–seventh century B.C. Urartian site of Qalatgah and the seventh-century tumuli at Sé Girdan (Muscarella 1969; 1971a; 1973c). Also in 1970 excavations recommenced at Hasanlu; two more seasons of work in 1972 and 1974, concentrating only at Hasanlu, completed the Project’s campaigns.

The many levels uncovered at Hasanlu, either through deep trenching or horizontal clearing, revealed that the site was first settled in the sixth millennium B.C., in the Neolithic period, and that occupation continued through the Bronze and Iron Age periods, terminating in Islamic times, in the thirteenth century A.D. (Dyson 1962; 1965; 1967; 1972; 1977a and b). The most historically and archaeologically significant period, in terms of the remarkable state of architectural preservation and the extraordinary quantity of artifacts recovered, is Period IV, the fourth major level from the top of the mound (Figs. 1 and 2). The citadel architecture in existence during the final phase (IVB) during this period was violently destroyed by an enemy attack that generated a fierce fire and resulted in the collapse of buildings, burying not only much material wealth but also many of the inhabitants. The date of this event may be placed a few years before 800 B.C. (Dyson 1965, 202; Muscarella 1980a, 1).³

The precision of this date is known not only because of archaeological comparanda and carbon 14 determinations that cluster in the ninth century B.C., but because



FIG. 1. Aerial view of Hasanlu (1962), Period IVB, from the south.

of an inscription recovered at the nearby site of Qalatgah. This inscription, a “hard” fact in Hasanlu IV chronology, dates to the joint reign of the Urartian kings Ishpuini and his son Menua (about 805 B.C.) and records the establishment of a city at Qalatgah. The inscription neatly informs us when the Urartians penetrated into the Ushnu and Solduz valleys and most probably the precise time they destroyed Hasanlu IVB (Muscarella 1971a; van Loon 1975). Less easy to determine is exactly when the buildings of the Hasanlu IV level were first constructed (phase IVc), but on the basis of C¹⁴ determinations initial construction probably occurred in the mid-twelfth century B.C. (Muscarella 1974b, 54; Dyson 1977b, 550).

During the nearly 300/350 years of the floruit of Hasanlu IV much building and rebuilding was effected. Five major burned-brick public buildings (and other smaller ones) have been uncovered, each comprising an elaborate entry way and a central columned hall surrounded by subsidiary rooms, and in the halls brick benches along the walls, centrally placed “throne” areas, and hearths: all suggesting that the site during these centuries was a major administrative and political center (see Fig. 2),⁴ built at great expense of labor and material, and surely meant to last for a considerable time.

The level immediately below Period IV, Hasanlu V, overlies the abandoned Bronze Age occupational level of Hasanlu VI. Hasanlu V has been uncovered only in



FIG. 2. Architectural plan of Hasanlu Period IVB.

isolated areas where the remains of several buildings have been cleared. Its chronological range is established by C^{14} determinations as about fourteenth–thirteenth/twelfth centuries B.C., with a direct continuity in culture (architectural features and pottery) to the succeeding Period IV clearly recognized (Dyson 1965, 197f.; Dyson 1977a and b; Muscarella 1974b, 54). Immediately over the Period IV debris is a sterile layer above which a new settlement was built, Hasanlu IIIb and IIIa (the latter representing a rebuilding of the former), dating to approximately the late eighth (?)/seventh–sixth centuries B.C. and possibly continuing still later. Collectively, the three periods mentioned, V, IV, IIIb and a, are also known at Hasanlu and neighboring sites in the

northwest as Iron Age I, II, and III, with the understanding that Iron I and II represent one continuously developing culture (and probably population), and that Iron III is a new and distinct culture and population.⁵

Neither the ethnic background of the Hasanlu V and IV people nor their language family (Indo-European/Iranian or non-Iranian) is known, and we do not even know the ancient name of the city during these periods. These fundamental problems exist because no locally written documents have been discovered to guide us, although scholars continue to speculate on these matters. The same problems obtain for the Hasanlu III period, although it is possible that at this time some, if not all, of the occupants were Urartians. Recognizing

these problems, one may therefore refer to the site only by its modern name, with its appropriate levels and chronological references.⁶

Thousands of artifacts made of terracotta, bronze, iron, silver, gold, stone, glass, ivory, and other materials were recovered within the collapsed debris of the destroyed buildings of Hasanlu IVB. Moreover, to the north of the mound a cemetery used in common during both Periods V and IV (another indication of cultural continuity) was discovered and excavated (first by plunderers, then by Aurel Stein), and these graves yielded hundreds of objects. Obviously all the material recovered in the burned buildings' debris is neatly dated *post quem non* to about 800 B.C., although some objects, e.g., the gold bowl, some glass fragments, and some Kassite inscribed maces, were probably curated objects manufactured years before their final and unintended burial.⁷ However, it is certain that the great majority of the excavated artifacts was in use—or available—at the time immediately before the destruction, and thus we have in hand a significantly large and varied corpus of material dated with regard either to manufacture or use to a precise time, a rare and invaluable situation.

It should be noted that a considerable number of the objects recovered from Period IVB represent products imported from abroad, in particular from North Syria and Assyria, indicating that the administration was in vigorous contact with other regions of the Near East. Presumably Hasanlu exchanged raw materials such as food and horses for these objects (Muscarella 1980a, 210ff.).

The Metropolitan Museum has in its collection pottery and other objects of various materials from the Bronze Age and the three Iron Age periods at Hasanlu; all but two of the bronzes are from Period IVB. The two exceptions are both fibulae, one from a Period III grave and one from a grave dating to level II, a period still politically and culturally undefined (Dyson 1972, 51f.; 1977b, 548f.).

Dinkha Tepe yielded material remains stylistically and quantitatively parallel to those at Hasanlu in both the Bronze Age and the Iron I and II periods; there was no settlement at Dinkha in the Iron III period. This stylistic and chronological conformity indicates that the same or a closely related Iron Age people, with the same culture, arrived at the two sites simultaneously.

The Iron Age remains at Dinkha Tepe derive primarily from a cemetery used, as at Hasanlu, without interruption during Iron I and II. Inasmuch as very little architecture was recovered at Dinkha Tepe, one is able to compare essentially only the artifacts from the burials of the two sites. The shared artifacts and fea-

tures include many monochrome gray and orange ware terracotta vessels of the same shape and wares, metal weapons and jewelry, and extramural burials (although at Dinkha placed on the mound itself), collectively indicating a high level of cultural affinity. Hasanlu is by far the richer site, with more varieties of vessels, more metal, including precious ones absent from Dinkha Tepe, and a larger corpus of artifacts. Hasanlu also had simple burial pit inhumations, whereas at Dinkha Tepe there were brick-lined graves and stone chamber tombs. The differences in burial types probably reflect regional or clan preferences, and the differences in wealth indicate respective economic and political power, not necessarily cultural distinction. The fact that Hasanlu was a major administrative and economic center, which Dinkha Tepe was not, must surely be considered in this context, for indeed, there are no apparent indications that there existed sociopolitical boundaries between the two sites, manifested by artifactual remains (see Wobst 1977, 329; Conkey 1978, 67; Clarke 1978, 367ff.; Hodder 1978, 48). The two sites were units of the same culture, most probably of the same state, with Hasanlu being the major center apparently holding the seat of government, and in this respect being functionally distinct from Dinkha. It is further probable that the two populations, inasmuch as they arrived together and shared a common culture, spoke the same language. The comments of M. Conkey (1978, 64) that the "thinking and feeling that characterize an identity conscious social group . . . will tend to exhibit 'family resemblances' in the production of art forms" and of J. R. Sackett (1982, 64) that "the more similar things happen to be, the more likely they are to come from closely related culture-historical contexts" are relevant to these conclusions (see also Sackett 1982, 73ff. 80; Binford 1962, 220; Clarke 1978, 365ff.; Hodder 1978, 49, 55).

At Sé Girdan most of the excavated tumuli had been plundered, apparently in antiquity, but enough material was recovered to suggest a seventh-century B.C. date: see Moorey 1982a, 97, and Kroll 1984, 17, 130, for a suggestion that they may have been erected by Scythians. The Metropolitan Museum has only a few bronze objects from Dinkha Tepe and Sé Girdan; they are catalogued following the Hasanlu material.

Following the catalogue of excavated material from Hasanlu, Dinkha Tepe, and Sé Girdan, other bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum collection are presented that I suggest may originally have derived from northwestern Iran. None of this group has been excavated, all surfaced on the antiquities market and therefore lack an archaeological provenience. Establishing their apparent original homeland and place of manufacture is thus a subjective task, but the evidence derived from

excavations, not dealers' attributions, has been utilized where possible to justify the designations.

Finally, it should be noted that the objects from the excavated sites came to the Museum as a result of a division shared with the University of Pennsylvania and the Iran Bastan Museum in Teheran.

NOTES

1. A full bibliography of the Hasanlu Project up to 1976 is given in *Mountains and Lowlands*, ed. L. D. Levine and T. C. Young, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 7 (Malibu, 1977), 399–405; to this, add Dyson 1977a and b; Winter 1980; Muscarella 1980a. For Dinkha Tepe also add: T. A. Rathbun, "A Trephined Skull from Iran," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 52, 7 (1976), 782–87; T. A. Rathbun, "Middle Ear Disease in a Prehistoric Iranian Population," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 53, 10 (1977) 901–05; A. Gilbert, P. Steinfeld, D. Achilles, S. Dunham, "Faunal Remains from Dinkha Tepe, Northwestern Iran," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 4, 3 (1977), 329–51.

2. Although Ziwiye is located in another region it was chosen for research in order to resolve certain problems of the Iron III period.

3. Cf., however, Calmeyer 1969a, 63, n. 218, who places the termination of Period IV considerably before 800 B.C.—although in *RLA* IV (1972–75), 129, he seems to accept the 800 date; Reade (1978, 139; and 1979, 179) inexplicably places the termination in "the late 820's or thereabouts. . . ." And Akurgal's (1968, 67, 98, 99, 104, *passim*) dating of the Period IVB artifacts to the first half of the seventh century B.C. ignores stratigraphy and seems to be based on the preconceived idea that the material from here (as well as other Iranian art in general, e.g., from Luristan and Marlik) is dependent on Urartian art.

4. For some time scholars (e.g., T. C. Young 1966, 58f.) have been concerned with the elusive function(s) of the Hasanlu IV buildings: whether they were temples, palaces, or both simultaneously. Most of the buildings, e.g., Burned Buildings I, II, IV East, V, but not III, have in the central hall a large brick raised structure, which definitely held fire. These raised structures, along with other, smaller and more conventional square and round features, have been called hearths, but could these more prominent features have been altars, i.e., specifically, fire altars, and if so, could not the buildings have been fire temples? Each of the buildings has an entry off-center from the portico, preventing casual viewing of the columned hall and its appointments, a characteristic of sanctuaries (and of the fire temple at the Median Nush-i Jan: see "Tepe Nush-i Jan" below. To be sure, at Hasanlu the raised features are centrally located in the columned hall, not placed off to one side, or in a separate room as at Nush-i Jan: but for whatever reason, one must assume that the worshipers sat for a particular purpose on the surrounding benches.

This view is, of course, tentative, for the raised features could have been nothing more than the main "raised hearth," as interpreted by Dyson and T. C. Young, similar to the central hearth in a mega-

ron. But it is of some interest that the idea that the buildings were "Herdhausen" was also postulated by B. Fehr (in *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* 1971–72, 49ff.), who implies that each was a "Feuerheiligtum," and he specifically cites the raised brick feature. If my suggestion is viable, it could mean that the Hasanlu "Herdhausen/Heiligtum" would be the earliest known to date in Iran, just like the multi-columned hall itself. However, we would have to assume that by Median times the multi-columned hall and the temple were separated, the latter becoming a separate structure (Nush-i Jan), and the former presumably having only secular functions (Nush-i Jan and Godin).

5. For a criticism of the terminology "Iron I" employed for Hasanlu V, see Muscarella 1974b, 79, and more emphatically, Kroll 1984, 16.

6. Various attempts have been made to obtain the ancient name of the Solduz and Ushnu valleys, none satisfying all scholars. T. C. Young (1967, 17ff., 21), among others (see Levine 1974, 108f.), placed the valleys within ancient Parsua, basing his arguments on the now discredited reconstruction by Thureau-Dangin of Sargon II's eighth campaign (Muscarella 1971a, 49; Reade 1978, 141 [now see O. W. Muscarella, in *Journal of Field Archaeology* 13 (1986), 465ff.]). Levine (1974, 106ff., 114f.) placed Parsua farther to the south, near the Mahi Dasht plain, and would see the Urmia valleys as being part of the state of Uisdish in the ninth century B.C. Reade (1978, 139; 1979, 175ff.), on the other hand, placed Parsua east of Sanandaj, northeast of where Levine placed it, and he considers the Ushnu and Solduz valleys to have been Gilzanu in the ninth century B.C. M. Salvini, in *AMI Ergänzungsband* 6 (1979), 177, and in *28 Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Wein* (*AfO Beiheft* 19 [1982], 390f.), considers Hasanlu to have been ancient Meshta (mentioned only in Urartian inscriptions). He also considers the Karagündüz inscription of Ishpuini and Menua (found on the eastern shore of Lake Erçek), which mentions the capture of Meshta, to be a recording of the destruction of Hasanlu IVB (not A, as Salvini); if true, this would be another "hard" date for the time of the destruction of Hasanlu. Salvini also believes that Parsua was near the shores of Lake Urmia in the ninth century B.C., to the extent that the Parsua mentioned in the Karagündüz inscription represents tribes that had not yet made the migration south (see his map, fig. 2, in *AfO Beiheft* 19). Note also that he believes (*AfO Beiheft* 19, 387) that Armarili is in the Gadar River area, but implicitly not in the Solduz valley; on his map Armarili is placed to the west of Meshta-Hasanlu (in the Ushnu valley?). In any event, Hasanlu was not in Mannae territory. It is quite obvious that even with detailed research by competent scholars we are still on very insecure ground both with respect to the correct placement of ancient states on the map and the settlement patterns of indigenous and newly arrived peoples.

7. In Negahban 1983, 14, it is claimed that the gold bowl is dated by Dyson "to the Hasanlu button base phase," which is an incorrect interpretation. Negahban confuses this "phase," which has been known for years as Period V/Iron Age I, with Period IV/Iron Age II, in which period the bowl was found. For my opinion that the gold bowl is to be dated somewhere in the tenth–ninth century B.C., see Muscarella 1980a, 165, with references.



HASANLU

1. Animal-Head Protome

63.109.1; Hasanlu 62–39; west and outside of BB III;
Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1963

Bronze; height 12.2 cm

THIS OBJECT is one of a pair found together; its mate is in Teheran. It is cast solid in the form of a lion's head, and it has a hollow cylindrical neck with four rectangular apertures near the base and a solid tang below. The lion is snarling, its open mouth exhibiting a full set of teeth and a slightly protruding tongue between the lower fangs. The vertical wrinkles of the muzzle are deeply cut with upward curving folds; the eyes, placed directly behind the muzzle, are solid spheres, and the brows are depicted as incised double ridges meeting over the muzzle; simple ears project vertically from the head. No hair is represented.

There is little doubt that the heads functioned as a pair and were inserted into another object at least up to the level of the cylindrical base; the apertures suggest that each head was connected to something on four sides. No other object or material was recovered near the pair to give a clue as to function, nor do any specific parallels exist to guide us in interpretation. It is possible that they were placed on an article of furniture, perhaps at the top of the uprights of a chair (in the manner of Hrouda 1965, pls. 14:1, 15:2; cf. also No. 124). One may assume that the apertures held something, perhaps wood struts or crosspieces.

De Schauensee and Dyson (1983, 75) suggest that these lion protomes were chariot yoke pommels or terminals, similar to the bird's-head example represented on the Hasanlu silver beaker (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, fig. 4). But how does one explain the tang, which would not be a practical way of joining the heads to a relatively narrow yoke pole,² or the apertures, which seem too large for the purpose of holding nails or rivets? The authors compare the lion protomes to a small (ca. 7 cm), solid bronze horse's-head protome excavated in a tomb at Altintepe in Urartu (T. Özgüç, in *Bellesten*, 1961, 270, fig. 16; not mentioned in Özgüç 1969, 68ff.) along with furniture and horse trappings. Özgüç and others (van Loon 1966, 114; Azarpay 1968, 52, pl. 27), as well as de Schauensee and Dyson, interpret the Altintepe horse (it is not clear whether one or two heads were found) to be a yoke pommel or terminal, a position plausibly rejected by Seidl (1980, 77, n. 19) because of the small size. Given the lack of definite



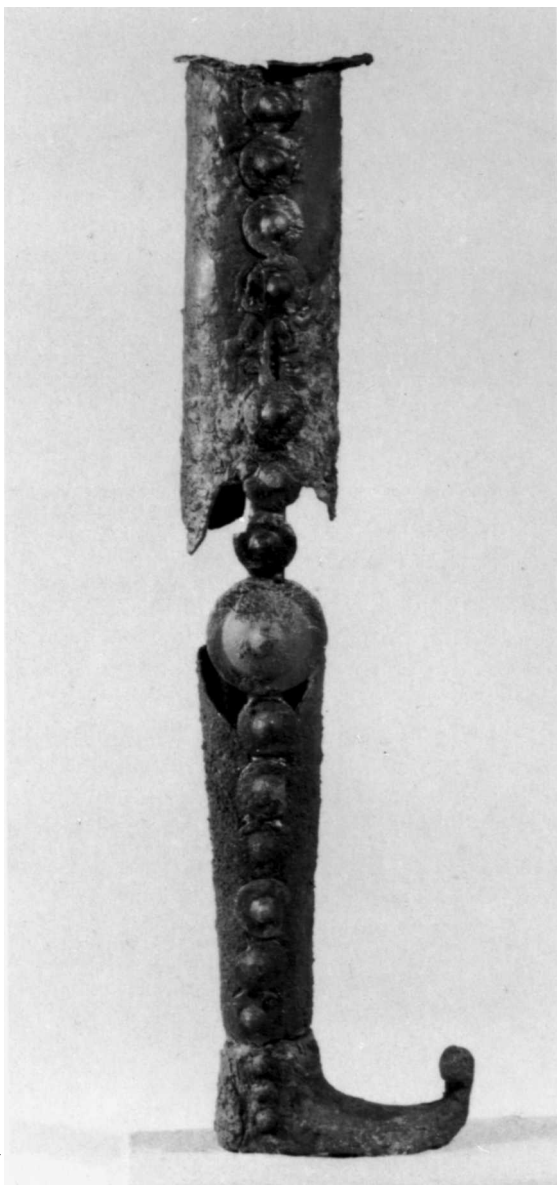
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No. 1 before conservation.

knowledge concerning what a chariot yoke-pole terminal or pommel looks like, it is fair to conclude that we do not know what function the lion heads had, or whether they were attached to chariots (less likely) or to furniture.³

While the protome lion heads share certain formal features with those on the lion pins (Nos. 42–50), and most of the ivories from Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980a, nos. 92, 95, 163–67, 171–75, 189; no. 162 alone is a close parallel to the head shown here), particularly the snarling mouth and protruding tongue, there are differences: the vertical lines of the muzzle and the eyes horizontally behind it (see Muscarella 1980a, no. 162), the incised double eyebrows, the plain hairless head and neck,



and the strong tendency toward geometric stylization. In this regard the bronze protome heads, together with ivory number 162, represent another form of depicting lions at Hasanlu, one differing considerably from those known in North Syria and Assyria.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

De Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 75, fig. 25c.

NOTES

1. Cu: major, Sn: ca. 10%, Pb: ca. 0.5%, Zn: not detected.

2. One might also expect a yoke terminal to have been sleeved onto the pole, not tanged into it, viz. F. James, in *Expedition* 16, 3 (1974), 35, fig. 3; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, fig. 1; Azarpay 1968, 52, pl. 28; pl. 29, a hollow horse head, might have been such a terminal (van Loon 1966, 117; Seidl 1980, 77, n. 19).

Note that in Muscarella 1965, 236, n. 26, I confused the Karmir Blur horse head with an exact parallel, a stray, in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin. I further compounded the error by identifying it (and by implication the Karmir Blur example) as a rhyton. Both heads are not rhyta and must have had the same function, perhaps a yoke terminal.

3. The lions could have been standards, symbolic identification of a group, family, or tribe, but concerning this interpretation we have no hard information; on standards see Nylander 1983, 22f., 27.

2. Leg

63.109.2; Hasanlu 62–968; BB III Room 13; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1963

Bronze, iron; height ca. 38.9 cm, length of boot 8.7 cm

THE LEG is now broken but it was clearly made in three parts. The upper cylindrical unit is made of bronze, the lower of iron, both hollow; the foot, in the form of a boot with an upturned twisted tip, is solid iron, pierced through to the heel for joining to the units above. The area where the bronze and iron cylindrical units should meet is missing so we do not know how they were joined; the hole in the boot implies that a rod must have connected it to the leg. Along one side is a vertical row of fourteen uniform-size studs, each with a raised center, plus a large stud or umbo halfway up the leg. The top of the bronze unit is flattened and pierced by holes, two of which are extant. The complete leg was probably originally made of wood overlaid with the metal parts.

This leg is one of two, both identical, found together in Burned Building III; both are right feet (see Dyson 1964a, 374, fig. 8 for the mate, now in Teheran). As noted by Dyson, the tops are flattened for attachment to a surface that suggests they “may have been chair or table legs.” No object to which the legs were joined was recovered, and it may be presumed that it was wood. A table, however, would have had three or four legs and is therefore excluded. A chair, on the other hand, could have had the two elaborate sheathed legs

at the front and two plain wood feet at its rear, and it is conceivable that the legs were part of a chair or throne. Indeed, the legs could have had still another function, one not readily discerned.¹

Several tripods and one tetrapod terminating in animals' feet, either bulls or lions, and made in bronze or terracotta, have been recovered from Hasanlu (Dyson 1959, 13, left, 16; Dyson 1960a, 134, fig. 12; Dyson 1967, pl. 1486A; Dyson 1968, 90, lower left, 76f., nos. 118, 121; vanden Berghe 1959, pl. 145e). Tripods or tetrapods with animal feet are also represented at Hasanlu in art, on several ivories (Muscarella 1980a, 177, nos. 118, 119, 169). And at least one bronze tripod from Hasanlu terminates in human boots (72–62, unpublished). An isolated, stray bronze tripod with booted feet is said to come from Luristan but may in fact have derived from another area (A. Godard 1931, pl. LIX:218); another tripod with booted feet is claimed for north-western Iran (Moorey 1974a, no. 140). Further, terracotta vessels in the form of boots are also known from Hasanlu and other sites (Dyson 1968, 94, fig. 111; vanden Berghe 1959, pl. 146e, f; Muscarella 1977b, 41, n. 43).

For other uses of studs and umbones like those on the leg, see Nos. 112–120.

NOTE

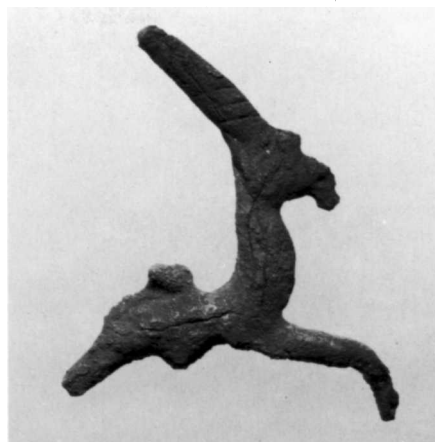
1. If the legs were from a chair or throne, one may suggest that the Hasanlu legs belonged to a wood and iron throne, and thereby continued a long tradition. For we are reminded of the Hittite Old Kingdom Anitta text that mentions an iron throne as a precious royal object (Waldbaum 1978, 21, n. 92). Whether the iron legs belonged to a statue of a human, the body of which was sculpted wood, is of course not possible to recognize (Hittite texts mention iron statues: Waldbaum 1978, 21, n. 94).

3. Ibex

60.20.47; Hasanlu 59–688; BB II Room 13/14; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960

Bronze; length 5.7 cm, thickness .5 cm

THIS CAST IBEX is now missing parts of its horn and the rear leg. The horn is prominent in proportion to the size of the body and is decorated with oblique incisions. The mouth is open and there is a beard; a short tail is upright. There are two projections, a thick one on the back and a smaller one on the belly; the former is broken and the latter may represent male sex. Although cast in the round, only one horn and one front and rear leg are depicted. Another animal of indistinguishable species but of the same type and construction was excavated at Hasanlu (unpublished). It is possible that the upper projection is a strut that held the piece in some framework. While corrosion prevents one recog-



nizing whether the creature was meant to be viewed on both sides, it is certain that this thin object was not freestanding.

I can find no parallels either in style or apparent function among the numerous bronze animals in the round known both from excavations and the art market. One bronze animal in the round, probably Iranian, in a private collection (Moorey 1974a, 172, no. 166) has both a single prominent horn similar to this one in size and decoration and an open mouth, but they differ in other features.

4. Plaque

63.109.3; Hasanlu 62–1060; BB III; Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1963

Iron; height 8 cm, width 10.5 cm

THE PLAQUE is rectangular in shape, squared at the right and left edges; both the upper and lower edges are bordered by connected chevron-shaped ivory/bone plaques, blackened by fire, each pierced with an ivory/bone dowel to secure it. Six rivets with hemispherical heads, only three of which are extant, held the plaque to a backing. The decoration consists of two confronted rearing lions whose front paws touch. A small animal (a stag?) walks directly left below the paws; the area around that animal is corroded. It is probable that the lions are fighting over their prey. The decoration is in relief, but because of modern conservation work at the rear, it is not clear whether repoussé was the technique employed. The plaque is corroded and cracked and there are pieces missing (Fig. 3).

This plaque is one of about a dozen of similar shape and size recovered from Burned Building III. The majority are of copper/bronze but a number are of iron, and each is decorated with scenes in relief: a city under



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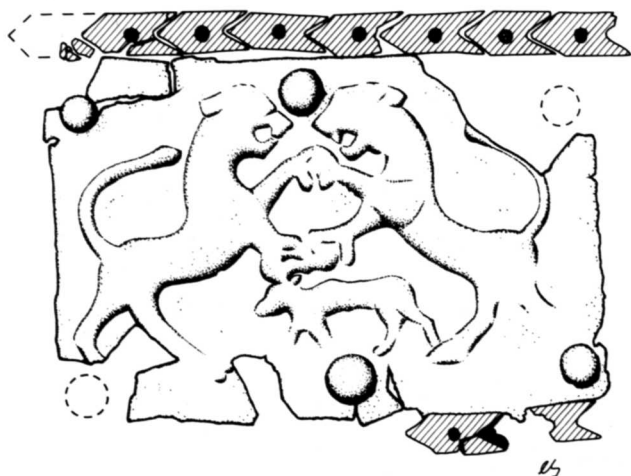


FIG. 3. Drawing of No. 4 by Elizabeth Simpson.

siege with its archers shooting from turrets, archers, cavalry (Winter 1980, fig. 77), and chariots in battle, scenes of hunting by horse and chariot, heraldic rampant goats flanking a tree, and the example shown here. All the plaques were found together; they were apparently connected edge to edge and so probably adorned the same object, whether a wall, an article of furniture, or a box. One might surmise that the battle and hunt scenes were each kept discrete, and that the goats served as dividers or endpieces.

Of special interest is the fact that these plaques duplicate in shape and iconography—and perhaps also in function—the many ivory plaques of local style recovered at Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980a). These ivories derive primarily from Burned Building II; none came from Burned Building III. Collectively, the ivory and metal plaques furnish us with a large corpus of iconography and style created by the Hasanlu craftsmen of the ninth century B.C.

5. Vessel with Animal Head

61.100.2; Hasanlu 60–1006; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961¹
Bronze; preserved length 14.9 cm

AS PRESERVED, this object consists of most of the head of a bull or calf; the ears and neck are missing. The metal is fairly thick and the interior is hollow; no inner lining is preserved. On the basis of both internal evidence and comparisons with similar objects excavated at Hasanlu and elsewhere, there is no doubt that it is a drinking cup or vessel, the base of which terminates in the head of a calf or bull. This particular type has the head and cup placed on the same axis and is called in the literature *Tierkopfgefässe*. A total of five bronze vessels of this type have been excavated from Period IV at Hasanlu, three from Burned Building II, one from Burned Building I West, and one from Burned Building III. Aside from the present example, two terminate in rams' heads, one of which is plain (62–771, BB III; Dyson 1964a, 374, fig. 11), while the other (59–845) is embellished with a silver frieze of grazing animals at the lip, silver-covered horns, and Egyptian blue inlays at the eyebrows and lip (Dyson 1961, 537, fig. 11; Dyson 1967, 2963, fig. 1035; Porada 1965, pl. 32, left); one vessel (?) terminates in a horse's head (60–881; Crawford 1961, fig. 8; Dyson 1961, 537, fig. 10; Porada 1965, pl. 32, right); another (58–237b), probably with a ram's or bull's head, was found in fragments (BB I West). In addition to these bronze examples, fragments of several terracotta animal-head vessels have also been recovered, but the identity of the animals represented remains uncertain. While all the bronze examples from Hasanlu are cups, at least one of the terracotta vessels has a pouring hole at the nose, which makes it a true rhyton; none are situlae.

Tierkopfgefässe of the type under discussion, made of either bronze or terracotta, have also been excavated at other first-millennium B.C. sites in the Near East—but at only one other site in Iran. Two fragmentary bronze gazelle-head cups come from Khorsabad (Amiet 1969, 337, figs. 21, 22); a terracotta ram-head cup comes from Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, 1:191, fig. 124), two terracotta ram-head vessels come from Assur (Tuchelt 1962, 57, nos. 1, 2, pl. 7:1, 2; Haller 1954, pl. 26d); and three come from Zincirli in North Syria (Andrae 1943, 47, pl. 20d; also pl. 20a and b); a bronze ram and a bronze lion situla (i.e., a vessel with a free-swinging handle) derive from Gordion in Anatolia (R. S. Young 1981, 121ff., pls. III, IV, 62, 63); a calf- or bull-head situla (not a lion head, as Birmingham 1961, 191) comes from the island of Samos (Jantzen 1972, pl. 73, B275); and finally, from Bastam, an Urartian site north of Lake Urmia in

northwest Iran, comes a fragmentary terracotta gazelle-head vessel (Kleiss 1973, 91ff., Calmeyer 1979, 195ff., pls. 45:1, 46). This latter vessel, incidentally, is the only example that derives from an Urartian site, surely indicating that *Tierkopfgefässe* were not normally in use in that culture. All the examples mentioned date either to the eighth or the seventh centuries B.C., i.e., later than the Hasanlu examples; none may conclusively be dated earlier.

In addition to the excavated pieces, several representations of animal-head vessels dating to the first millennium B.C. are known. A number of representations occur at Khorsabad on eighth-century reliefs (R. S. Young 1958, 227; Loud 1936, fig. 45, top; Wilkinson 1967, figs. 1, 2), where lion-head situlae—exactly paralleled by the bronze example from Gordion—and lion-head vessels and drinking cups are depicted. Another representation occurs on an eighth-century B.C. bronze container (without verifiable provenience but attributed to “Ziwiye”), where tribute bearers are depicted carrying animal-head situlae (Wilkinson 1960a, 214, 217, fig. 2; Wilkinson 1967, 6ff., fig. 3: see No. 473).

Unexcavated vessels of the type under discussion that exist in museums and private collections are of interest to us as evidence of further examples, but unfortunately they can be neither independently dated nor assigned to a particular provenience—although this has been attempted. These include a bronze ram vessel in the Foroughi collection (Calmeyer 1969a, fig. 82; Calmeyer 1979, 196, pls. 45:2, 47:1); a bronze ram situla in the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran (Wilkinson 1967, fig. 13); a calf-head vessel in Copenhagen (Buhl 1974, 71, 110, no. 61; Tuchelt 1962, pls. 8:1 and 9, fig. 3; Calmeyer 1979, 196, fig. 3); a ram situla in the Abegg collection (Wilkinson 1967, fig. 12, pls. VIII–XII); and a terracotta gazelle and two terracotta ram situlae attributed to “Ziwiye” (A. Godard 1950, figs. 57, 58; Samadi 1960, 43, fig. 39). All these examples appear to be of Assyrian style and are eighth or seventh century B.C. in date. Marinatos (1928, 537f.) and Svoboda (1956, 35) dated the Copenhagen vessel to the late second millennium B.C., but Tuchelt (1962, 63f., n. 112) has demonstrated the error of these conclusions, thereby eliminating this vessel from consideration as an object contemporary with the Enkomi examples, referred to below.

Attention should also be called to five well-known large silver *Tierkopfgefässe*, all with fluted cups and all terminating in the heads of horned animals. None was excavated, and all are now in private collections or museums (Wilkinson 1967, figs. 5–11, pls. II–VII): the Metropolitan Museum, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the University Museum in Philadelphia, the Pomerance collection, and the Abegg collection (I am of the opinion that at least this latter piece may not be ancient: Muscarella



5

1977a, 185, no. 167; Calmeyer 1979, 199f., considers all the others to be forgeries also). That they are formally related to the bronze and terracotta examples discussed above is obvious; whether in fact all or some (assuming they are genuine) ultimately derived from Iranian sites, as has been claimed, is no longer verifiable. They also appear to be stylistically pre-Achaemenian in date, but how much earlier is not clear; a seventh-century date, or slightly later, seems reasonable, and thus they represent later examples of the type first encountered at Hasanlu in Iran.

These silver-cup vessels are of further interest to Iranian archaeologists because they represent examples of pre-Achaemenian, possibly Iranian, art that played an important role in the culture of the Achaemenian period. At least two silver-cup vessels from this period demonstrate continuity of the type in general, and of the silver examples in particular. One is a horse-head rhyton (there is evidence of a hole in the mouth) that is now in the Metropolitan Museum (47.100.87; Svoboda 1956, fig. 9; Tuchelt 1962, 59, no. 13); the other, a cup with a ram's head, was found in the eighteenth century at Ust Kamenogorsk in Siberia (Svoboda 1956, fig. 10; Tuchelt 1962, 59, no. 14).

Cup vessels with a human or animal head at the base did not originate in Mesopotamia or Iran, and the ninth-century examples from Hasanlu are by no means the earliest occurrences of these forms. The earliest record of their existence is documented at Hacilar, level VI, in southwestern Anatolia, dated to the sixth millennium B.C. (Mellaart 1970, 107f., pl. LXIII:1, fig. 57:3). In Anatolia they continued in use (reintroduced from Egypt or the Aegean?) in the second millennium B.C. during pre-Hittite and Hittite times (viz. Bittel 1976, figs. 62, 63; Tuchelt 1962, 31, 46ff., fig. 1; Muscarella 1974a, nos. 123, 124, T. Özgüç 1982, 110f., pls. 53, 54).

Judging both from actual excavated examples and from many representations in art, animal-head vessels were common in the Aegean and in Egypt in the second half of the second millennium B.C. A complete bronze vessel in the form of a bull's head and with a loop handle, thus a situla, was excavated at Byblos as part of a hoard preserved in a pottery vessel (Dunand 1954, 377, pl. 73:10586; Seeden 1980, pl. 126). This early, and rare, situla was found together with a duckbill axe (see No. 511), and probably dates to the early second millennium B.C. From the late Bronze period (thirteenth–twelfth century B.C.) there is a terracotta lion-head cup with a side loop handle (C. F. A. Schaeffer, in *Ugaritica VII*, XVIII [Leiden, 1978], 149ff.).² On Crete and the mainland of Greece they were made of metal, stone, and terracotta and functioned as true rhyta with a pouring hole at the mouth area (Tuchelt 1962, 36ff., 48, fig. 2; H. T. Bossert, *Altcrete* [Berlin, 1921], figs. 126–28). A major source of information on animal-head cups, or rhyta of the same shape, are the representations preserved in the fifteenth-century B.C. tombs in Egypt, carried there by Cretans —Kheftiu (Vercouter 1956, 311ff., pls. xxxvii–xxxix), and an example in the round in faience and wood from the XVIIIth Dynasty (Vercouter 1956, pl. xxxix:269). These examples are very close in form to two examples excavated in two Mycenaean tombs of thirteenth–twelfth-century B.C. date at Enkomi on Cyprus (Murray 1900, pl. iii:1212, 1217, figs. 61, 62; Marinatos 1928, 538, n. 2; Tuchelt 1962, 56; Vercouter 1956, 317). The Cypriote–Mycenaean examples are later than those from the Egyptian tombs but roughly contemporary to those from the Hittite period ones. Tuchelt (1962, 56) suggested that there is a relationship between those from Cyprus and the Hittite examples, which is true but he ignores the others in the comparison. In any event, whether the Cypriote and Hittite vessels derived from the Aegean and/or Egypt, the fact remains that there are no formal distinctions between the aforementioned examples and those from Assyria and Iran in the first millennium B.C.

Just how the ninth-century Hasanlu vessels relate to the earlier Aegean and Anatolian examples cannot readily be explained because of the present lack of examples from the almost four hundred years that separate them. However, what can be said, given the present state of our knowledge, is that in the first millennium B.C. the Hasanlu vessels are the earliest examples of the type available. Whether Hasanlu learned of the *Tierkopfgefässe* from the north, from Anatolia, or from a still unrecognized source in the West, or, less certain to my mind, whether Hasanlu developed the idea independently, remain unanswered questions. But if the Hasanlu vessels were in fact the earliest Near Eastern examples manufactured in the first millennium, as suggested by the archaeological

evidence, then it is probable that the Assyrians, as a result of their incursions into Iran, adapted them to their own use. In this context then, these vessels represent an example of a motif that was transmitted from Iran to the West.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Winter 1980, fig. 69 (on p. 29, n. 3, there is confusion about the Hasanlu number of this head; it is correct in fig. 69).

NOTES

1. In 1961 Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff generously presented the Metropolitan Museum with a monetary gift that was used as the Museum's contribution to the Hasanlu Project.

2. Attention should also be directed to an early second millennium (ca. eighteenth century B.C.) vessel, molded in the form of a ram's head, from Jericho (K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho* [Jerusalem, 1960], 310f., fig. 116:1, pl. xiii). The object seems to be a vessel decorated with animal features rather than a typical animal-head vessel. For calf/bull-head objects in general see Buchholz 1980–81.

While the manuscript for this catalogue was being edited I learned of another example of an animal-head situla represented in art (information from Pauline Albenda). It is to be seen on a stone relief found near Arslan Tash in North Syria: F. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan Tash* (Paris, 1931), pl. xiii:2.

6. Basin with Winged-Bird Handle Attachments

61.100.3a, b, c; Hasanlu 60–879; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze;¹ height of attachments 10.8, 11 cm, width 10, 10 cm

THIS OBJECT was damaged by the debris of the building's collapse. It consists of a hammered shallow bowl or basin (61.100.3c, now in fragments) approximately 40 centimeters in diameter and 8 centimeters in height with two handles each cast in the form of a stylized long-necked bird with outstretched wings and tail, and with a fixed rectangular handle rising from the wing tips; both birds face out from the basin (see field photograph). Each bird head, identical in all details, projects forward and slightly downward, and although it is cast as one unit with the wings and handle there is a false rivet at the lower part of the neck, giving the impression that it was separately made. No feet are depicted. The heads have a herringbone pattern on the beak and neck, and the eyes are simple, slightly raised concentric circles. After casting, the wings and tail were decorated with a vertical herringbone pattern set within individual zones to indicate feathers; at the area of each bird's neck are curved lines that divide the main area of feathers from those at the neck; horizontal lines further separate the wings from the tail. Three rivets placed at the wing and tail extremities held the handles to the vessel.

In addition to this basin, there is one other from Hasanlu that has a matched pair of bird protome attachments, here birds of prey, cast as one unit with a fixed handle (58–240; Dyson 1960a, 132, fig. 2; Dyson 1964b, 21; Porada 1965, pl. 9, right; Muscarella 1970, 114f., fig. 9; here Fig. 4). This pair differs in form from the present example for there the legs of the bird are depicted, in relief and held up against the body as seen in flight. Moreover, there is no incised decoration on the birds, and the handle is curved to fit the fingers. Porada has rightly compared these attachments to a plaque depicting a hawk in the same position excavated at Susa (Porada 1965, pl. 9, left). Another handle attachment derives from Hasanlu (its mate and basin were not recovered). This attachment also has a rigid handle with a curved finger grip, and an openwork scene depicting a kneeling hero grasping two reversed goats by their rear legs (Winter 1980, 25, fig. 63; cf. No. 147).

One more group of bronze objects excavated at Hasanlu from Period IV has bird-protome handles. Among a number of straight-sided buckets, or situlae, usually adorned with simple, undecorated wing and tail attachments joined to a free-swinging handle (see Nos. 7–9), there are at least two (59–418, 72–47, both unpublished) that have small plain birdlike protomes cast together with the attachment.

In the Near East in the first millennium B.C. bird-head protome attachments are represented both in art and in the round on buckets and cauldrons as well as on bowls and basins. Two cauldrons from the eighth-century (ca. 750 B.C. or later) Tumulus W at Gordion have bird protome attachments (R. S. Young 1981, 201, pl. 88). Bird-head protome attachments on buckets are represented on Assyrian reliefs from the ninth century onward (Hrouda 1965, pl. 19:1, 6; Merhav 1976, pls. III:2, IV:1, V:1; Madhlloom 1970, pl. LXXXV:4, 9). And recently a bronze bucket with two bird-head attach-

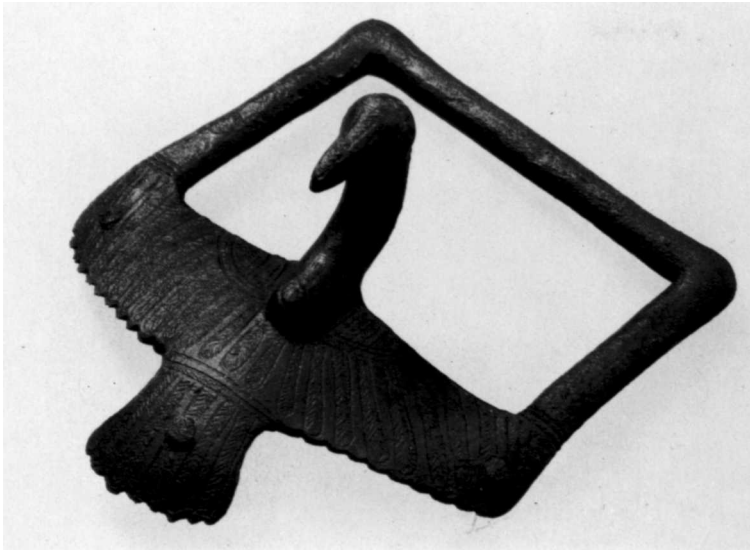
ments joined to a free-swinging handle, very much like the Hasanlu buckets, was excavated at Chamzhi-Mumah in Luristan, and dated to the eighth–seventh century B.C. (vanden Berghe 1977b, 34).

Aside from the two basins at Hasanlu with bird attachments and with rigid handles, either plain or with curved finger grips, there are to my knowledge only two others, both without provenience, that have been published, one with a plain grip in the Israel Museum, the other with a finger grip in the Archaeological Museum of the American University in Beirut (Merhav 1976, pl. IV:5; Barnett 1974, 24, fig. 3).² Other forms of basin-handle protome attachments have been excavated in the Near East: double rams and bulls with a finger grip from Nimrud (Layard 1853, 185),³ a griffin (?) from Gordion (Muscarella 1970, 115, fig. 8, and close in form to Hasanlu 58–240 and the Beirut museum example), and kneeling bulls with a finger grip from Susa (Amiet 1966, fig. 358A, B; Winter 1980, fig. 62). Of some interest is a bird-of-prey plaque with herringbone-decorated wings and tail, and with its feet tucked up, that is attached to the back of a typical Iranian spouted vessel (Waldbaum 1973, fig. 2). Other examples of winged attachments, usually in human form, that are attached to similar vessels have been reported from Iran (Calmeyer 1969a, 99ff., figs. 104, 106; B. Goldman 1961b, 242, fig. 5; see No. 447).

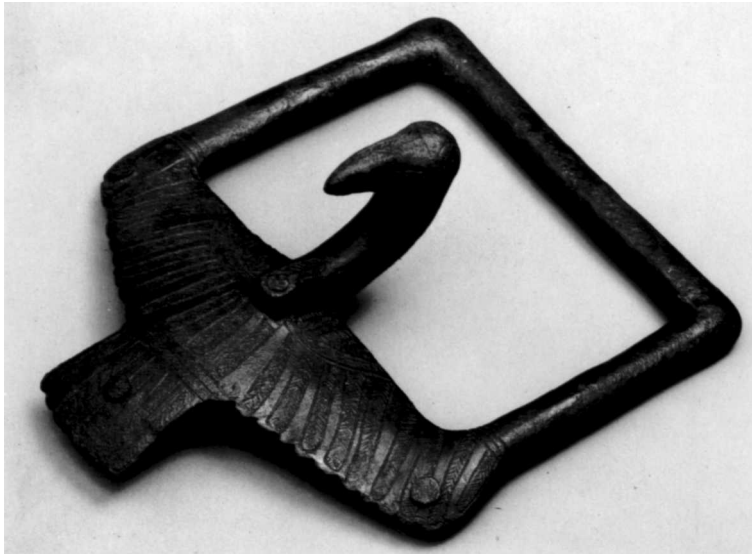
It should not go unmentioned in a discussion of protomes that they were commonly employed at Hasanlu and neighboring Dinkha Tepe on pottery vessels (viz. Crawford 1961, 88, fig. 2; Dyson 1961, 536, fig. 9; Dyson 1967, 2961, fig. 1031, right; Muscarella 1974b, figs. 27, 32, p. 80). At Hasanlu the protome was also placed on stone vessels (Dyson 1960c, 9) and used as wall tiles (Dyson 1960c, 6). This evidence demonstrates that protomes were a characteristic feature in Period IV at Hasanlu where, along with those depicted



Field photograph
of No. 6.



6a



6b

FIG. 4. Metropolitan Museum cast (60.20.73) of bronze handle in Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran.



on buckets on Assyrian reliefs, the earliest examples are recorded. Whether the Hasanlu examples were the models for the Assyrian protomes is not known, but the quantity and diversity of the former lend support to this hypothesis.

In summary it may be concluded that bird protomes on buckets with free-swinging handles existed in the ninth century B.C. both in Assyria and in Iran at Hasanlu; in both areas they continued into the eighth century. Bird and other forms of attachments with rigid handles, either rectangular or curved for fingers, are known at Hasanlu in the ninth century B.C., where they are the earliest examples known to date. And in the eighth century rigid handles with a variety of animal protomes occur at Nimrud, Gordion, and Susa. Moreover, during that century protome attachments consisting of bulls and winged sirens placed on deep cauldrons were fairly common in several Near Eastern cultures (Muscarella 1970, 109ff., figs. 1–6).⁴

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Crawford 1961, 93, fig. 9; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 55.

NOTES

1. Analysis for one of the bird handles: Cu: major, Sn: ca. 10%, Pb: ca. 0.5%, Zn: not detected.

2. Although the Israel Museum object is inadequately described, judging from the drawing in the text it is clearly a basin, not a bucket.

3. Barnett 1974, 23f., incorrectly describes the animals as hawks, and Winter 1980, 25, as horses. Further, Layard's text refers to more than one vessel with handles "of rams and bulls."

4. A brief and restricted comment on the issue of the provenience of the siren cauldron attachments: Elsewhere (Muscarella 1962, 320ff.; 1970, 110f.; 1978a, 62) I expressed the view, one now generally accepted, that these attachments were made in North Syria, not in Urartu; one or two may be Assyrian. In 1962 (322), I wrote that I knew of only one siren attachment that "was ever excavated by a bona fide excavation" within Urartian territory, at Toprakkale, and now in Berlin (VA 2988: Herrmann 1966a, 57, no. 5). I was there incorrect (see Muscarella 1978a, 62, n. 2). For, although there may indeed be only one siren attachment "excavated" in Urartian territory (below), it is not the example in Berlin. I was misled in this attribution by an asterisk placed next to the entry for this attachment in C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (Berlin, 1907), no. 15, 86ff. (where on p. 4 it is noted that "Ein* vor der Nummer kennzeichnet Neufunde der Expedition . . ."). At a later time I read note 4 on page 88, where it is clearly stated that the Berlin siren was *purchased* from an Armenian dealer and subsequently donated to the museum. Put succinctly, the Berlin siren was not excavated, and we do not know whence it derived, a feature it shares with others in the so-called Van group. The fact that Armenians were involved in the sale or ownership of certain sirens is irrelevant to their origin: Armenians lived all over the Near East, including Syria, and many dealers were Armenians. (The exact number of the "Van" group remains unknown; see van Loon 1966, 107, n. 133, and P. Amandry, in *Gnomon* 41 [1969], 797.)

These facts have not prevented scholars in the last two decades from claiming that some pieces of the "Van" group were excavated at (or at least derived from) Toprakkale: e.g., Herrmann 1966a, 59 and n. 36 (although calling attention to the lack of verification); van

Loon 1966, 107, n. 133; Azarpay 1968, 54ff.; R. D. Barnett, in *Antiquaries Journal* 49 (1969), 146; Wäfler 1975, 254f., n. 1298; A. C. Brookes, in *AA*, 1982, 608 (he also incorrectly claimed some siren attachments for Altintepe, citing Azarpay 1968, 55, but there she was discussing bull-head attachments; see also Birmingham 1961, 189, 191); vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, 211, no. 182; D. G. Romano, in *MASCA Journal* 2, 4 (1983), 124, 126; see also Gropp 1981, 113f.; Yamauchi 1982, 39f. (for a recent surfacing of a plundered cauldron with two siren attachments, now in Munich, see Kellner 1976, 74, no. 99, “Prov. Transkaukasien.—Urartäisch”).

The only example that comes close to having been “excavated” in Urartian territory, in the sense of deriving with some certainty (or probability) from a known site, seems to be the example now in Leningrad that apparently was found by Kurds in 1859 in a rock tomb on the Iranian side of the Araxes River near Alishar (not Turkish Alishar, as in Herrmann 1966a, 186, map): Piotrovskii 1967, 82ff., fig. 59; Azarpay 1968, 109, n. 181, gives a misprinted date of 1951 for the find; and van Loon 1966, 104, refers to bull and siren “attachments,” whereas only one of each was apparently recorded. This “find” is surely not a bona fide excavation, but to my mind the evidence from the records in Leningrad allows one to at the least tentatively accept the Araxes River–Alishar site as the locus of a discovery.

Recently R. Mayer-Opificius (1983, 343f.) argued that the siren attachments “doch wohl in Urartu selbst hergestellt. . . .” The evidence seems to be primarily based on the fact that Urartu had a vigorous metal industry, and because to her “vielen genuin urartäische Züge beobachten kann.” But she offers only one of these “vielen . . . Züge,” the fact that some Urartian deities depicted in repoussé have a sun disk over their full bodies. She believes that this scheme is closer to the sun disk form of the sirens than the Syrian examples of a torso with a sun disk. To my eyes Opificius’s plate 68:3, an ivory winged siren of Syrian style, is iconographically closer to the siren form than the Urartian examples presented.

[Now see Ralf-B. Wartke, “Die Berliner Kesselattasche VA 2988,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 12 (1985), 87–100, for a discussion of the provenience of the Berlin attachment, as well as of the so-called Van group. His views agree completely with those expressed above.]

7. Bucket with Attachments and Handle

61.100.8a–d; Hasanlu 60–1039; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter ca. 14 cm, height ca. 10 cm

8. Bucket with Attachments and Handle

1976.233.46; Hasanlu 72–42; BB IV East Room 1; Period IV

The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976

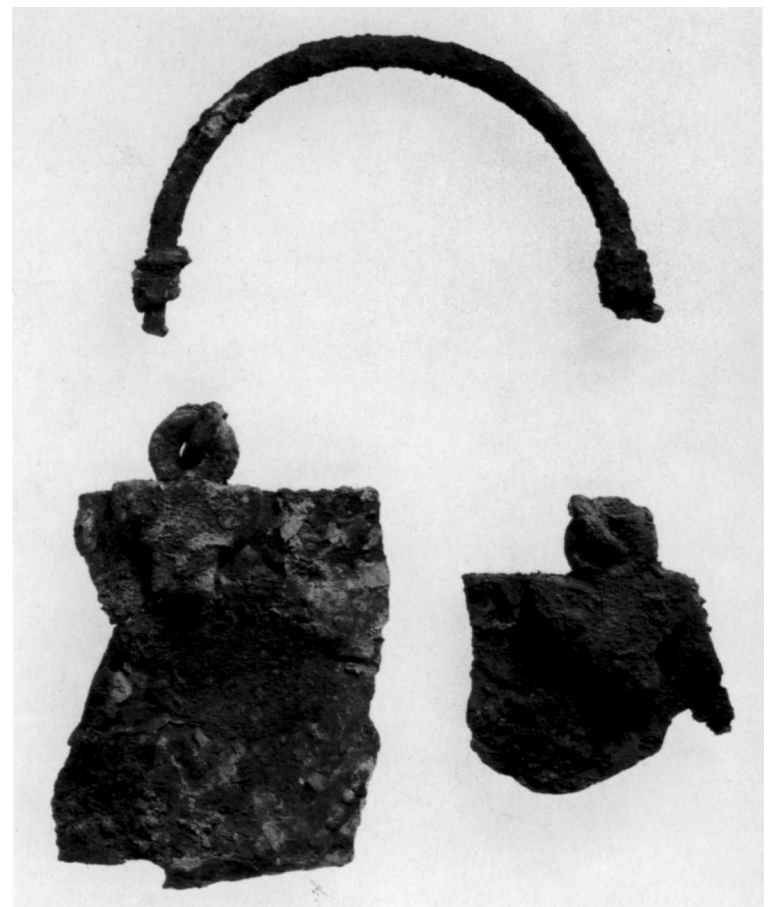
Bronze; diameter ca. 11 or 12 cm, height 9 cm

BOTH VESSELS were crushed in the destruction; the first is basically intact, the other is in fragments. Their shape is that of a bucket with straight sides and flat bottom. On opposite sides of each vessel are separately made, undecorated wing and tail attachments with upright loops to hold a free-swinging handle. The ends of the handles are twisted around themselves to seal the loop. Two



7

8



rivets placed at the wing tips hold the attachments of No. 7 (61.100.8a, b) to the vessel, while No. 8 has three rivets in each attachment, the third in the tail.

A fairly large number of hammered-bronze vessels of various types, including buckets, bowls, basins, jars, beakers, cups, and spouted vessels, have been excavated at Hasanlu. Including the present examples, over half a dozen buckets have been recovered from Burned Buildings I, II, IV, and IV East, each with added attachments to hold free-swinging handles, and hence they are true situlae. The attachments are in various forms, a simple wing and tail, or T shape, plaque, like the present examples, a plain horizontal bar, a rosette, or a palmette (like No. 9). In addition, many fragments of bronze attachments have been preserved, their vessels having been destroyed. The evidence clearly suggests that bronze vessels were popular at Hasanlu and may have been manufactured there.

Aside from the Hasanlu examples, to my knowledge only one other intact bucket with a wing and tail attachment and free-swinging handles, in this case with the ends simply bent through the loop (see No. 9), has been excavated.¹ It derives from Chamzhi-Mumah in Luristan, Iran (vanden Berghe 1977a, 60f.), dated to the eighth–seventh century B.C., more than a century later than the examples from Hasanlu. Unlike the latter buckets, the one from Chamzhi-Mumah is decorated with an engraved scene depicting a battle before a walled city with towers. The motif and style are distinctly Assyrian, and it is possible that this example may not be a local product but one imported from Assyria.

Buckets are commonly represented in art on Assyrian reliefs from the ninth century B.C. onward (Hrouda 1965, pl. 19:1–7; Reade 1980, pls. II, VI, VII; Merhav 1976, pls. III–V, and figs. 1–3; Madhloom 1970, pl. LXXXV). On the ninth-century reliefs the added wing and tail attachments are sometimes represented, correctly depicting attachment forms known in the round. The majority of the ninth-century Assyrian buckets, however, do not have attachments depicted (Paley 1976, pls. 1–5, 7–10, 12–17a, 19a–20, 23a, 28), and this feature apparently did not become popular until the eighth century B.C. Buckets represented in North Syrian and Urartian art, except for an example on a Carchemish relief (Merhav 1976, pl. III:4), also appear to have no attachments, and there are only loops to hold the handle. On several unexcavated, but clearly Urartian, buckets, this same feature obtains (vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, nos. 166–68; Kellner 1975–76, pls. 1–IV), while on an unexcavated, but surely North Syrian, bucket (Muscarella 1981a, no. 236), there are human-head attachments. A number of other stray examples exist in private collections, but it is not manifestly clear to what area or areas

they are to be attributed, nor precisely how they should be dated (Moorey 1971a, 269, no. 513; Moorey 1974a, 145f., figs. 128, 128a; Merhav 1976, pl. 1:1, 3–5, 7;² Curtis 1977a, 253ff.; Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1982, pl. III).

Whether buckets with added attachments are Assyrian in origin (Moorey 1971a, 269) and transplanted to Iran is no longer certain, given their prevalence alongside other bronze vessel types from ninth-century Hasanlu. One has at least to accept a common usage of such vessels in both Assyria and northwest Iran beginning in the ninth century B.C.; the question of priority must be left to further research.³

NOTES

1. Negahban (1983, 64, no. 22) describes an attachment on a bronze bucket from Tomb 18 as “clover leaf” in shape. The photograph is unclear and one is not sure that it is not a wing and tail shape.

2. See Muscarella 1977a, nos. 9 and 162, for comments regarding the authenticity of Merhav 1976, pl. 1, nos. 6 and 8 (see No. 499).

3. By priority I am discussing only the first-millennium B.C. examples and exchanges. An early second-millennium B.C. bronze bucket with curved sides and a free-swinging handle attached by loops to fixed attachments (rectangular) was excavated at Kültepe, level II (T. Özgüç 1959, 55, 109, fig. 60, pl. 48:5), which should be brought into a discussion of ultimate origin of these buckets.

9. Attachments and Handle of a Basin

1976.233.47; Hasanlu 72–56; BB IV East Room I; Period IV

The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976

Bronze; preserved diameter of base 18 cm, preserved height 7 cm

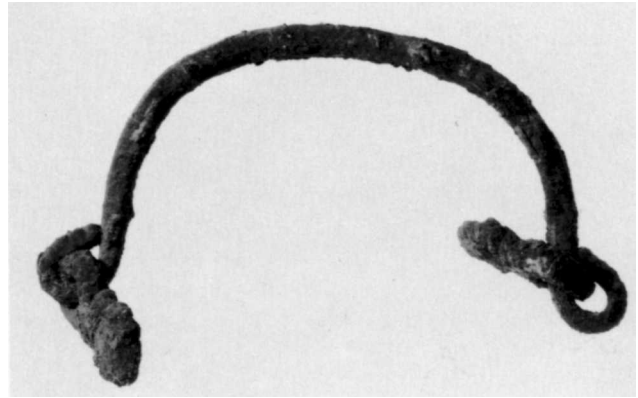
IN ITS present state of preservation the basin is very damaged and missing a large section (not illustrated), and the handle is separated from the rim. The handle is free-swinging, and its ends are secured by being bent back (cf. Nos. 7, 8) through the loops on the attachments; the latter are in the form of palmettes.

At least one example of a bucket (situla) with palmette attachments is represented on an Assyrian relief of Ashurnasirpal II, ninth century B.C. (Merhav 1976, pl. v:6), further attesting to the community of motifs in Assyria and Iran at this time. Free-swinging handles with their terminals bent back through a loop derive from various areas in the Near East over a long period of time. They occur on a number of unexcavated Urartian buckets of ninth-century B.C. date, here with the ends in the form of snake heads (vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, nos. 166–68; Kellner 1975–76, pls. 1–IV). These same features occur also on a cauldron handle from Tomb 23 at Marlik (Negahban 1983, 65, no. 27; the tomb is not readily dated but may be of the first millennium).

An example from Luristan mentioned in the text of Nos. 7 and 8 has bent-back terminals. Bent-back handles similar in the length of the terminals to those from Urartu and Marlik also occur on a situla from Til Barsip (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. xix:3) and Ras Shamra (*Syria* 16 [1935], 150, fig. 7g), both of Achaemenian date; see also Moorey 1971a, 268, no. 513, and No. 586.¹

NOTE

1. Now see the same bent-back handle, the ends terminating in animal heads, on a Near Eastern vessel in the Metropolitan Museum, inexplicably called Greek by D. von Bothmer (*MMAB* 52, 1 [1984], no. 15; the same author had, in a previous publication, called it western Anatolian: *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* [New York, 1961], 12, no. 56). See also the silver situla with the same shape and handles as those from Til Barsip, also incorrectly called Greek, von Bothmer, in *MMAB* 52, 1 (1984), no. 53.



9

10. Jar

1976.233.48; Hasanlu 72–53; BB IV East; Period IV
The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the
de Groot and Hawley families, 1976
Bronze; preserved height 10 cm

AS ALREADY NOTED, a large number of sheet-metal vessels of a variety of shapes have been excavated at Hasanlu, Period IV. Many were recovered either crushed or fragmented, and their shapes are no longer recognizable. The preservation of the mouth and shoulder of this fragment allows it to be recognized as a jar, and another, better preserved fragment (72–65) enables us to reconstruct its full shape. The upper lip is everted, the neck slopes out gently, and two prominent ridges separate it from the ovoid body; the base was probably flat.

In its basic form this bronze jar is matched by terracotta examples from both Hasanlu and Dinkha Tepe (T. C. Young 1965, fig. 6:9; Muscarella 1974b, figs. 26:252; 37:31; 47:963, 964, 1055; 49:905, 36).



10

11. Bowl

61.100.38; Hasanlu 60–847; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 15.7 cm

THIS PLAIN round bowl with a slight omphalos is one of a number found at Hasanlu. In its present condition there is flaking and several indications of layers of metal. According to Pieter Meyers, the layering effect is a result of the preferential corrosion of copper followed by leaching and the movement of copper salts to the surface, the oxidation of tin into SnO_2 , and finally, the leaching of the SnO_2 , thereby causing a double-shell effect.



11



12



13

12. Ladle

60.20.35; Hasanlu 59–490; BB I East; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; height 4.8 cm

EXTANT is the cup of a ladle with a pouring spout and a fragment of a straight handle, which is at right angles to the spout.

A number of bronze and iron ladles have been recovered at Hasanlu. Some have the handle at right angles to the spout, others have a plain cup with either a straight or an obliquely curved handle ending in a hook and placed in the same plane as the cup. Ladles with a straight handle and a hook at the end have been excavated at Marlik in Tombs 18 and 52 (Negahban 1964, figs. 27, 34) and at Sialk B (Ghirshman 1938–39, pls. xxiv:8, l:s545a; cf. a stray in Nagel 1963, pl. lIII:115). These examples, except for the Tomb 52 ladle at Marlik, are first-millennium B.C. in date.¹ Assyrian reliefs of the ninth-century B.C. depict ladles that may be of the Hasanlu type (Hrouda 1965, pl. 19:20, 21; Winter 1980, fig. 38; cf. also No. 438).

NOTE

1. Tomb 52 at Marlik seems to be second millennium in date because of the presence of two unbridged spouted vessels (Negahban 1964, fig. 32; Negahban 1983, B44; see No. 347, note 3). Other objects from Tomb 52 include Negahban 1964, figs. 13, 98; Negahban 1983, B25, 26, G15; Negahban 1981, figs. 13, 15, illus. 8. Tomb 18 may be first millennium in date as it contained terracotta zebus (Negahban 1964, figs. 20, 91, pl. xiv) that are typologically related to a terracotta animal from Tomb 36, dated ca. 700 B.C. (see No. 52, note 3). Tomb 18 also contained Negahban 1964, figs. 27, 117. The latter, fig. 117, is a pair of joined vessels, similar to those from Sialk B, Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xix:1, 2; cf. pl. xix:6, 7, another suggestion that Tomb 18 is first millennium in date.

13. Dish

60.20.30; Hasanlu 59–431; Upper Court; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; diameter 11.4 cm

ONE OF many bronze vessels excavated at Hasanlu, this example is a simple, plain dish. It is basically flat with gently upcurving sides and a low vertical rim, a piece of which is missing. Both the interior and exterior surfaces are impacted with charcoal flakes, no doubt from contact with wood burned in the destruction of the citadel.

14, 15. Sheet-Metal Bracelets

61.100.24, 25; Hasanlu 60–581; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze;¹ diameters 6.3, 6.5 cm

16. Sheet-Metal Bracelet

60.20.28; Hasanlu 59–424; BB I West; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; diameter 7.1 cm

THESE THREE bracelets represent a selection of a number of similar examples excavated at Hasanlu. All are made of hammered sheet-metal bands, rectangular in shape and of various widths, and either penannular or with the ends just touching. Decoration consists of simple chased geometric designs, sometimes poorly, other times neatly executed. Nos. 14 and 15, both penannular, were found corroded together on the wrist of an individual crushed in the collapse of Burned Building II. The former bracelet has a flat interior and a central ridge on the surface. Decoration occurs only at the ends and

is composed of a double row of horizontal, crudely executed guilloches separated by the ridge and alternating plain and punched dot rosettes in squares; at the edges are triangles with dotted borders. The central ridge has a herringbone pattern. Another bracelet from Hasanlu (50–584) also has a double row of guilloches by the ends but no central ridge. No. 15 is also crudely decorated, this time with vertically stacked petals, a herringbone pattern, and semicircles, all near the ends. Continuing around the bracelet are two rows of semicircles, apparently on one border only; there is corrosion on the other border but it seems to be free of decoration.

No. 16 is wider than the other two bracelets, and it has more elaborate and more finely executed decoration. Its upper and lower edges are bordered by grooves and between them are panels that cover the whole bracelet. These panels are narrow bands of interlocking horizontal hatched triangles, concentric ovals, cross-hatching, plain areas, and two larger panels framed on either side by a herringbone pattern and with a central rosette joined to four diagonal bands and concentric ovals in the spaces. The area directly opposite the opening has the largest panel which consists of interlocking, hatched triangles set in a cross and framed on two sides by hatched horizontal triangles, the tips of which have a dot rosette.

A single bronze sheet-metal bracelet with a design similar to No. 16 was excavated in an Iron II tomb at nearby Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974b, 65, fig. 36:112; for plain examples see fig. 52), and others have been excavated at Ghalekuti in Dailaman (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pl. LXXIV:23, 25; Sono and Fukai 1968, pl. LXXXVII:15), and at Sialk, here all of silver (Ghirshman 1938–39, pls. L, LXXIII:S544, 937c); still others are reported from Khurvin, southeast of Hasanlu, although there is no proof that they were in fact excavated there (vanden Berghe 1964, 29f., figs. on p. 29, pl. XLII). A similar sheet-metal bracelet, one crudely decorated, was excavated in Luristan at Darwand (vanden Berghe 1973a, 68f., fig. 26:7, pl. xxx:3), probably of eighth or early seventh century date. In addition, unexcavated examples have been reported from Luristan for many years (Moorey 1971a, 216f., nos. 364–67). Similar examples also occur in Soviet Azerbaijan and in the Caucasus (Sadykhzade 1971, pl. xxv:3, 4; de Morgan 1927, fig. 210).

This type of bracelet seems to be characteristically Iranian (cf. Hrouda 1965, pl. 9). They were popular at Hasanlu in the ninth century B.C. and continued to be made for a century or more.

NOTE

1. Analysis of No. 14: Cu: 86.5%, Sn: 12.7%, Pb: .225%, Zn: .018% (1986).



14



15



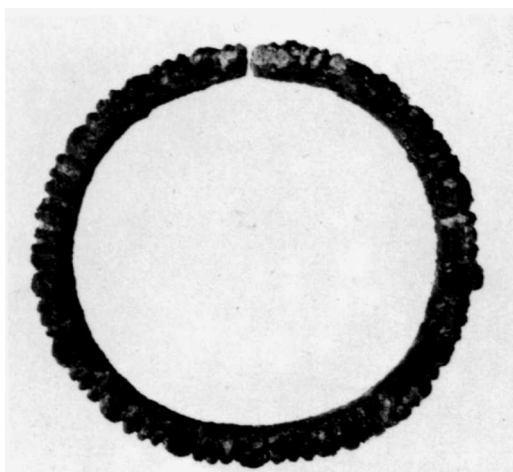
16



17

17. Bracelet with Ridged Surface

60.20.52; Hasanlu 59–802; BB II; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; diameter 8.2 cm



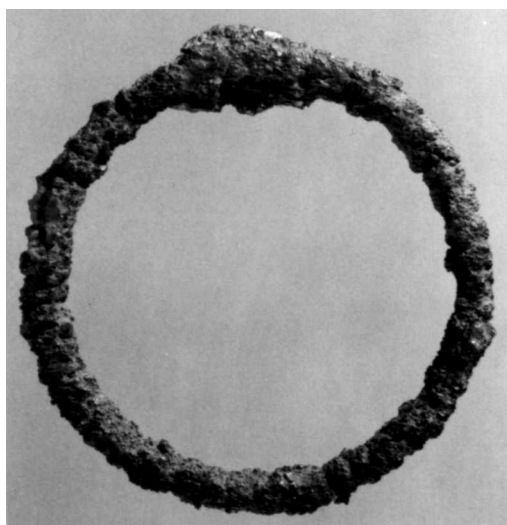
18

18. Bracelet with Ridged Surface

61.100.30; Hasanlu 60–586; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 7.8 cm

BOTH BRACELETS are cast solid and are penannular; the outer surface is decorated with groups of raised ridges of different widths, and the terminals are blunt and plain. No. 18 was found on the wrist of an individual crushed in Burned Building II; No. 17 was found loose on the floor.

Other examples of cast-bronze bracelets with the ring grooved or ridged and either with plain rounded or flattened terminals occur at Hasanlu. Outside of Hasanlu this type of bracelet was apparently not common, but at least one example with serpent or lion head terminals comes from the Uartian site of Igdyr, on Mount Ararat (Barnett 1963, fig. 32:7), while others like the ones shown here have been excavated in Dailaman (Sono and Fukai 1968, pl. xxxviii:5, 7: late Achaemenian or Parthian), and in Soviet Azerbaijan (Sadykhzade 1971, pl. xxii:7). Cast bracelets like the Metropolitan Museum's but with an unbroken ring also occur in Soviet Azerbaijan (Sadykhzade 1971, pl. xxii:1, 2, 6, cf. no. 10), while others are reported to derive from Luristan (Moorey 1971a, 217, no. 370; A. Godard 1931, pl. xxvii:86).



19

19. Bracelet

61.100.139; Hasanlu 60–95; Upper Court Gate; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Iron; diameter 9.5 cm

THIS BRACELET, complete and not penannular, is very corroded, but one is able to discern that the outside is ridged, the inside is plain. An amorphous mass may belong to a separate object corroded onto the bracelet.

20. Bracelet with Knobbed Decoration

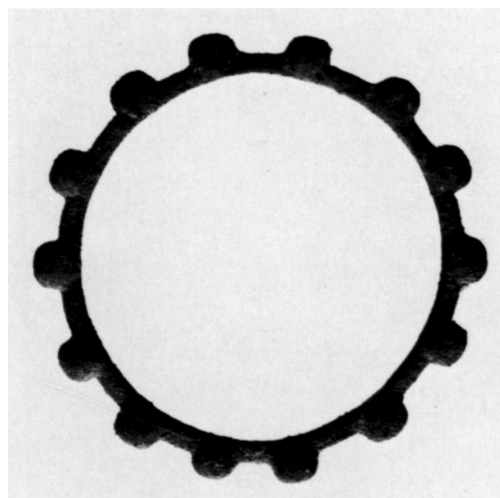
61.100.32; Hasanlu 60–342; BB IV West Room 1; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 8.6 cm

21. Bracelet with Knobbed Decoration

1976.233.39a,b; Hasanlu 72–20; BB IV East; Period IV
The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the
de Groot and Hawley families, 1976
Bronze; diameter 7 cm

THESE SOLID cast bracelets are similar in basic form to Nos. 17 and 18, but the ring is closed, and, instead of ridges, the outer surface is decorated with evenly spaced knobs, fourteen and sixteen respectively. A related example, here with the whole bracelet consisting of cast connected balls, rather than knobs, was excavated at Igdyr on Mount Ararat (Barnett 1963, fig. 32:8). That the type was known to the West is demonstrated by examples depicted on ninth-century B.C. Assyrian reliefs where bracelets of similar type are shown worn by kings and griffins (Paley 1976, pls. 1, 2, 8a, 23a; Hrouda 1965, pl. 9:30).

A similar, but apparently smaller, example was excavated at Hasanlu by commercial diggers in 1934 (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. C:18).

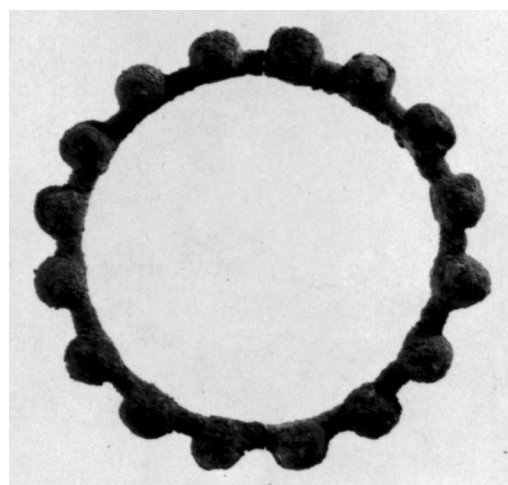


20

22. Ring with Knobbed Decoration

60.20.41; Hasanlu 59–574; BB II; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; diameter 2.5 cm

THIS OBJECT is decorated like the bracelets above (Nos. 20, 21), with cast knobs. It is probably a finger ring, although slightly large, and may have been worn as a set with knobbed bracelets.



21

23. Bracelet with Serpent-Head Terminals

61.100.31; Hasanlu 60–585; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 8 cm

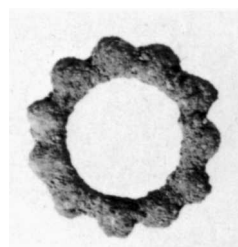
24. Bracelet with Serpent-Head Terminals

61.100.26; Hasanlu 60–597; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 6.9 cm

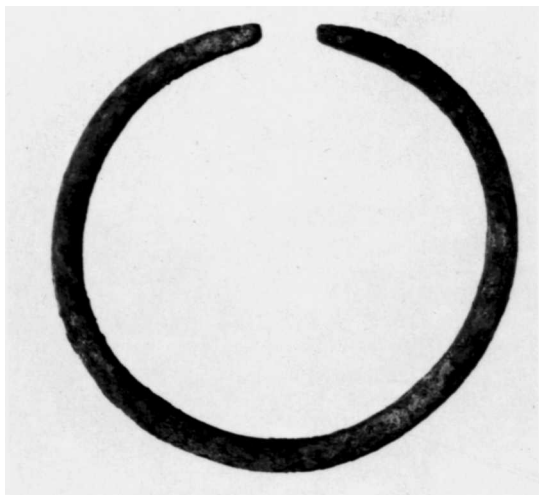
25. Bracelet with Serpent-Head Terminals

61.100.27; Hasanlu 60–597; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 7.1 cm

A NUMBER of cast plain penannular bracelets, round in section and with the terminals in the form of serpent heads, have been recovered at Hasanlu; the three examples here represent a sampling.



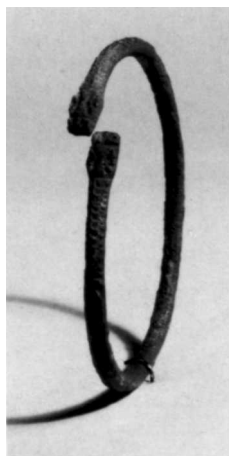
22



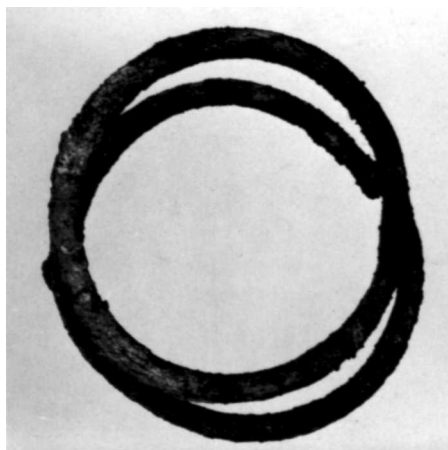
23



24



25



Nos. 24 and 25 before conservation.

No. 23 was found on the wrist of an individual crushed in the collapse of Burned Building II. It has a plain ring, but the terminals are flattened and there is a slight indentation to indicate the mouth; eyes seem to be represented but corrosion makes it difficult to conclude if they are in relief. Nos. 24 and 25 were also found on a wrist of an individual crushed in Burned Building II; they were corroded together (see illus.) and form a pair, both decorated in the same manner. The terminals have an incised geometric scale pattern to indicate the serpents' necks; the heads themselves have eyes, nostrils, and mouths marked off.

Bracelets with animal-head terminals were very common in Iran, Assyria, and the Caucasus in the Iron I period, continuing into the Achaemenian period and beyond. They represent one of the few objects where continuity of forms may be documented from pre-Achaemenian times into the Achaemenian period (Moorey 1971a, 218ff.). Moorey (1971a, 220) noted that the serpent head in particular is a "form . . . most satisfactorily adapted to a bracelet," and that "it is probably the earliest type with animal-head terminals to be used in the Near East." Examples of bracelets with serpent-head terminals are known in Iran in Dailaman (Sono and Fukai 1968, pl. LXXXIV:1-8), and from the Caucasus, from Zincirli in North Syria, and from Urartu (Moorey 1971a, 220; Barnett 1963, fig. 32:10—there called lions' heads—and fig. 37:12). It is also possible that some of the bracelets published as having plain terminals may in fact be decorated with serpent heads but corrosion prevents recognition. And other examples have terminal heads that may or may not be serpents, such as a silver pair of late Achaemenian date from Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, 210f., nos. 1, 2).

The Hasanlu examples are among the earliest of the securely dated bracelets of this particular type. For a bracelet in the form of a coiled serpent, see No. 175 from Yarim Tepe, dated to the early third millennium B.C.¹

NOTE

1. Moorey 1971a, 218ff., discusses the rarity of zoomorphic bracelets in the second millennium B.C. and their widespread occurrence in the first millennium. An example from Tomb 36 at Marlik is clearly late eighth–seventh century B.C. in date, not earlier (Negahban 1964, fig. 77; see No. 52, note 3), while another at Marlik (Negahban 1964, fig. 73) from Tomb 48 remains undated. Buchholz (1980–81, 58, n. 24, 72, n. 115) considers the Marlik bracelet from Tomb 36 to be the earliest excavated example and dates it to the eighth–seventh century B.C.; but this (inadvertently correct) date was not independently obtained, rather it is given based on the author's misunderstanding of Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 196f., whom he cites. Maxwell-Hyslop in fact dated Tomb 36 much earlier, but she did consider other bracelets to be eighth–seventh century in date, examples that unfortunately may be forgeries (Muscarella 1977a, 181, nos. 122, 129). In any event, the Marlik bracelets cannot be considered to be earlier than the examples from Hasanlu.

26, 27. Bracelets/Anklets

61.100.28, 29; Hasanlu 60–619, 582; BB II Room 5;
Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameters 11.3, 11.1 cm

MOOREY (1971a, 227) suggests that a bracelet's diameter may vary from 4.5 to 7.5 centimeters, while those objects with a diameter of 9 to 13 centimeters may be anklets. He does note, however, that measurements alone cannot always determine use, a fact supported by excavated material. Although both of the present objects, which are plain and penannular, were found in the same skeletal context as the above bracelets (Nos. 23–25), there is unfortunately no record concerning where they were found on the skeletons, and though they are listed in the field notes as bracelets, it is not clear if they were on wrists or ankles.

At nearby Dinkha Tepe plain anklets were found in both the Iron I and II periods (Muscarella 1974b, 37, fig. 2; 42f., fig. 7; 44f., figs. 10, 11; 64, fig. 34 right; 84f.); their diameters range from about 7 to 10 centimeters. Anklets were also found in situ on skeletons in Iron Age burials at Haftavan, to the north of Hasanlu (Burney 1972, 134ff., figs. 8, 9, pls. IIIA, IVC), and in Luristan at War Kabud (vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 37c).

28. Sheet-Metal Ring

60.20.7; Hasanlu 59–99; Cemetery, VI A, Burial 10;
Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1960

Bronze; length 2.8 cm

ON THIS sheet-metal ring with an oval face, the band at the rear is now missing. Aurel Stein (1940, 398, pl. XXV:2) found three similar rings in a Period IV burial at Hasanlu; all were iron and one was found on a toe. The ring here was found on the left forefinger of a skeleton (see also Nos. 29 and 30). Lobed rings of bronze, with scenes on the face, have been excavated at Surkh Dum in Luristan (Nos. 210, 211).

29. Finger Rings

60.20.8; Hasanlu 59–103b; Cemetery, VI A, Burial 10;
Period IV

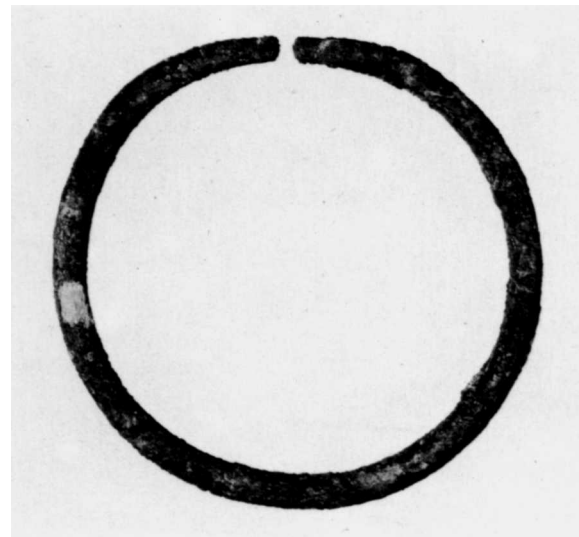
Rogers Fund, 1960

Bronze; height of group 2.2 cm

THESE PLAIN loop rings were found on a finger of a skeleton in a burial and demonstrate that multiple rings could be worn on one finger (see also Nos. 28 and 30).



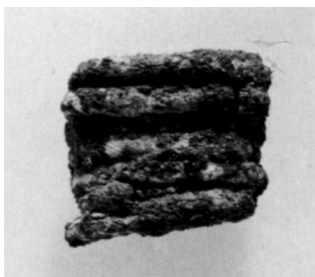
26



27



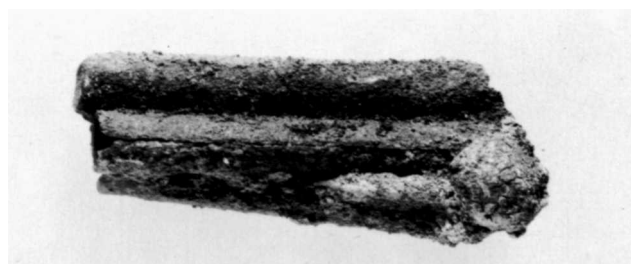
28



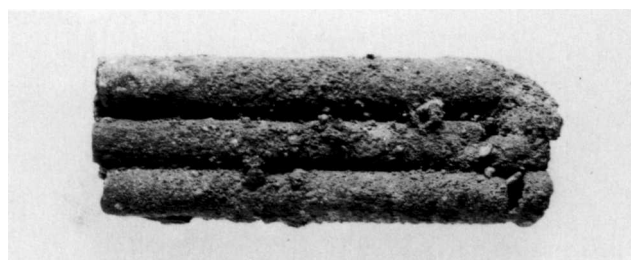
29



30a



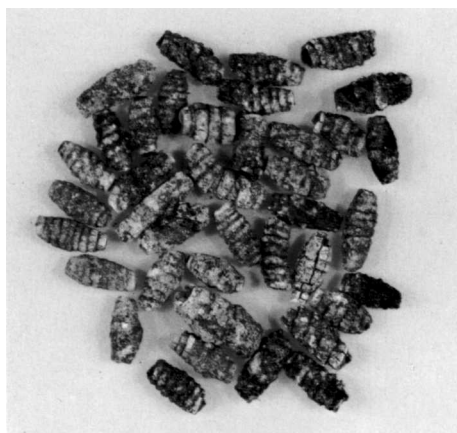
30b



30c



30d, e, f



31

Loop rings of iron and bronze were fairly common at Hasanlu and also at nearby Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974b, figs. 6, 26, 36, 45, 48, 52), some of which were found as multiples on one finger.

30. Headdress Ornaments

60.20.9a-f; Hasanlu 59-III; Cemetery, VI A, Burial 10; Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1960

Bronze; length of tubes 6.2 to 6.7 cm

CORRODED together are three units of five, three, and three hollow tubes, and thin rings and buttons. They are part of a headdress consisting of many such elements that was found in situ under a skull in a burial (see Nos. 28, 29).

The use of hollow bronze tubes as items of adornment is further indicated at Hasanlu in the ninth century B.C. by a group of iron and bronze examples with rings found together with an iron plaque on the chest of a skeleton excavated by Aurel Stein (1940, 398, pl. xxv:5, 29; cf. No. 61). For other tubes of bronze from Hasanlu, apparently not jewelry, see Nos. 128, 129. Note also that tubes of exactly the same form as the present examples were found at Hasanlu where they were part of a horse's headdress decoration (Winter 1980, figs. 4, 15).

31. Necklace

60.20.25; Hasanlu 59-370; "Bead House"; Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1960

Bronze; length of beads 1 to 1.3 cm

32. Necklace

61.100.110; Hasanlu 60-813; BB II Room 5; Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961

Bronze, bone (?), carnelian; reconstructed necklace

33. Necklace

61.100.129; Hasanlu 60-724; BB II Room 14 or 15; Period IV

Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961

Bronze; diameter of rings 3.2 to 5.4 cm

NO. 31 was found in the two-room so-called Bead House, where many beads were found (Dyson 1960c, 4, 8); the other two necklaces come from Burned Building II, where thousands of beads of various shapes and materials were also found scattered about. No. 31 consists of small spool-shaped incised beads; No. 32 of beads of the same type as No. 31 as well as small tubes, studs, disks, small bone (or paste?) beads, and two small car-

nelian beads; No. 33 is of flattened rings with the ends overlapping and pressed together. It is not certain whether the latter comprises a necklace; I can think of no other interpretation except the overused term horse trapping.

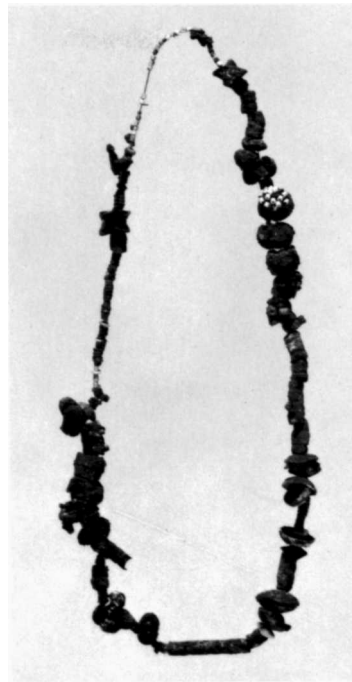
Necklaces with bronze elements are not uncommon in Iran (viz. Ghirshman 1938–39, pls. XLI:500, LVI:821, LIX: 646, XCV:1–3; vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 38; vanden Berghe 1977a, 62). Although it may be assumed that beads were used primarily for human decoration, at least one horse head apparatus unit discovered at Hasanlu contained a group of frit examples similar in shape to the present examples. In this case they were surely used as a collar decoration or necklace for a horse, perhaps in the same manner as the modern donkey beads of the Near East (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 65, 67, fig. 8a, b; Negahban 1964, 16, n. 16).

34. Tassel/Dangle

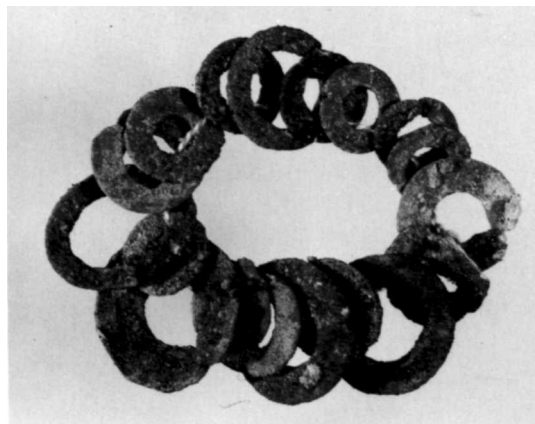
61.100.48; Hasanlu 60–426; West Portico of BB IV West; Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; length 7.6 cm

THIS OBJECT is formed from coils and it tapers slightly from top to bottom; the top coil is extended to form a loop. The opening is narrow, which seems to obviate the interpretation that the object is a small container, even though it is hollow. Rather, it seems to have been used as a tassel or dangle, as a piece of decoration for either man or animal. What appear to be exact duplicates to this piece were excavated at Haftavan, north of Hasanlu, on the Urartian citadel, and called tassels (Burney 1972, pl. viii; see also Burney 1970, 168, figs. 7, 8:4, pl. ivc). The object might also be an earring (cf. vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 37b). A coiled object, but without a loop, was excavated in a tomb at Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974b, fig. 45:1002).



32



33

35. Straight Pin

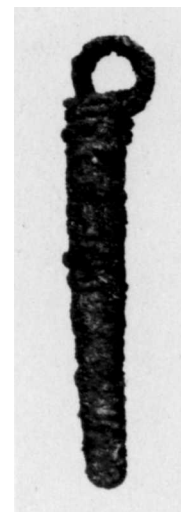
60.20.14; Hasanlu 59–152; Cemetery, VI A, Burial 19; Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; length 23.3 cm

36–38. Straight Pins

61.100.43, 45, 46; Hasanlu 60–663, 896, 878; BB II Room 5; Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; lengths 4.5, 17.2, 19.3 cm



34



35



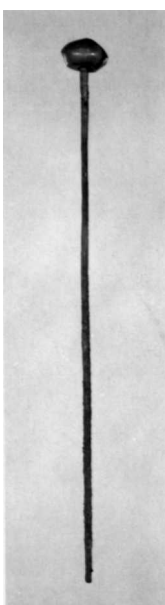
36



37



38



39

39. Straight Pin

63.109.8; Hasanlu 62–1002; BB III; Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1963

Bronze, carnelian; length 22.8 cm

IN ADDITION to the unique and elaborate zoomorphic animal and lion pins (see Nos. 42–50), a large number of straight pins, most with cast geometric heads, have been recovered from Hasanlu, from both the citadel and the cemetery. Their head types vary considerably: round domes, rectangles of various sizes, lozenges, cones, egg shapes, simple clubs; in all examples except the clubs, beading, grooves, or ridges decorate the area just below the top; a few pins are pierced to facilitate fastening. The five examples illustrated here represent some of the Hasanlu types, types found also at other sites: No. 35, a dome over a bead and reels (see Talish: de Morgan 1896, fig. 100:7); No. 36, a dome over three ridges (see Dinkha Tepe: Muscarella 1974b, figs. 6, 21, 48, 52); No. 37, a needle pin (see Dinkha Tepe: Muscarella 1974b, fig. 45; Bard-i Bal: vanden Berghe 1973a, pl. xxii:1a; Boğazköy: Boehmer 1972, 80, nos. 327–39); No. 38, a plain, flat club head (see Sialk: Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xciii:178 5a, f; Bard-i Bal: vanden Berghe 1973a, pl. xxii:2a, b; Dinkha Tepe: Muscarella 1974b, figs. 6, 7; Sarab Bagh: vanden Berghe 1973d, 36); No. 39, a pin topped by a spherical carnelian bead.

In his extensive review of pin types, Moorey (1971a, 172ff.) has discussed the variety of knobbed pins reported from Iran and noted that in quantity they are more ubiquitous than any other bronze artifact—even if we accept only half of the dealers' attributions. They are documented from the earliest periods of metallurgy, but they increased in quantity during the late second millennium B.C.; the majority seem to come from the early first millennium. Pins were used as hair and clothing fasteners, but in many cases it is not possible to tell how a given example was used even when it was recovered in situ in a grave, especially if it is found by the shoulders or neck (viz. de Morgan 1896, figs. 38, 46; Muscarella 1974b, 43, 46, 61; Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xlii; Burney 1972, 136, figs. 8, 9 top). When the pin was found with cloth or on the chest we may conclude that it was used to fasten clothing (viz. Muscarella 1974b, 65, 67; Ghirshman 1938–39, pls. lxx, lxxix; Burney 1972, 137, fig. 9; cf. Burney 1970, 168, fig. 7, on the head). That many pins were indeed used as clothing fasteners is indirectly indicated by the decrease in their number in the seventh century B.C., when fibulae came into common use (see Nos. 52, 53, 317, 318; Moorey 1971a, 174; vanden Berghe 1978, 48, no. 9; cf. also the decrease in numbers of pins from the Hittite to the Phrygian periods at Boğazköy, when fibulae become

prevalent: Boehmer 1972, 86ff.). On clothing pins could be worn with the points up (Porada 1965, 88, 101, fig. 60; Amiet 1966, fig. 245B; Moorey 1971a, 73) or down, or sideways (*Syria* 39 [1962], pls. xi, xii; Calmeyer 1964a, 17, fig. 1).

Moorey has also discussed the possibility that pins were placed in mounts to secure finials (see also Porada 1964a, 22f.), but to date no such use has been documented from excavations; and in the one case where a finial was excavated with its mount, at Bard-i Bal, no pin was present (vanden Berghe 1973a, pl. xxiii:1; see the discussion of Luristan finials below).

40. Pendant

61.100.55; Hasanlu 60–805; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; length 2.8 cm

THIS SMALL, cast object is deceptively simple in that curves rather than decoration and body details identify it as a bird. The slightly beaked head, perhaps indicating that it is a bird of prey, curves down to a flat body and then upward to form the tail; short wings extend obliquely from the base of the neck and the flat part of the body is pierced through. If the bird was used as a pendant, the head would have pointed either up or down; if it was attached to another object by a pin or rivet, it would have rested flat in its natural position.

This bird is distinguished from the fairly common bird pendants associated with Luristan bronzes primarily by style, but also because it lacks feet and has no suspension loop on its back (cf. A. Godard 1931, pl. xxx, esp. A, C, D, E; Moorey 1971a, nos. 414–16—nos. 417 and 418 have flat bases but are a different type than the one here; see also an example from Surkh Dum, No. 213). A bronze bird pendant said to come from Khurvin (vanden Berghe 1964, pl. XLVII:346) has a flat base that is pierced through the back, but again it is not the same as ours in form and style.

41. Fish Amulet

61.100.42; Hasanlu 60–627; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; length 7.1 cm

THE FISH is cast solid with a loop at its nose to which is attached a chain; a rectangular depression exists in the belly. Fins and gills are depicted in the round and the eyes in relief. It was found juxtaposed to No. 60 next to the same crushed skeleton.



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Apparently this fish was worn on the neck as an amulet. Perhaps its function was more than merely decorative for we know that since earliest times fish have been connected with many deities, in particular, however, with the god of water Enki-Ea. They are commonly represented in art and discussed in texts as items of sacrifice (Van Buren 1948). While I know of no exact parallels to this amulet, fish amulets of other materials have been excavated in third-millennium B.C. levels at Uruk and Khafaje (Heinrich 1936, 26, pl. XIII:W1460d; Frankfort 1936, 38, fig. 30), and in the second millennium B.C. at Tchoga Zanbil (de Mecquenem and Michalon 1953, 46, fig. 10:1–6); and a paste or stone fish was one of the elements on a necklace excavated at Susa (de Mecquenem 1922, 135, pl. VIII:1). A gold fish is associated with the Oxus Treasure, and Dalton (1926/1964, 7, no. 16) makes the interesting observation that fish may have been regarded as a charm.

Hasanlu is situated close to the shores of Lake Urmia/Rezaieyeh, a salt lake in which no fish live. It would seem, therefore, that the idea of a fish amulet, perhaps even the amulet itself, derived from another area. At the same time it should be recalled that chains were fairly common at Hasanlu, particularly attached to lion pins (Nos. 42–50), and to rings, and disks. Chains are also known in the Iron Age from nearby Dinkha Tepe, where they may have been attached to straight pins (Muscarella 1974b, 80), and from Haftavan Tepe, where they were attached to straight pins (Burney 1970, 166, 168, fig. 7 middle and top, pl. ivb, c). Thus it is possible that this amulet and its chain may have been made locally or nearby.



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42–47. Lion Pins

61.100.10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15; Hasanlu 60–983, 980, 537, 561, 563, 560; BB II Room 5, Gateway area; Period IV Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961 Bronze and iron;¹ preserved lengths 9.5, 12.7, 7.1, 7.1, 5.5, 8.9 cm

48, 49. Lion Pins

63.109.5, 6; Hasanlu 62–415, 289; BB II Room 5, Gateway area; Period IV Rogers Fund, 1963 Bronze and iron; preserved lengths 7.8, 6.4 cm

50. Lion Pin

1976.233.40; Hasanlu 70–480; BB II Room 5, Gateway area; Period IV The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976 Bronze and iron; preserved length 6.5 cm

ONE OF the most characteristic artifacts excavated at Hasanlu is the so-called lion pin. Over sixty have been excavated, most in Burned Building II where they are associated, in groups of one, two, or three, with the many skeletons of individuals killed within the building at the time of its destruction (Dyson 1960a, 132, fig. 3; Dyson 1964a, 372, 374, figs. 9, 10; Dyson 1965, 200, n. 14, fig. 6B; Dyson 1967, pl. 1486c; Dyson 1968, 90, figs. 123, 124; Porada 1965, 166, fig. 67 and pl. 29; Porada 1975, pl. 310c; Pleiner 1969a, fig. 5:1–2; Crawford 1961, 93f. fig. 10; Bunker 1970, no. 8). A few came from the Corridor Building, Burned Building IV–V; one example (No. 50, very corroded) was found in the Upper Gateway on the west slope of the citadel (for examples found in early excavations, see Stein 1940, 396, pl. xxv:1; vanden Berghe 1959, 116, pl. 147d, e; Barnett 1956, 114, fig. 2). In one instance in Burned Building II, Room 5 (Fig. 5), three pins were found on a skeleton; they were at the chest and shoulders with the pin pointed up. Of interest are two facts: that the pins were worn on the very day of the city's destruction, whether accidentally or purposely is not known, and that none were recovered in any of the many graves excavated at Hasanlu.

Each pin consists of a solid bronze recumbent lion with the front legs extended and joined at the rear to an iron pin by the "casting on" technique (see No. 51); in some cases the end of the pin is visible within the

body of the lion when it is viewed from below. A bronze chain attached to a loop created by a curve in the tail held the pin securely to the garment, which, to judge from the thickness of the pin, was probably made of wool. The lions vary in size and weight as well as in details in body decoration. All lions have in common the recumbent position, the outlined and plastic front and rear thighs, a square head with eyes, ears, nose "warts," mane, and a hair knot at the rear of the head depicted by pellets or raised bands, and a gaping mouth with depicted by pellets or raised bands, and a gaping mouth with a curved tongue projecting through four large fangs. In general, one may say that the lions exhibit a stylized and geometric plastic appearance and that each was made in a separate mold.

Differences exist in the ways the mane is represented at the neck and back, shown variously as pellets or bands of herringbone pattern, in the shape and size of the head, and apparently in the manner in which the tail is rendered. In the majority of examples the tail projects out as a loop—to hold the chain—then curves back under either the right or the left thigh where it appears in relief, except for the tip, which projects above the body. In a few instances it seems that the tails do not curve under the thighs. Further, while some examples have a plain body, others have incised decoration on the sides and legs. This decoration consists of dotted triangles separated by vertical zones with herringbone patterns (Dyson 1964a, 374, fig. 9); none of the Metropolitan Museum examples has this decoration.

To date the lion pins of the type discussed here have been excavated only at Hasanlu, and there can be no doubt that they were manufactured there (cf. an early stray example at one time in the Brummer collection without provenience—but probably from Hasanlu: Casson 1938/1964, pl. 107D, on p. 357 it is said to come from Salmas, near Lake Van; see also sale catalogues, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 30 March 1981, 9 P.M., no. 43, and 7 July 1981, no. 34; Moorey 1981, nos. 322–23;² Ishiguro 1976, 96f., no. 107:B, which is Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1983, no. III:19). Reinforcing this conclusion is the fact that in addition to both the exclusive provenience of the pins and their quantity at Hasanlu, there is a fine stylistic parallel at Hasanlu in another medium. This consists of a locally made ivory lion in the round upon which stands a deity and which exhibits stylistic features matched on the lion pins: recumbent body position, the placing of the tail between the thighs, front and rear legs in relief, the former decorated, and a gaping mouth with large fangs, albeit without the protruding tongue (Muscarella 1966, 126, fig. 7; Muscarella 1980a, no. 92; cf. also Nos. 1, 51).

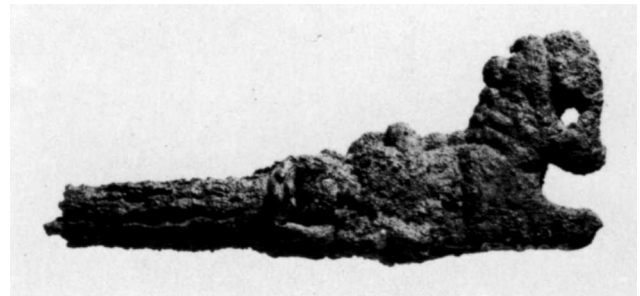
Pins with bronze shafts and separately made gold lion-head terminals have been excavated at Marlik (Negahban



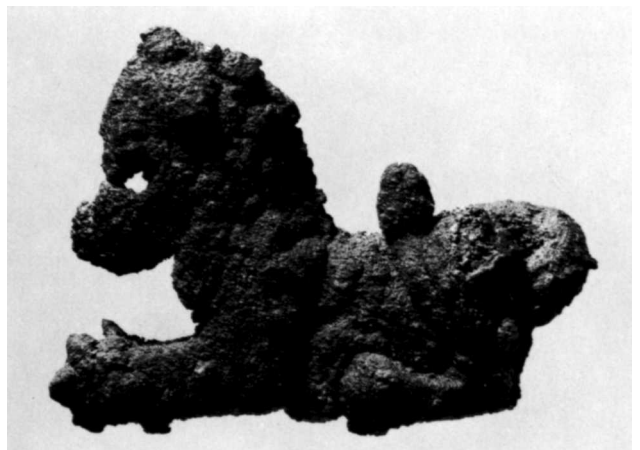
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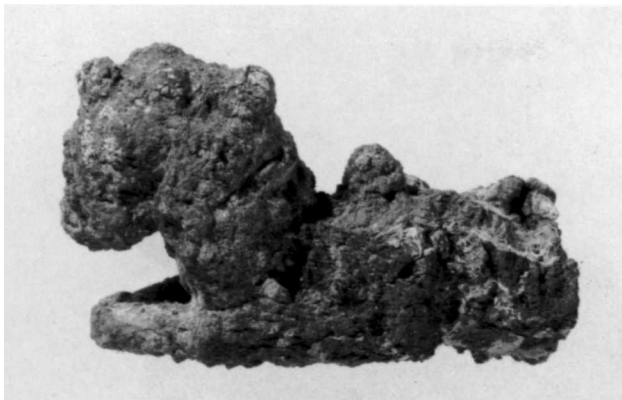
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FIG. 5. Skeleton with lion pins in situ, Burned Building II, Central Hall (Room 5). Two pins are visible, and a third was found while the skeleton was being cleaned.

1964, 50, fig. 85, Tomb 32), apparently of contemporary or slightly earlier date than the pins from Hasanlu, and similarly made bronze pins, as well as those with goat heads cast in one piece, occur at Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xxix:1) of contemporary or slightly later date. These pins, however, do not depict the complete body, only the head. But pins with the full body of the animal at the terminal occur very extensively to the south of Hasanlu, in western Iran and Luristan. To speak first to the excavated examples: vanden Berghe (1973c, 19, 21) excavated at Kutal-i Gulgul in Luristan bronze pins with heads in the form of resting ducks, dating to about 1000 B.C. The very same pin type was excavated at Surkh Dum by E. Schmidt (see No. 203) and others have been reported from clandestine digs in Luristan (viz. Moorey 1971a, 193f., nos. 314, 315; Potratz 1968, 36, pl. xxiv, fig. 140). But closer to the Hasanlu lion pins in form and concept are the bone couchant animals (apparently winged horses) joined to bronze pins excavated at Surkh Dum (Muscarella 1981b, 347f., no. 26; van Loon 1967, 24). As van Loon noted, these pins—called by him lion pins—are related to the Hasanlu lion pins and share the same tradition.

Publications of the many Luristan bronzes that derive from the art market invariably illustrate pins with bronze couchant animal terminals joined to iron pins, which are thus the same in form and technique as those from Hasanlu (viz. Nos. 281–283; Moorey 1971a, 196f., nos. 324–26; Legrain 1934, pl. vi:20; Potratz 1968, pl. xxv). And many other pins that are claimed to come from western Iran and Luristan, which depict animals, birds, and mixed creatures of typical Luristan style, continue this tradition; one example of this type has been excavated at Baba Jan (Goff Meade 1968, 129, fig. 12; cf. also Moorey 1971a, pls. 51–54; Amiet 1976, nos. 162–65, 169—a duplicate of the Baba Jan example, 170, 173, 174; Nagel 1963, nos. 52, 53, also duplicates of the Baba Jan example [see below, “Animal Finials . . .,” note 1]). Thus, there can be no doubt that the Luristan lion and animal pins represent a significant relationship between northwestern Iran and Luristan (cf. Moorey 1969, 137). Equally formally related to the Hasanlu lion pins are the stray bronze examples cast in one piece that are claimed for Luristan but are not stylistically certified as deriving from there (A. Godard 1931, pl. xxiii:136; Amiet 1976, no. 163; Brown 1960, 132); they may well derive from somewhere else in western Iran.

Another parallel of importance exists on a fragmentary bronze belt in the Cinquantenaire museum in Brussels published by Moorey (1967, pl. 1d). The belt is decorated with a frieze of recumbent horned animals, which are like Hasanlu lion pins in the position of their bodies and in their decoration with patterns, one con-

sisting of dotted triangles and vertical strips exactly as those on some of the Hasanlu lion pins. Whence this belt derived is unfortunately not known, but that it was made in Iran is certain; equally certain is its close decorative connection to the tradition of the Hasanlu lion pins.

Less easy to document is the possible relationship between the Hasanlu lion pins and examples allegedly from Urartu. In 1936 the Erevan museum received a bronze statuette said to have been found at Darabey near Van in 1907. This statuette of a seated lady wears on her chest, according to van Loon (1966, 127), a daggerlike pin “stuck vertically through two layers of material” with a recumbent lion placed at right angles to the pin. Piotrovskii (1967, 51f., fig. 33), however, described the same object as a “pendant in the form of a miniature dagger topped by a tiny figure of a recumbent lion” (cf. No. 303). It is not clear from the published drawings or photographs which description is correct, but if it is a pin it is probable that it is related to the Hasanlu examples, even though the latter always have the pin and lion in the same horizontal plane. Another putative example of a Urartian lion pin, but an object also called two different things by two scholars, is a silver-gilt recumbent lion attached to a long, slightly curved silver shank from Karmir Blur (Piotrovskii 1967, 54f., fig. 36). Piotrovskii calls it a necklace fragment; van Loon (1966, 127) calls it a lion pin. The tip of the object is flattened, which does not suggest that it is the tip of a pin, so perhaps Piotrovskii is correct.³

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

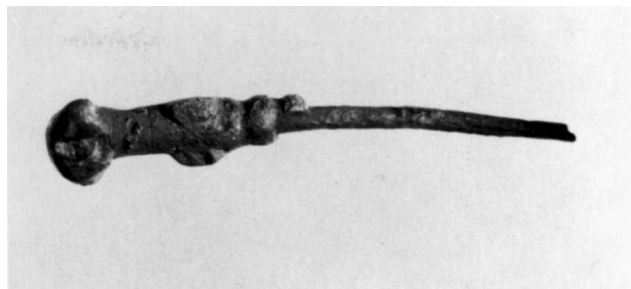
No. 42: Crawford 1961, 94, fig. 10; Crawford 1965, 216, fig. 9; Crawford et al. 1966, fig. 40; Porada 1975, 393f., fig. 310c; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 38, no. 50.

NOTES

1. No. 42: Cu: major, Sn: ca. 10%, Pb: ca. 0.5%, Zn: not detected. No. 43: Cu: major, Sn: ca. 10%, Pb: ca. 0.5%, Zn: ca. 3%—probably a natural or accidental addition: see Nos. 194, 444, 575. No. 43 (1986): Cu: 89.9%, Sn: 9.26%, Pb: .102%, Zn: .019%.

2. The Brummer lion just cited was sold at auction (Parke-Bernet, New York, 20–23 April 1949, pt. 1, no. 77) to Heeramanek, and it may be one of the two examples in Los Angeles (published without illustrations in Moorey 1981). Note that the Brummer pin was also published by Pope 1945, 18, pl. 21B, and attributed to northwestern Iran.

3. Brown 1960, 132, pl. XLVIII, d, publishes two lion pins, i.e., pins with a long shank terminating in recumbent lions. Both are in museums and are without provenience, but Brown considers them to be Etruscan. He is aware of Iranian parallels but considers it unlikely that there is a “direct connection” between the two groups. If the two pins are Etruscan, it might be better to keep open the question of origin, rather than assume there could be no relationship.



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51. Zoomorphic Pin

61.100.47; Hasanlu 60–878; BB II Room 14 or 15; Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; length 6.8 cm

THIS PIN is constructed from two parts. The head apparently consists of a poorly modeled recumbent animal of unidentifiable species; eyes, mouth, ears, horns, and tail are not evident; the base is ridged. This unit was either cast onto a bronze shank, the pin, or the pin was inserted into a hollow in the head. If the former, then this pin is made in the same manner as the better-known Hasanlu lion pins (see Nos. 42–50), although in this example both units were made from the same material. In spite of the uniformity of metal for the two units and a different style animal head, one with little articulation of details, the present pin fits into the Hasanlu repertory by both provenience and technology (see No. 357).

52. Fibula

65.163.55; Hasanlu 64–124; CC31, Burial 1; Period II(?)
Rogers Fund, 1965
Bronze; length 4.5 cm

THE TRIANGULAR arc has on each arm two flattened beads flanked by ribs. The catch, cast with the arc, is shaped in the form of a human hand; the pin is coiled to form a spring for tension and is inserted into the end of the arc.

This fibula was recovered from a cist tomb set into the burned fill of the destroyed Burned Building II, in the southeast corner. Two skeletons were in the tomb, both wearing fibulae: skeleton A had on one shoulder a fibula like the present example except that it lacked ribbing, and on the other shoulder a plain example with its pin tied to the arc in the form of a hinge (cf. No. 53). The latter example was attached to a long bronze chain, a feature found on other fibulae from various areas in the Near East (viz. Mallowan 1966, 114, fig. 58; vanden Berghe 1968b, fig. 10:5; vanden Berghe 1978, 51f., figs.

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4:11, 12, 6:12, 9, 10:10, 11; Ghirshman 1970, fig. 4; Moorey 1981, fig. 14; Calmeyer 1974a, figs. 15, 17). Skeleton B had the present fibula on its left shoulder. The cist tomb was apparently deposited in Period II, the dating of which is still not fully comprehended; it is assumed that it belongs either to the late Achaemenian or to a post-Achaemenian period (Dyson 1977b, 548f.).

The present fibula is one of the longest lived and most widely dispersed types known in the Near East. In typology it belongs to Blinkenberg's Type XIII, 12 (1926, 243ff.) and Stronach's Near Eastern Type III, 7 (1959, 196ff.); it is but one of a number of similar shaped fibulae that collectively form a group. Examples of these Near Eastern fibulae have been excavated at many sites from Syria in the west to western Iran in the east (see Nos. 317, 318, 502), dating to a time not preceding the late eighth century B.C. and continuing with little or no variation in details and form into the Achaemenian and later periods (Stronach 1959, 181, 185, 193ff.; vanden Berghe 1978). And the occurrence of fibulae at Hasanlu reinforces the chronological evidence obtained elsewhere: no fibulae were found either in the Period IV settlement (where hundreds of skeletons of those killed in the destruction were recovered) or in the contemporary cemetery, that is up to about 800 B.C.; they first appear in the Period III settlement, in the Iron III period.¹

In Iran fibulae very similar to our example have been excavated at the Iron Age III sites of Godin Tepe, Bisitun, and Hasanlu (others still unpublished); related examples have been excavated at Zendān, Susa, and Nush-i Jan (see No. 317); in Luristan they have been excavated at the Iron Age III sites of War Kabud, Sar Kabud, Cham Sul Mumah, Ban Kulkan, and Garachahgah (for a survey of all the fibulae excavated in Iran see vanden Berghe 1978, 49ff., figs. 9–11;² add Bastam: Kroll in Kleiss 1979, 153, 171f., figs. 3:8, 10:9, 11:3; and Marlik).³ The closest parallels within Iran for the present Hasanlu fibula are examples from War Kabud and Cham Sul Mumah (vanden Berghe 1978, fig. 9:2, 13, pls. I, III, n. 6); an exact parallel occurs at seventh-century Nimrud (Stronach 1959, fig. 9:2; cf. pl. I:9). The fibulae from all these sites are at least a century or more earlier in date than

the Hasanlu Period II example, indicating the conservative form of the Near Eastern fibula. Unexcavated fibulae have also been attributed to Iran or Luristan but without verification (viz. Stronach 1959, 186, 189, 192, 197, 200; Calmeyer 1969a, 98f., fig. 99; Calmeyer 1974a, 115f.; see No. 502).⁴

Fibulae, or safety pins, had an obvious secular function, serving to fasten clothing; before they came into use straight pins were used for this function (see Nos. 35–39). Further, on the basis of their variety in form in many areas of the ancient world, it seems that they also were worn as jewelry. However, in the ancient Near East fibulae also had a spiritual property associated with apotropaic and votive values, serving as amulets against evil spirits or as religiously charged gifts to the gods (Muscarella 1967b, 85f.; Ghirshman 1970, 121ff.; Calmeyer 1974a, 115f.). As such, these apparently simple objects had a cultural significance that surpassed their original utilitarian use.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1966, 135, fig. 38; vanden Berghe 1978, 56, 59, fig. 11:8.

NOTES

1. In "Fibulae and Chronology, Marlik and Assur," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 11 (1984), 413ff., I review the chronology of fibulae in the Near East, reinforcing the long-held conclusion that their advent there occurred sometime in the late eighth century B.C. The article was written in part to confront the conclusions of Sørensen and Renger (1982) that *Grufte* 30 at Assur, which inter alia contained a fibula, was closed in the early ninth century B.C. (see also Muscarella 1982b, 8).

In an earlier publication Maxwell-Hyslop (1971, 261) refers incorrectly to a "Mid-Assyrian" tomb at Mari that contained a fibula, which indicates to her that fibulae "from Luristan could therefore be as early as the twelfth century B.C." The tomb, however, is neo-Assyrian, and the fibula is cited as such by Stronach (1959, 189). In this context note that vanden Berghe (1978) has painstakingly documented that no fibula occurs in Luristan, or elsewhere in Iran, before the late eighth century B.C. (see also Muscarella 1965).

2. A Near Eastern fibula with a typical hand catch is represented on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis (Delegation IX); cf. especially examples with ribbed arcs from Susa (vanden Berghe 1978, 56, fig. 11:25–27). I have noted elsewhere (Muscarella 1967b, 83; *JNES* 28, 4 [1969], 283) that the fibula is not Cappadocian/Phrygian (see Nos. 570–574), and therefore the *Volk* represented are not necessarily Anatolians, as others had claimed. Calmeyer (1974a, 115; 1985, 130f.) and M. Roaf (in *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4 [1974], 102, 125, 129) still prefer to call Delegation IX Cappadocians; so does B. Jacobs (*Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 13/14 [1982], 82ff.), who is unaware of the distinct differences among the various groups and types of fibulae; vanden Berghe (1978, 64, n. 55) refers to Delegation IX as "(les Cappadociens?)."

3. In the article in the *Journal of Field Archaeology* mentioned above in note 1, I also discuss a fibula from Tomb 36 at Marlik. While no other tomb at Marlik contained a fibula, there can be no doubt that Tomb 36 was deposited not earlier than the late eighth century B.C., and possibly later, i.e., in the Iranian Iron Age III period. There is no evidence indicated that a secondary burial is involved.

4. Note that no fibulae were excavated in the Sialk B cemetery. Ghirshman (1938–39, 76) specifically stated that “La fibule est inconnue à Sialk. . . .” In Ghirshman 1964 (279) the statement is repeated, but in the same paragraph he conflated fibulae and trilobate arrowheads in the statement that they—meaning only the latter—were found outside the tombs. This conflation apparently misled Moorey (1971a, 174) into thinking fibulae were found at Sialk; vanden Berghe (1978, 61), unsure, stated, “[Ghirshman] en aurait trouvées près des tombes. . . .” The lack of fibulae at Sialk B may indicate that the cemetery predates the seventh century B.C. (if not the late eighth), but we still have to deal with the arrowheads, albeit found outside the tombs.

53. Fibula

65.163.56; Hasanlu 64–7; Citadel area, w18–19, Burial 3;
Period IIIA or B
Rogers Fund, 1965
Bronze;¹ length 2.5 cm

THE ARC is flat and disk-shaped with two arms curving down, one of which is bent up to form the catch; the pin is tied to the other arm in the form of a knot and there is no spring.

This type of fibula is distinguished by its hinge from the more typical and better-known types that have springs to create tension (see Nos. 52, 317, 481, 482, 502). This example was excavated together with two other hinged fibulae of the same type in a tomb dated to Period IIIA or B recovered in fill over the Period IV gateway and west of the Period III city wall in the western area of the mound. Their date cannot be earlier than the seventh century B.C.

Hinged fibulae with a thick bow-shaped arc have been excavated in the Caucasus; in Urartu (at Karmir Blur, Adilcevaz, Bastam, and Çavuştepe); and at Hasanlu, several of which remain unpublished (Muscarella 1965, 233ff., 238f., pls. 57, 58; Ögün 1978, 63, figs. 15, 20; Kroll in Kleiss 1979, 153, 171f., figs. 3:8, 10:9, 11:3; vanden Berghe 1978, 67ff.). Other Urartian fibulae, apparently strays, both hinged and with a spring, have been published by Ögün, who dates them not earlier than the late eighth century B.C. (Ögün 1979, 178, 187). Such hinged fibulae had a long life, as is indicated by an example from Ghalekuti I in the southwest Caspian region, from Tomb 5, apparently dated to the late Achaemenian or Parthian period (Sono and Fukai 1968, pl. LXXXV:10; 11–13 have flat arcs). There is another site where hinged fibulae of this type may be represented, although not for certain. On the fifth-century B.C. Throne Hall at Persepolis, two throne bearers are depicted wearing fibulae with thick arcs, neither showing a spring (Schmidt 1953, pls. 108, 109, 112, w5, w12; Muscarella 1967b, 83). Inasmuch as other fibulae depicted on the Apadana at Persepolis definitely have springs depicted (Schmidt 1953, pl. 35A, B), it is not impossible that the Throne Hall



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examples are meant to represent hinged types (it is also not clear whether pl. 35A of Schmidt 1953 has a spring or a hinge).

Hinged fibulae with a flat disk arc, like the present example, may have the same chronological and geographical range as those examples with thick arcs. A number (including the present example) come from Hasanlu Period III; similar types have also been excavated at Ghalekuti I from Tomb 5 (see above); and two examples from Tomadjan (Samadi 1959a, fig. 30n; Samadi 1959b, 188, 192, fig. 24m) may date to the late eighth or seventh century B.C. In Muscarella 1965 (234) I tentatively, and anticipatively, dated the latter fibulae too early (see vanden Berghe 1978, 69, and Hori 1981, 52, 58, n. 4; cf. Medvedskaya 1982, 75). Hinged fibulae of gold and silver have been published as deriving from Ziwiye, but in fact we do not know if this attribution is correct (Muscarella 1977c). Wherever they derive, these fibulae have forms that may stylistically be dated to the seventh century B.C. (viz. Wilkinson 1960a, pl. xxx:3).

To date, there is no evidence to assume that hinged fibulae were employed west of Iran and the Urartian and Caucasus areas, nor that they were known south of northwestern Iran (vanden Berghe 1978, 67ff.; see No. 502, note 1).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1966, 135, fig. 37; vanden Berghe 1978, 56, 59f., fig. 11:9.

NOTE

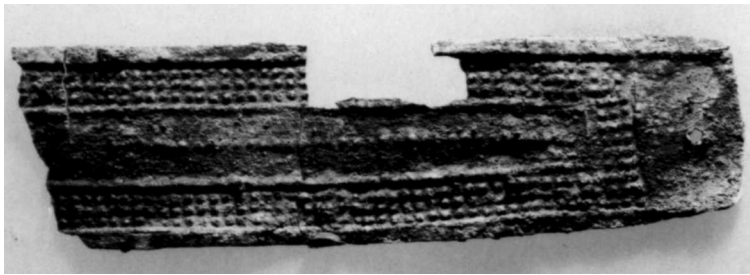
1. Cu: 90.1%, Sn: 8.65%, Pb: 1.0%, Zn: .006% (1986).

54. Belt Fragments

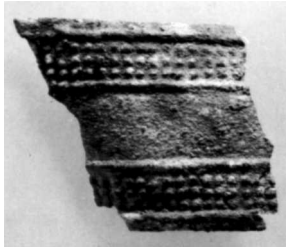
60.20.21a–d; Hasanlu 59–262; Cemetery LI E, Burial 5;
Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; width 5.7 cm, thickness .2 cm, preserved length 38.8 cm

55. Belt Fragments

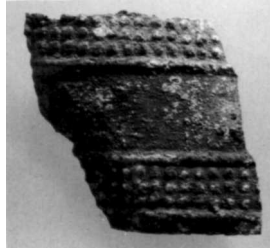
61.100.33a–f; Hasanlu 60–746; BB II Room 15;
Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; width 8.9–9.2 cm, thickness .2 cm, preserved length 50.5 cm



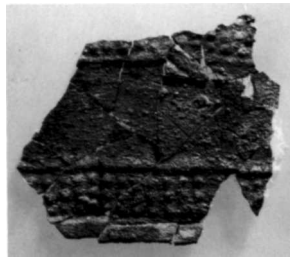
54a



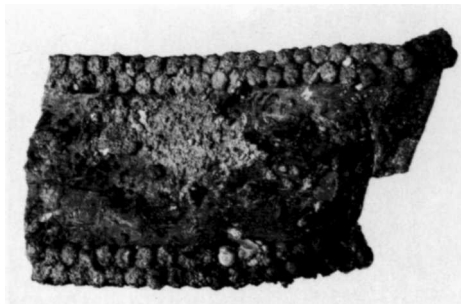
54b



54c



54d



55a, b



55c

56. Belt Fragment

61.100.35; Hasanlu 60-764; BB II Room 15; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze and iron; width 7.9 cm, thickness .2 cm, pre-
served length 8 cm

57. Belt Fragment

61.100.36; Hasanlu 60-797; BB II Room 14; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze and iron; width 8.1 cm, thickness .3 cm, pre-
served length 13.2 cm

58. Belt Fragment

61.100.37; Hasanlu 60-868; BB II Room 14; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; width at spirals 6.5 cm, preserved length 7 cm

59. Belt Fragments

61.100.34a-d; Hasanlu 60-772; BB II Room 15;
Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; width 6 cm, thickness .2 cm, preserved length
35.3 cm

THE FOUR very thin fragments of No. 54 were found in a Period IV burial situated in the cemetery to the north of the citadel; all the other belts under review here derive from Burned Building II of the citadel. The narrow strip is rectangular with squared ends, and the decoration is simple: two horizontal zones at the upper and lower borders, and joined vertically at the ends, consist of embossed dots; a single horizontal row of dots exists at the one preserved end piece. The end is plain and pierced by a single hole that held a leather or cord fastening. Several belts from Burned Building II have the same repoussé dot decoration; one (60-767) has an iron buckle in the form of a double loop riveted to the end.

The use of repoussé dots as belt decoration has parallels in Urartu from a slightly later period (Piotrovskii 1959, 180 fig. 43, 242 fig. 82; Barnett 1963, 177, figs. 30, 31; Meyer 1965, figs. 133-35; Taşyürek 1975b, no. 17, fig. 28), East Greece (Boardman 1961-62, fig. 1; cf. Jantzen 1972, no. B34), and the Caucasus (de Morgan 1927, fig. 261). A belt from Ghalekuti in northwestern Iran seems to have repoussé dot decoration (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pl. LXXV:36), and another belt from Marlik (Negahban 1964, no. 55) is described as having bosses; the photograph is unclear so that it is not certain if the decoration is with studs (cf. Nos. 55-58) or repoussé dots. Repoussé fragments from Sialk B (Ghirshman 1938-39, pl. LV:824d) may also belong to a belt.

Stray examples of similarly decorated belts have been attributed to Urartu (Kendall 1977, 30, fig. 2; Muscarella

1981a, no. 152), or to Luristan (Moorey 1967, 86ff., pl. 1a–c; Moorey 1971a, 241ff., nos. 461–63; see Muscarella 1977a, nos. 48–50).

Six fragments of No. 55, including both ends, are preserved. This heavy belt is rectangular with squared ends that yield no indication of method of fastening. The decoration consists of a continuous series of studs or bosses in two rows along the borders; the strip is otherwise plain. The ends of the studs are hammered back on the reverse side, and it is probable that originally there was a leather or cloth backing; traces of what appear to be charcoal exist among the stud ends.

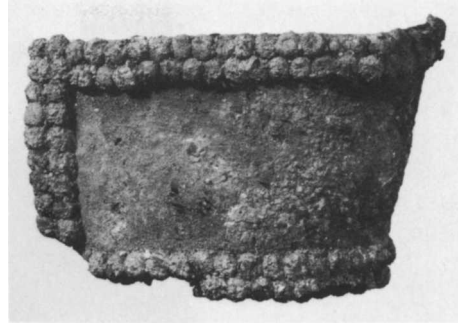
Fragments of similarly studded belts and plaques (see No. 61) were recovered from the same area of Burned Building II. Elaborate leather belts from the late eighth century B.C. Tumuli W and MM at Gordion in Anatolia were covered with a complex pattern of small studs (R. S. Young 1981, 147ff., figs. 94–96, pls. 73, 74; 207f., fig. 126, pl. 91).

The two fragments Nos. 56 and 57 are apparently from separate belts, and they are distinguished by having large hemispherical studs applied to the otherwise plain surface. On the basis of the position of the extant studs on No. 57 and those on another similar fragment from Burned Building II (60–756: part of our belt?), we can reconstruct the stud pattern as a rectangle, one at each corner, and one in the center; the latter stud is iron with a bronze nail at its center (exactly like 60–756). The buckle on the fragment No. 56 is of iron (also like 60–756) and is a simple horseshoe shape riveted at both ends to the surface.

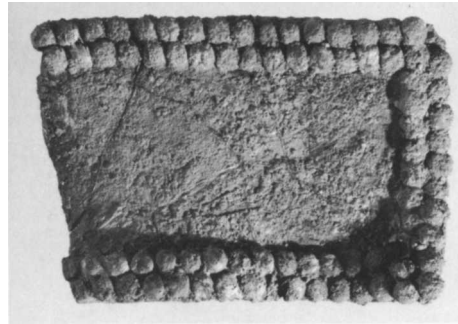
Like Nos. 55–57, the fragment No. 58 is also decorated with studs, in this case smaller ones than the latter two and in a different pattern from all three. Further distinguishing it is a buckle in the form of two tightly wound spirals with a stud at their juncture.

Several stray belts as well as pins and bracelets with double-spiral terminals have been attributed to Luristan, and Moorey (1967, 87, pl. 1a–c; 1971a, 243) and Calmeyer (1971, 692) believe that this feature is a characteristic of Luristan bronzes. However, given the evidence from Hasanlu plus the fact that such terminals occur also in the Caucasus (Moorey 1967, 87; 1971a, 243f.), one can not automatically make this assumption. A diadem (called a belt by Moorey 1971a, 243) with double-spiral terminals, and with its metal-wire tie in situ, is said to have come from Khurvin (vanden Berghe 1964, 28, 67, pl. xxxix:277), but this attribution can no longer be verified. Ghirshman (1964, fig. 22) published a belt with double-spiral terminals said by him to come from Khurvin.

No. 59, four fragments of which are preserved, is rectangular with slightly curved, tapering ends and is



55d, e



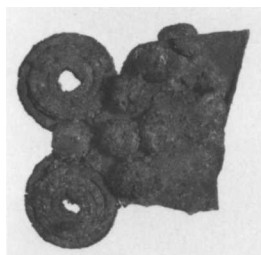
55f



56



57



58

without surface decoration. At each end is a double-loop buckle held by three rivets; presumably a leather or cord tie held the ends together.

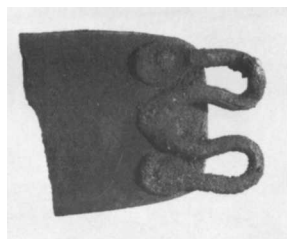
Belts, some probably metal, others cloth or leather, are represented in the art of the ancient Near East beginning in the fourth millennium B.C. and continue into the first millennium B.C.; they are worn by gods, kings, warriors, and ordinary men (for a summary of the history of belts in the Near East, see Moorey 1967, 83ff.; Moorey 1971a, 241ff.; Calmeyer 1971). Actual finds of metal belts are unknown from excavations until the second millennium B.C., when they occur at Jericho, Tell Far'ah in Jordan, Ras Shamra in the Levant, and Boğazköy in Anatolia (Moorey 1967; Boehmer 1972, 70ff.). In the first millennium B.C. they are very commonly represented in the art of many areas (viz. Kendall 1977, fig. 6), Iran, Assyria, North Syria, and Urartu, and at this time the number of examples increases dramatically. In Iran they occur at Hasanlu—some complete, others represented by fragments and by buckles—and at Marlik, and Ghalekuti; two examples come from Nimrud in Mesopotamia (Layard 1853, 180). Belts are worn by warriors depicted on the ivories from Hasanlu, but they are plain except for scalloped borders, which may be armor plates (Muscarella 1980a, 162).¹ Several come from Gordion and Boğazköy in Anatolia (R. S. Young 1981, 17ff., 147ff., 238ff., figs. 9–11, pls. 11, 12; Boehmer 1979, 7f.); and from Urartu there are hundreds of examples, both excavated and plundered (see Nos. 578, 579). Many also derive from the Caucasus (Moorey 1967, 85) and several have been excavated in western Asia Minor (Boardman 1961–62). In short, metal belts were worn in many parts of the ancient Near East in the first millennium B.C.

NOTE

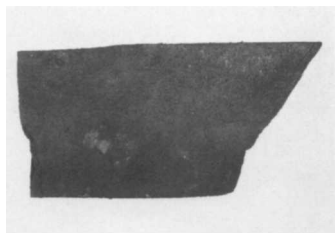
1. Belts, probably of bronze, were considered to be part of the equipment of soldiers during the Achaemenian period; Ebeling 1952, 205f., 210.



59a



59b



59c



59d

60. Crested Helmet

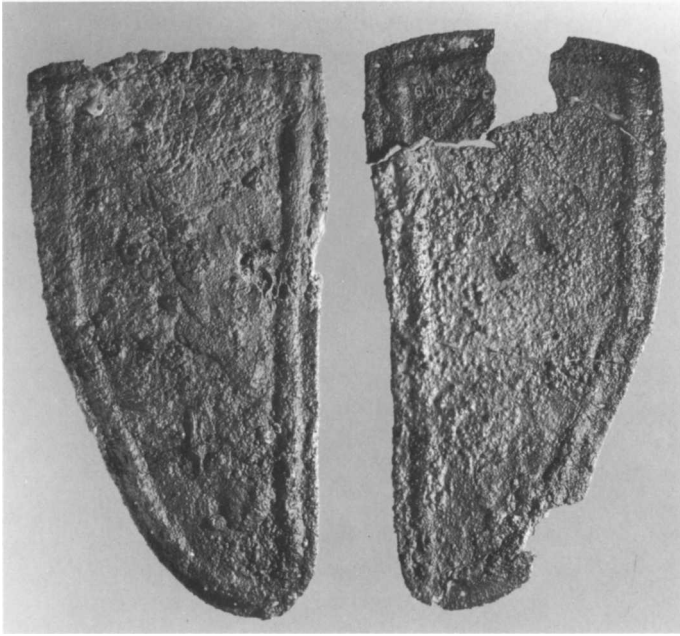
61.100.39a–m; Hasanlu 60–620; BB II Room 5; Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter of crest at base 28 cm, width of fragments 4.7–5 cm, length of earflaps 14.3 cm, width of earflaps 7.5 cm

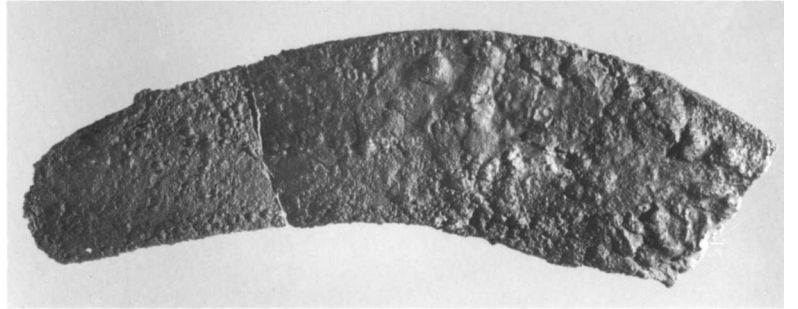
RECOGNIZABLE among the fragments are a complete earflap (or cheek guard), almost straight on one side, curved on the other, with a raised border and flat rim pierced throughout with small holes (No. 60a); an almost complete fragment of a second earflap (fragments No. 60b and c join); fragments of two crescent-shaped crest supports (No. 60d and e, which join, and f, g, h, j); one other fragment (No. 60l) could be a part of the crest supports, as it tapers and has holes along the border; amorphous fragments that might be parts of the crushed helmet (No. 60i, k, m).

These fragments, all found together by the head of a skeleton (see also No. 41), belong to a helmet furnished with detachable earflaps and two units that once held the crests, which were probably composed of such perishable materials as feathers or animal hair. The crest supports rested directly on the cap of the helmet, following its contour. That the fragments are from a helmet is certain both from internal evidence, that is from its position of the skeleton and the nature of the fragments themselves, and from the fact that two complete helmets, each with double crest supports and detachable earflaps, have been excavated at Hasanlu; one of these helmets has been published (but inadvertently lacking the earflaps: Barnett and Falkner 1962, fig. 2:15; Borchhardt 1972, pl. 40:2). Two other crescent-shaped crest supports with earflaps and lacking the helmet proper have also been excavated at Hasanlu (unpublished), and elsewhere (Madhloom 1970, pl. XIX:6; Borchhardt 1972, pl. 28:2–4). A later example of a bronze earflap excavated at nearby Agrab Tepe (Iron III period) is an exact parallel to some of the Hasanlu Period IV types (Muscarella 1973a, 66f., figs. 27:1, 28; cf. Gjerstad 1948, fig. 20:8; a fragment from Persepolis may also be an earflap, Schmidt 1957, pl. 75:12). Negahban (1977, 89) mentions bronze helmets with earflaps coming from the tombs of Marlik.

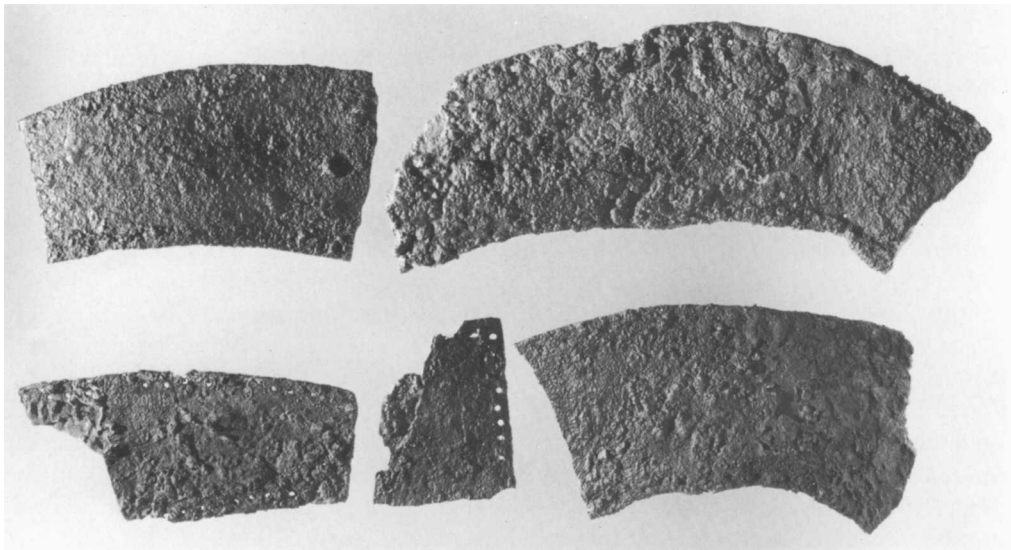
Also excavated at Hasanlu were three helmets of typical "Assyrian" type, conical and tapering to a point at the top; at least one is decorated with repoussé curved snakelike designs at the front (called "Krummstab" by Calmeyer 1969a, 90), another with repoussé rosettes (Dyson 1961, fig. 14; Dyson 1968, no. 12; Azarpay 1968, pl. 9; Winter 1980, figs. 60, 61), thus testifying to the existence of at least two helmet types at that site.



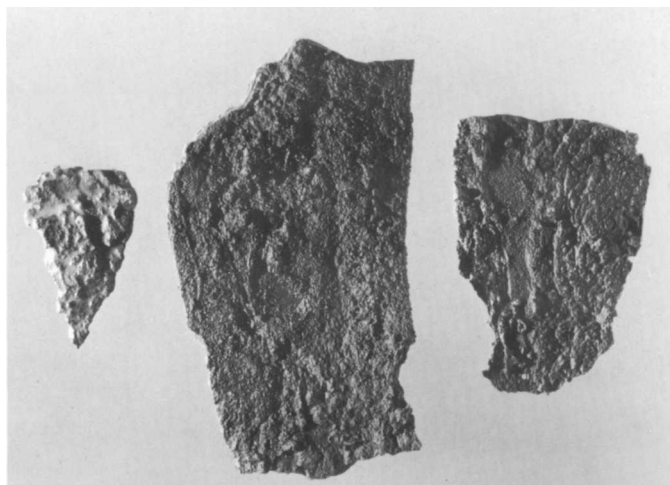
60a, b, c



60d, e



60g, f, l, j, h



60i, k, m

Helmets with crests were not uncommon in the ancient Near East in the first millennium B.C.; most have the crest either joined to or framing the center of the pointed top of a conical helmet, or curving forward from the top toward the helmet in an arc (Hrouda 1965, pl. 23:18–20; Borchhardt 1972, pl. 28:2–4, Beil. E, II; Madhloom 1970, pls. XVIII, XIX), but not touching the helmet. There are, however, some important and relevant exceptions, helmets that may be brought forth as good parallels to the Hasanlu examples under review. These parallels are to be found in the art of three widely separated areas, Urartu, North Syria, and Crete; and, in a limited sense, among the warriors depicted on local-style ivories excavated at Hasanlu.

Taking the warriors on the ivories first, they wear a feathered (“crested”) helmet of undetermined material (but very probably leather), sometimes with, other times without, earflaps (Muscarella 1980a, nos. 54, 55A, 57, 61, 62); the earflaps are definitely made of leather as may be determined from the typical skin marks depicted. While the caps of the helmets do not appear to be round nor the feathers of the crest arranged in a crescent, and the earflaps are of leather, the ivory representations at the least demonstrate that helmets with some form of crest were worn—or at least known—at Hasanlu in the late ninth century B.C.

Urartians represented on the ninth-century B.C. bronze Balawat Gate reliefs wear a distinct crested helmet with small earflaps; the crest clearly runs along the contour of the helmet with no crescent supports visible (Borchhardt 1972, 103f., pl. 38:5, Beil. E, I A:6; Barnett n.d., pls. 144c, 145e, 146a, 150a, 156d; Wäfler 1975, 253ff., 261, nos. 167, 170, 171). Of some interest is the fact that no other certain representations of Urartians depict them wearing crested helmets, which fact may indicate that they changed their helmet type after the ninth century (a conclusion also reached by Wäfler 1975, 262). Barnett and Falkner (1962, xx, xxiv) believe that the Urartians continued to use the crested helmet into the eighth century but their evidence is tenuous.

Other examples of helmets with the crests of the Hasanlu type occur on the reliefs at Carchemish (Hogarth 1914, pls. B2, B3; Borchhardt 1972, pl. 26:1, 3, Beil. E, I A:5, II:1) and at Zincirli (von Luschan 1902, pl. xxxix). No earflaps are depicted but the helmets are not dissimilar to the Hasanlu examples. The Carchemish helmets have, in addition, a tassel pendant at the rear, which is also found on a helmet depicted on a metal plaque from Fortetsa on Crete (Brock 1957, pl. 169; Borchhardt 1972, pl. 25:2, Beil. E, I A:7, II:3) that is almost a duplicate of a Carchemish helmet, and most

probably derived from knowledge of it (Borchhardt 1972, 67; Muscarella 1970, 119). Bonnet (1926, 205f.), Akurgal (1949, 14), and Borchhardt (1972, 68, 101, Beil. F Kleinasien) believe that the helmet on the warrior-god sculpted on the gate at Boğazköy had a crest of perishable material as well as a tassel and that it was the model for the North Syrian examples (although I am not sure that the crest is not meant to be metal; see Borchhardt 1972, 101, n. 448; Kendall 1981, 219, rightly says it is “of unknown material”).

As Borchhardt (1972, 103) has noted, the earliest securely dated first-millennium examples of these crested helmets are those depicted on the Urartians on the Balawat Gate reliefs of the mid-ninth century B.C. The North Syrian examples may be contemporary, but a firmer date in the ninth century eludes us. And with regard to the date of the Hasanlu examples, all that can be concluded is that they were in use sometime just before the last years of the ninth century B.C.; speculation concerning possible earlier use there is fruitless.¹

Barnett and Falkner (1962, xx) maintained that the Hasanlu crested helmets are Urartian, and they are supported by Borchhardt (1972, 104, 107). The reason for this suggestion is, of course, the evidence of the Balawat Gate depictions (which are certainly not the same type as ours). Perhaps another piece of evidence may be brought forth to lend support to this interpretation: it was apparently Urartians who destroyed Hasanlu (Muscarella 1971a, 48; Dyson 1965, 202), and there is ample evidence that they penetrated the citadel. It is therefore not impossible that the crested helmets excavated there may actually have been left by Urartian troops. Yet, there is the evidence from the ivories, mentioned above, that feather-crested helmets were apparently part of the normal equipment of Hasanlu warriors. I believe that in the final analysis the question of whether the crested metal helmets from Hasanlu belonged either to the local population or to the invading Urartians must remain unanswered (see Wäfler 1975, 262, and also the discussion for No. 68).²

NOTES

1. Crested helmets were in use in the second millennium in the Near East, at Nuzi (with earflaps; textual evidence), Boğazköy (the King's Gate), and represented in an Egyptian tomb, where Near Easterners are depicted: Kendall 1981, 208f., 216, 218, 219, figs. 3, 4.

2. For another example of a crested helmet's creating problems with regard to identifying its wearer, see Nylander 1983, 21f., n. 12, and fig. 2. A warrior with a crested helmet is represented on the Alexander Mosaic, and Nylander is certain only that he is “clearly not Persian.”

61. Clothing Decoration/Armor (?)

61.100.61; Hasanlu 60-703; BB II Room 15; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Iron, bronze; length 16 cm, width 8.3 cm

THIS ELONGATED, scale-shaped iron object has a raised central ridge running almost its entire length and a border decorated with three closely grouped rows of bronze studs that pierce the plate; the ends of the stud pins are turned up at the obverse to form loops. More than one of these objects was excavated at Hasanlu.

To judge merely from observation of the shape and the central ridge, this object can be interpreted as a type of armor plate for warriors, or perhaps used on horses as a nose guard (cf. Potratz 1966, pl. nos. 79, 82, 97-99), or as earflaps for a helmet (cf. No. 60). However, another excavated example suggests a quite different use. In 1936 Sir Aurel Stein excavated in a grave at Hasanlu an almost exact parallel to the present example (Stein 1940, 397f., pl. xxv:29; an iron plaque with a double row of bronze studs); it was found resting on the chest of a skeleton, interpreted as a female. Stein naturally assumed that the object was an elaborate piece of clothing decoration, especially because a number of "short copper and iron tubes" were found attached to the broad end of the plaque.

The present example was recovered in Burned Building II where horse equipment and belts were found in different locations (see Nos. 92-94; Dyson 1961, 536; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 69f.) but it was not connected to any identifiable object. Thus, we are left with the conclusion that although this piece seems to be a unit of armor, the only evidence for its use, that from a grave, suggests that it was used by humans apparently to adorn clothing. Its stud decoration is the same as that on belt No. 55.

Many hundreds of armor plates such as these two, of either bronze or iron, rectangular or with one rounded end, and the majority with perforations, have been excavated at sites all over the Near East dating to the first millennium B.C. Some were found isolated, others still joined in their collective positions (viz. de Morgan 1896, fig. 107 [belts?]; Lamon and Shipton 1939, pl. 85; Stronach 1958, 172ff., pl. xxxiv; Piotrovskii 1959, 166, fig. 28; Piotrovskii 1970, pl. 50; Andrae 1943, 79, fig. 89; Gjerstad 1948, fig. 20:10; R. S. Young 1956, 257, pl. 86, fig. 22;¹ Mallowan 1966, 410, fig. 336; Pleiner and Bjorkman 1974, 289f., fig. 4; see Nos. 321, 451-459). Representations on Assyrian and Egyptian reliefs and paintings depict armor worn by troops in action (Yadin 1963, figs. on pp. 295ff., 388f., 401f., 419; Pleiner and

Bjorkman 1974, fig. 3:1-4). On the ivories from Hasanlu, warriors are depicted with scalloped units on their clothing, which might be armor (Muscarella 1980a, 162f.).

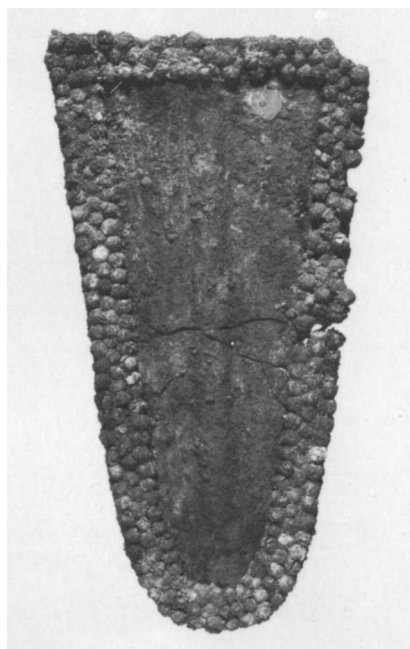
Boehmer has argued that the earliest example of armor known to date either archaeologically or in art is an example in bronze from the early second millennium B.C. at Boğazköy (Boehmer 1972, 102f., no. 803; see also Boehmer 1979, 22, no. 3145; cf. Karageorghis and Masson 1975, 215, 221, who date the earliest to the fifteenth century B.C.). By the second half of the second millennium B.C. they are fairly common and are found at many Egyptian and Near Eastern sites (viz. Starr 1937, pl. 126; Yadin 1963, figs. on pp. 196f.; Bonnet 1926, 213, fig. 106; Boehmer 1972, 103, and Karageorghis and Masson 1975 for references).² In Iran aside from Hasanlu, they occur at Tchoga Zanbil (Ghirshman 1966, pls. LV:4, XCII), at Ziwiye (Dyson 1967, 2965, fig. 1037), at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, pl. 77), and at Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, 181, fig. 96:1-5; see No. 321). It seems that the same basic shapes, rectangular or with one end rounded, and often ridged and perforated, as well as the method of joining the plaques to one another, changed very little over the centuries.

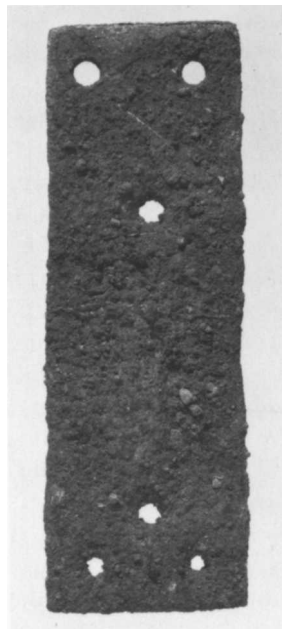
From the Nuzi texts of the second millennium B.C. we learn that a suit of armor could be made from as many as 400 to about 1000 scales, and that helmets were also covered with scales (Kendall 1981, 203, 209ff., 212, fig. 1).

NOTES

1. This example, from Gordion, has inexplicably been discussed by Ghirshman (1983, 47, 102, pl. III:2) as a Cimmerian belt.

2. For an example from Mycenae, similar to No. 63 in shape and with a central ridge, see H. Catling, in *AA*, 1970, 441f., fig. 1 (reference from P. R. S. Moorey).





62



63

62, 63. Armor Plates

61.100.53, 54; Hasanlu, 1960; Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961

Bronze; lengths 7.6, 6 cm, widths 2.5, 2.5 cm

THE FIRST example is a thin rectangular plate pierced by six holes symmetrically arranged three at each end and with a small raised ridge at the center. The second example is also thin, but it has no perforations and one end is rounded.

Many of these objects in both iron and bronze were recovered at Hasanlu; all the rectangular examples have perforations while only some of the rounded ones have them; both forms have the small raised ridge. The plates were employed as chain mail, placed against one another in an overlapping position so that there was a thickness of three plates for protection; the ridges added to the thickness and strength of the armor. The plates with perforations were sewn together in horizontal rows while the solid ones were tied in some other manner. In addition to armor plates, metal helmets (see No. 60) and shoulder guards decorated with bronze studs were also recovered at Hasanlu (Dyson 1960c, 10).



64

64. Flanged Dagger

63.109.4; Hasanlu 62-565; BB III Room 12; Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1963

Iron and bronze; preserved length 23.3 cm

THE BLADE and hilt are formed from one hammered piece of iron, now very corroded. The hilt is indented to fit fingers and has a cruciform pommel with a flat top. A separately made bronze band was placed around the short sides of the hilt and projects slightly as a flange to receive inlays. The band is secured to the hilt by an iron rivet at the top of the pommel; two iron rivets, as well as tightly wound bronze wire wrapped around each indentation, held the inlays in place. Most of the blade and both inlays are now missing.

This dagger is one of a large group of daggers and swords, primarily of iron, and with a variety of hilt and blade types, that have been excavated over the years at Hasanlu, Period IV; only a few have been published (Dyson 1960c, 10; Dyson 1964b, 21, right; Dyson 1964c, 32ff., 42, fig. 2:2 [bronze], 3, 7, 8 [iron]; Wever 1969, 26, top fig., c; Pleiner 1969a, fig. 5:3). Although some of the Hasanlu weapons are flanged to receive inlays (stone and bone examples of inlay have been recovered there: Muscarella 1980a, no. 204), the present example is one of the few with a pronounced finger grip.

Flanged swords and daggers have been extensively studied from an archaeological perspective by several scholars (Maxwell-Hyslop 1946, 36ff.; Dyson 1964c, 32ff.; Calmeyer 1969a, 59ff.; Moorey 1971a, 71ff.; Boehmer 1972, 41ff.; Medvedskaya 1982, 68ff.); a considerable number, all unexcavated, preserve inscriptions of the twelfth–eleventh centuries B.C. that facilitate dating them—if not necessarily resolving the problem of their origin (Nagel 1959–60; Dossin 1962; Calmeyer 1969a, 59ff.; Moorey 1971a, 31f.).¹ And while many of the known examples have not been acquired scientifically, and are therefore without provenience, a respectable amount derives from excavations.

Flanged hilted daggers and swords have a wide distribution in the Near East, in Syria, Anatolia, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, beginning sometime just before the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Moorey 1971a, 72; Boehmer 1972, 41ff. and fig. 22). Solid evidence from excavations in Iran indicates that by the late Iron I–early Iron II periods flanged daggers and swords reached Iran. If we could be objectively certain that the inscribed examples, all of which have been attributed to Iran, actually derived from there, we would have independent chronological support for this conclusion; but we cannot. The earliest archaeologically dated finds in Iran are undoubtedly those from Tchoga Zanbil in Elam, mid-thirteenth century B.C. (Ghirshman 1966, pls. LIV:1–3, XCII) and Hasanlu V. Other apparent Iron I examples derive from Godin Tepe (T. C. Young 1969, pl. 25:11), Bît-Sorgh (Dyson 1964c, fig. 1), Giyan (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pl. v:2, tomb 10:7), and in Luristan at Tang-i Hamamlan (Thrane 1964, 158, fig. 5), Kutal-i Gulgul (vanden Berghe 1973c, 25), and Bard-i Bal (vanden Berghe 1973a, fig. 5:4, 5; vanden Berghe 1973f, 4: dated ca. 1000–900 B.C., Iron I in Luristan terminology but chronologically overlapping Iron II in northern terminology). The type continues into the next period, Iron II, and lasted at least until 800 B.C. and perhaps a little later (a position challenged by Calmeyer 1969a, 63, n. 218). Iron II sites that produced flanged daggers include Hasanlu IV, Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. LXXV: 5910), and in Luristan at Tepe Guran (Meldgaard, Mortensen, Thrane 1963, 129, fig. 31; Muscarella 1974b, 51, 82), Pay-i Kal and Bard-i Bal (vanden Berghe 1973a, fig. 23:10, pl. XXVIII:3, fig. 11:17/43 pl. XVII, right: in particular, note fig. 8 for iron flanged examples with finger grips and lunate pommels, not dissimilar to the example shown here; a bronze example similar to the Bard-i Bal swords with an inscription dated to about 1000 B.C. was published by Lambert 1968–69, 9f., fig. 2), and Shurabah (vanden Berghe 1972, 44f., fig. 11:37, 38, pl. XX). For the Caucasus, see Medvedskaya 1982, 78ff.

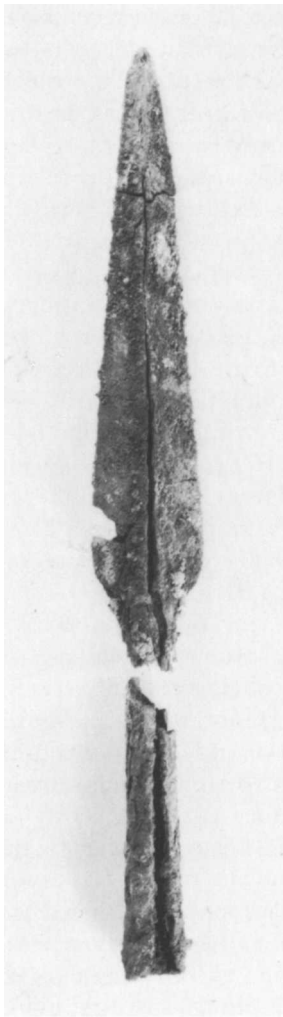
A single plain flanged bronze dagger was excavated by Layard in a palace built for Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) in Nimrud, which led Kantor (1947, 258) to date flanged daggers into the seventh century.² That the type continued for centuries is indicated by flanged iron daggers at Karmir Blur (Pleiner 1969a, fig. 2:11), and others of the same type from the Achaemenian period at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, 97, pl. 75:1, 2) and Deve Hüyük (Woolley 1914–16, pl. XXV:k; Moorey 1980, 53, fig. 9:148); the type continued in use after the ninth century B.C. (see also Porada 1964a, 10; cf. Calmeyer 1969a, 63, 125). However, a bronze flanged dagger with the name of Darius inscribed cannot be brought into a discussion of chronology for the type (Borger and Uhlenmann 1963; Eilers 1969, 42ff.; see Nos. 385, 386 note 4). Further, an iron sword from Kalwali in Luristan (vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 8c) seems to be flanged. Based on pottery comparisons, Kalwali seems to belong to a period between Iron I–II Bard-i Bal and Kutal-i Gulgul and the Iron III of War Kabud. Van Loon (1972, 68) thus dates Kalwali to the late eighth century B.C., earlier than the remains at War Kabud, and he is probably correct (although his Hasanlu parallels are not convincing). Since iron weapons do not occur earlier in Luristan than Iron III, we have an indication that flanged swords continued in use after the ninth century B.C.

Iron daggers are mentioned in Assyrian texts by the thirteenth century B.C., but evidence for their common use apparently does not exist before the ninth century B.C., from which time thereafter they are not rare (Pleiner and Bjorkman 1974, 286ff., fig. 2:1, 2). Pigott (1980, 430ff.) notes that among the more than two thousand iron objects excavated from Period IV at Hasanlu, the majority are weapons, none of which was intentionally “steeled,” i.e., that carburization was unintentional (see also No. 303). Only one warrior depicted on the Hasanlu ivories may wield a sword—although it is not certain (Muscarella 1980a, 163, no. 59). Bronze swords exist at Hasanlu IV but were apparently rare (e.g., Dyson 1964c, 41, fig. 2:1, pl. IX:2); other examples combine a bronze hilt with an iron blade.

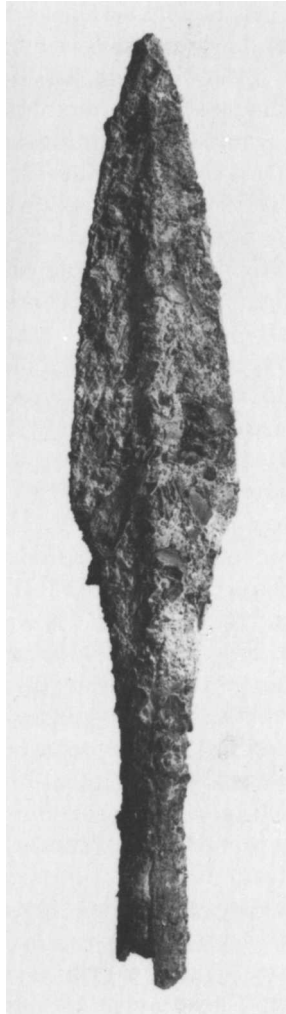
NOTES

1. For a perceptive doubt that all flanged daggers attributed to Luristan actually derive from there, see Potratz 1963, 130, n. 1; see also note 6 in the introduction to the Luristan bronzes in this catalogue.

2. J. Curtis, in *Iraq* 45, 1 (1983), 75f., fig. 4:2, 3, dates this dagger, and another found by Layard near some tombs, to the fourteenth century B.C. (“probable”). See R. M. Boehmer, in *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 14 (1983), 101ff., for examples of flanged hilted daggers recently excavated at Subeidi (Hamrin), dating to the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.; one was found in situ in a grave with a whetstone (fig. 6).



65



66

65. Spearhead

60.20.29a, b; Hasanlu 59-47; BB I West; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Iron; length 28.9 cm

66. Spearhead

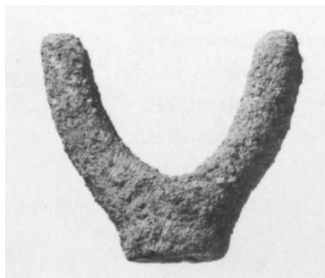
61.100.60; Hasanlu 60-1055; area west of BB II;
Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Iron; length 24 cm

THESE SPEARHEADS are only two examples of the many hundreds excavated at Hasanlu; the majority, of iron, were found in the upper fill of Burned Building II. All the spearheads from Hasanlu are socketed and have a midrib; some have holes at the socket end, others do not. The shapes vary considerably in length and width and also in the blade angles.

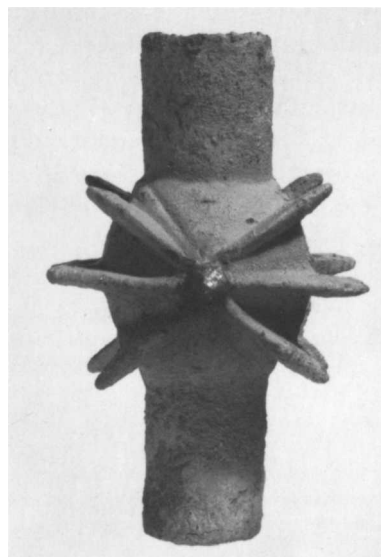
Spears must have been the most common weapon used by the Hasanlu warriors, although bows, swords, maces, and daggers were also used. Warriors depicted on the ivories from Hasanlu wielded spears in battle (Muscarella 1966, 128, figs. 12, 14; Muscarella 1980a, 163). Similar socketed spearheads, of iron and bronze, were also excavated at neighboring Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974b, 60, 65, 67f., 72, 74, figs. 26, 36, 39, 48); for further discussion of these types see Moorey 1971a, 85ff.

67. Arrow/Spear-Shaft Terminal

61.100.56; Hasanlu 60-895; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; height 2.9 cm



67



68

THIS SMALL object has two solid prongs and a short hollow base. It is not certain what its function was, but two suggestions come to mind: it could have been the terminal for a spear butt (cf. Woolley 1934, pls. 149, 153; for another type cf. Boehmer 1972, 143f., pl. XLV), or it could have been attached to the end of an arrow shaft to hold the cord of the bow (cf. Madhloom 1970, pl. XXVI:16).

68. Star-Shaped Mace Head

61.100.17; Hasanlu 60-837; BB II Room 14; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze and iron;¹ length 8.2 cm

CENTERED between two parts of the socket, each of equal length, the functional part of the mace consists of two solid semispherical faces separated by indentations.

Each of the faces has six raised ridges forming a star, or rosette, the center of which is a projecting iron nipple.

The present example is one of several of similar type excavated at Hasanlu; the others have basically the same star ridges on the bifurcated faces, but they lack the projecting socket. Only one other site to my knowledge has yielded mace heads like this one. In the cella of the eighth–seventh-century B.C. Urartian temple at Altintepe in Urartu were recovered two bronze mace heads with eight thick rays or petals meeting at a projecting nipple (iron?) on each of the bifurcated faces placed in the middle of the socket (T. Özgüç 1966, 7, 41, fig. 9, pl. xxxiii:1, 2). Except for the form of the rays, these maces are almost exact parallels to the Hasanlu example.

Other bifurcated star mace heads, which are clearly related but lack the projecting socket, are found not only at Hasanlu but in widely dispersed areas: on Samos (Jantzen 1972, pl. 51:B52), on Cyprus (Richter 1915, nos. 1812, 1813; Gjerstad 1948, fig. 24:10), and at Zincirli in North Syria (Andrae 1943, pl. 43g, h). In Assyria we see star mace heads depicted on ninth-century reliefs, paralleling the Hasanlu examples both in form and in date (Barnett 1975, pls. 27, 37; Madhloom 1970, pl. xxxi:17). Within Iran the only other site that has produced star mace heads is War Kabud (vanden Berghe 1968b, 109, fig. 21:5, pl. 30:4; Calmeyer 1969a, 78, fig. 79). They are dated to the eighth–seventh century B.C.; whether they represent examples of continuity from the earlier Hasanlu examples or borrowings from Assyria is not known.

A related example without provenience, but claimed for Iran, has a long ridged socket below the head but not above (Barbier 1970, no. 85); it attests to the variety of the type.

The finds from Altintepe are of interest because they raise questions concerning their origin. It is almost certain that it was the Urartians who destroyed Hasanlu in the last years of the ninth century B.C.: was the present mace head left at that site by an Urartian warrior, or were the Altintepe examples booty from the Iranian campaign to be dedicated to the gods as a votive gift? In this latter connection it is of interest to point out that the excavator interpreted the Altintepe finds as votive objects purposely left in the temple (T. Özgüç 1966, 41). Complicating the issue of origin are the examples represented on the Assyrian reliefs where the weapon is wielded by Assyrian troops. Note that, with one possible exception, none of the warriors represented on the ivories from Hasanlu wields a mace (Muscarella 1980a, 163, no. 61). In the final analysis, the question of origin remains unanswered; we can only refer to the disparate proveniences of the maces. Their chronology, however is clear, ranging from the late ninth through the eighth

century, and probably continuing into the seventh (see also the discussion for No. 60).

It is of interest to note that in Hasanlu IV swords, daggers, knives, and arrows were manufactured primarily of iron, while most maces were made of bronze. This same pattern of bronze and iron weapon production also obtained in Luristan (vanden Berghe 1981, 31, 35).

NOTE

1. Cu: 90.3%, Sn: 8.43%, Pb: .289%, Zn: .063% (1986).

69. Spiked Mace Head

60.20.31; Hasanlu 59–433; BB I West; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze;¹ height 8.6 cm

70. Spiked Mace Head

65.163.54; Hasanlu 64–1; outer town, east side, found while digging a latrine; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1965
Bronze;² height 7.4 cm

THE FUNCTIONAL part of this mace type has two unaligned rows each of six horizontal spikes that are framed by ridged sockets, the upper one topped by three teeth that helped secure the mace to a wooden shaft (cf. No. 73). The heads are solid except for the hollow socket tubes.

A variety of stone and bronze mace heads have been recovered at Hasanlu (see Nos. 71, 72), a number of which are of the spiked variety; at least one example of this form has been published (Dyson 1959, 13; Dyson 1960b, 128). Aside from the Hasanlu examples, only two other excavated spiked mace heads are known to me. One was found in a contemporary tomb at nearby Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974b, 65, fig. 36:119); the other comes from the Caucasus, from Karabulag (Hančar 1934, 63, fig. 17). Another close example, unprovenienced, exists in the Foroughi collection and has an inscription dated by Dossin (1962, 160, pl. xxvi:16) to the late second–early first millennium B.C. A related example with vertical rows of spikes comes from Marlik (Tomb 26: Negahban 1962, 699, fig. 6, top; Negahban 1981, 372, pl. 61, fig. 10). Vanden Berghe's excavations at the eighth–seventh-century sites of War Kabud and Chamzhi-Mumah in Luristan have produced related types, with smaller spikes or knobs and an elongated socket (vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 30:3, 4; vanden Berghe 1975a, figs. 6:5, 14:6; vanden Berghe 1977a, 59, top fig., E; see No. 307).

This spiked mace head may be a specifically Iranian type, thereby justifying such an attribution for stray pieces (viz. A. Godard 1931, pl. xxv:74). There is as yet no



69

evidence that this particular type was in use before the ninth century B.C. Whether or not the related example from Marlik is contemporary or earlier, late second–early first millennium B.C., is not clear at present (see also No. 395).

NOTES

1. While this piece has not been analyzed, two examples in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Has 58–442, Has 60–943), have been analyzed as bronze.

2. Cu: 86.0%, Sn: 13.1%, Pb: .495%, Zn: .000% (1986).



70

71. Mace Head

61.100.19; Hasanlu 60–1033; Upper Court; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze;¹ length 7.1 cm

72. Mace Head

61.100.20; Hasanlu 60–917; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; length 5.1 cm

THE SMALL size of these objects may suggest that they are not maces but rather staff or scepter heads. No. 71 has a symmetrical swelling at its center; when found it still had part of its wood shaft preserved. A couple of other examples were excavated in Burned Building II, Room 5 (they were analyzed to be bronze).

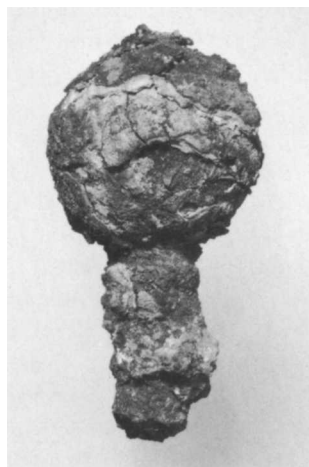
No. 72 has a small but solid heavy head set on a solid tang, and if it is not a mace, it may have been the head of a staff or scepter. Two other examples, these with iron tangs, were found in Burned Building II, Room 5; and similar, but slightly larger, examples were found at Hasanlu during commercial digging in 1934 (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. C:20).

NOTE

1. Cu: 86.2%, Sn: 12.3%, Pb: .353%, Zn: .016% (1986).



71



72

73. Mace Head

61.100.18; Hasanlu 60–679; BB II Room 15; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze;¹ height 8.1 cm, width 5.2 cm

AN ELLIPSOIDAL, obliquely fluted sphere has a cylindrical tube projecting from the flattened sides. One tube has a raised band at its end, the other has a similar band with three projecting prongs in the form of stylized animal heads; one prong is missing, another damaged. The whole unit is cast in one piece and is hollow except that the interior bulge of the sphere is filled with its cast-iron core.

Several other objects of the same or similar shape to

this have also been excavated at Hasanlu in the Period IV city. Still other examples of the same basic form have been excavated at sites in various parts of the Near East and in the Aegean (for a list of excavated examples see Curtis and Grayson 1982, 89f.). Some are quite close to our example, others vary: for example, some have three or four prongs at one end, others have none, and the size and form of the sphere are not uniform so that some are plain, some fluted, and some have added iron inlays.

The main problem with these objects is recognizing their function, for they have been called maces, scepters, and furniture fittings (Birmingham 1961, 187, figs. 7–10; Barnett 1967, 4f.; Kopcke 1968, 294, no. 124; Calmeyer 1969a, 95; Muscarella 1977b, 39, n. 30; Barnett and Curtis 1973, 124). Indeed, many examples seem certainly to be maces, especially those with long tubes and small prongs, e.g., from War Kabud and Chamzhi-Mumah (vanden Berghe 1967, 57:4; vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 30:2, vanden Berghe 1977a, 59A; vanden Berghe 1979b, figs. 2, 6:1; cf. vanden Berghe 1980, fig. 10:11), or with multiple moldings, e.g., from Samos (Jantzen 1972, pl. 50, B278), or those with long tubes, multi-faceted spheres, and no prongs, e.g., examples from Zincirli (Andrae 1943, fig. 107 and pl. 42:k–p) and War Kabud (vanden Berghe 1967, 57:2; vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 30:3; see No. 307). Further, an example from Khorsabad (Place 1867, pl. 74:12) and one from Zincirli (Andrae 1943, fig. 107:i) still have their cores preserved, indicating that they are maces (cf. also a mace with zoomorphic feet from Marlik: Negahban 1981, 370f., pl. 60, fig. 6). Reinforcing this interpretation are examples depicted as a mace or scepter on Assyrian reliefs from Khorsabad (Bonnet 1926, 6f., n. 19, fig. 2c; Madhloom 1970, pl. xxxi:8; Calmeyer 1969a, 95:v). Here the prongs are in the form of lions' heads, a feature that occurs on several excavated examples from Zincirli, Byblos, Khorsabad, Kouyunjik, Nimrud, Lindos, Samos, as well as on several unexcavated ones (Calmeyer 1969a, 92ff.; Barnett 1967, pl. VIII:1–3), and which remind us of the animal heads on the Hasanlu example discussed here.

Concerning the question of whether or not any of these objects ever functioned as furniture fittings, it can be stated that there is no archaeological evidence that confirms or denies this possibility. However, it is possible to add still another function to the list of possible uses for some of these objects, in this case one that can be verified by evidence achieved by careful excavation. At Hasanlu an object exactly like the one discussed here was excavated in the same Burned Building II debris (62–434; Dyson 1964a, 373f., fig. 10; Dyson 1964b, 23). It preserved a wood plug at the prong end, and the interior contained powdered lead, galena, indicating that the object was a cosmetic container, with the prongs

serving as feet and the plug as the seal. At least two other bronze macelike objects excavated at Hasanlu contained galena. One (Has 59–861) is the same as the Metropolitan Museum's in shape but has small bronze ribbed inlays on a plain sphere and three small prongs with small horizontal projections (Fig. 6); the other (Has 72–22) is similar to the Metropolitan Museum's in that it has an obliquely fluted sphere, but the lower tube is longer than the upper and it ends in three long plain prongs that splay outward. This latter example is therefore unique within the corpus and stands out from the others: in addition to the presence of galena, its splayed prongs, i.e., the feet, clearly indicate that this object



73



FIG. 6.
Probable bronze/iron
cosmetic container
(Has 59–861),
University Museum,
Philadelphia.

functioned as a cosmetic container; it most certainly was not a mace—at least in its final function (or modification): Curtis (Curtis and Grayson 1982, 89) maintains that “its use as a cosmetic container was surely secondary.”¹²

That some of the macelike objects from Hasanlu were maces is indicated by one example (Has 62–339), which is made of bronze and iron bands and which preserved the wood core from the original shaft. And surely one may determine the function of the example here (as well as another from Hasanlu, 60–680, which is the same in all details except that the sphere is plain) by the fact that it still has its casting core, which indicates that it was made purposely to serve as a mace (the record is not clear if 60–680 has its core). And, if a mace, one would assume that the prongs were at the top (as Calmeyer 1969a, 92, Group 45A). Summarizing the question of function, it may be concluded that the majority of the objects under discussion were indeed maces or scepters, while some certainly, at least three from Hasanlu, were cosmetic containers (secondary use or not); in the case of still others it is impossible to decide conclusively.

Bone cosmetic containers also occur at Hasanlu as well as at Dinkha Tepe (Dyson 1964a, 373f., figs. 14–17; Muscarella 1980a, no. 73; Stein 1940, 399, pl. xxv:6; Muscarella 1974b, 71, 81, fig. 45:1047);³ cf. Bastam, a handle? (Kroll in Kleiss 1979, 153, fig. 1:14, pl. 51:5). And it is possible that certain metal objects from other sites may actually be cosmetic containers, for example vessel-like objects on tripods from Sialk, called lamps (Ghirshman 1938–39, 53, for plate references); some of these were found in tombs with mirrors. Recent clandestine finds allegedly from Afghanistan have yielded metal cosmetic containers and kohl sticks (Pittman in Muscarella 1981a, 197; Amiet 1977b, 113f., fig. 18:8, 9; Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1983, nos. IV:10, 13, 14), and there is a metal example in the Boyce Thompson collection that apparently still preserves its metal kohl stick (Pope 1938/1964, pl. 22B).⁴ And a metal “fluted cosmetic jar” from Chandu-daro, India, of early date may also be a cosmetic container rather than a mace (Moorey 1971a, 95).

The Hasanlu evidence provides a firm late-ninth-century B.C. date for the maces and cosmetic containers excavated there. Recently, Curtis and Grayson (1982, 87ff.) published a stone example mounted on an iron core excavated in the nineteenth century at Sherif Khan (ancient Tarbisu) in Assyria, which has an inscription of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). Other excavated examples from Assyrian and North Syrian sites are probably eighth century, as are examples represented in art. One unexcavated mace has an inscription of King Adad-nirari, probably the one who ruled 805–783 B.C. (Calmeyer 1969a, 92, 96, Group 45A), chronologically paralleling

the Hasanlu examples. The floruit of these objects, then, is late ninth–eighth century B.C. With regard to the ultimate origin of these maces, the earliest dated example of the type, albeit stone, is the one from Sherif Khan. As Curtis (Curtis and Grayson 1982, 90) has argued, this example may supply a clue that the form originated in Assyria, a position previously posited by Calmeyer (1969a, 97; 1973b, 127). Of course, subsequently they were widely dispersed, and probably widely manufactured, in various Near Eastern centers (Muscarella 1973b, 236; Muscarella 1977b, 39; Curtis and Grayson 1982, 90).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1977b, fig. 18.

NOTES

1. Cu: 88.2%, Sn: 10.3%, Pb: .674%, Zn: 0.50% (1986).
2. From memory I recall that (in 1960?) a bone kohl stick was found either alongside or within a bronze container of the type under discussion here. I cannot recall its number, so one will have to await final publication of the Hasanlu material for verification (see No. 320).
3. The decorated bone container from Hasanlu (8.3 cm high) and the example cited from Dinkha Tepe (7 cm high) are open at both ends. The former was, however, found with a kohl stick juxtaposed (Muscarella 1980a, frontispiece), and its lower pierced end must originally have been closed with a peg, as was the bronze example mentioned above in note 2 (Has 62–434). The Dinkha Tepe example was found in a tomb that contained two skeletons; it was not joined to another object, suggesting that it was not a handle. And the bone example found in a tomb by Stein is called a pot, implying a closed base; its flared shape suggests it was not a handle. All three examples have the same grooved top. Compare a decorated bone cosmetic container from Til Barsip (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. xviii:8) with a kohl stick in situ within; the text does not state whether the base has a plug. See also the hollow bone kohl containers from Deve Hüyük (Moorey 1980, 94ff., fig. 15:389–91), and those from Israel (Stern 1982, 145f., and fig. 249).
4. The Thompson piece may derive from Bronze Age Bactria: on this now see Pittman 1984, 43ff., figs. 12–16.

74. Knife

1976.233.28; Hasanlu 74–N445; western area of mound; Period IV

The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976

Iron; length 15.3 cm

THE BLADE curves out prominently from the hilt area before curving back to form an upturned tip. The blade is now broken and part of the hilt is missing. A number of examples of these knives were found at Hasanlu.

Four exact parallels to this iron knife, with the curved blade and upturned tip, were excavated at nearby Dinkha Tepe from Iron II tombs (Muscarella 1974b, 70f., 72, 74, figs. 45:623, 48:704). And at least one iron example

of similar shape was excavated at Nimrud (Curtis et al. 1979, 378, fig. 20).¹

Clearly related knives of bronze, with curved blades and upturned tips, were excavated in a tomb at Hellen-dorf in Soviet Azerbaijan (J. Hummel 1933, 219, fig. 14:223). The excavator dated them to the eleventh–ninth centuries B.C., while Schaeffer (1948, 498) dated them earlier, to the thirteenth–twelfth centuries B.C. Apparently these examples are earlier than the iron ones from Hasanlu and Dinkha Tepe, and may suggest a hint with regard to the area of origin. And we may assume that knives of this particular shape were made for a specific function, that knives of other forms were made for other functions (see No. 162).

NOTE

1. De Miroschedji 1981a, 34, 112f., fig. 40:15, publishes an iron knife from Susa that is not, as he believes, similar to the Hasanlu examples, either in shape or in the very pronounced curved-back tip of the Susa blade.

75. Sickle or Pruning Tool

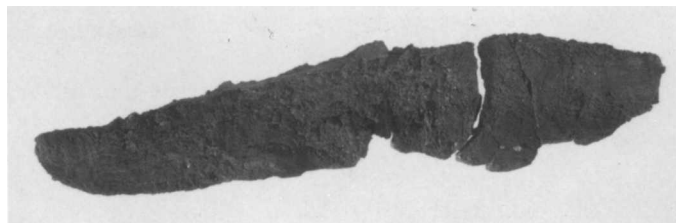
61.100.68; Hasanlu 60–678; BB II; Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Iron; length 17.8 cm

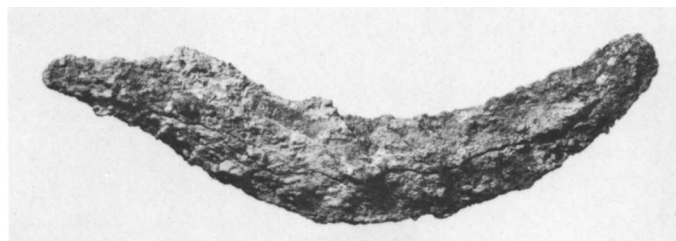
THE OBJECT is complete; its shape is simple, a curved blade and a small tang projecting as an extension of the outer edge (cf. No. 74). This example is one of a large group of about thirty to forty examples excavated in a cluster in Burned Building II.

The relatively small size of the object might eliminate its interpretation as a weapon, a scimitar, and suggest that it is a sickle or pruning tool, but we cannot be certain. Przeworski (1939, 57f.), Deshayes (1960, I, 336ff.; II, 145ff.), and Moorey (1971c, 73ff.) list many examples of different dates excavated from all over the Near East, including Iran, i.e., Sialk Periods A and B (Ghirshman 1938–39, pls. XXXVIII, XL, XLVII, L, LVII, LXII, LXVIII, LXXI, LXXVII). An iron example comes from Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, 182, fig. 95:15, pl. 164e), two iron examples of eighth–seventh century date come from Baba Jan (Goff 1978, 39, fig. 15:17, 18), and Stein excavated two iron examples from Chiga-Kabud in Luristan (Stein 1940, 291, pl. xv:13). An iron example from Nimrud, not dissimilar in shape and size to the example shown here, is discussed in Curtis et al. (1979, 377, fig. 16); it was heated in a charcoal fire and has carbon (see also No. 483). Stray examples also exist (Nagel 1963, pl. LIII:117, bronze, like the majority known; Deshayes 1965, 101ff., no. 21, seen in Teheran).

Crouwel (1970–71, 39ff.) publishes an example in



74



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bronze in a private collection, which to him, “though without findplace . . . definitely comes from the eastern part of Gilan . . .” (p. 39), and which further “is the first [sickle] definitely coming from ‘Amlash’” (p. 43). Indeed, what we “definitely” know is that we do not know his sickle’s provenience, but we definitely know the provenience of the examples from Hasanlu.

76–83. Arrowheads

61.100.51, 52, 62–67; Hasanlu 60–909, 710, 809; BB II
Rooms 5, 14, or 15; Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Iron; lengths 6.6, 5.2, 10.6, 8.6, 6.2, 7.3, 6.3, 7.9 cm

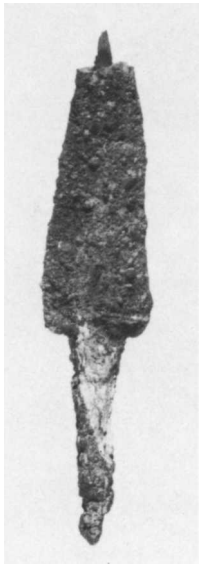
84–89. Arrowheads

1976.233.21–26; Hasanlu 74–N683; BB V Room 8;
Period IV

The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the
de Groot and Hawley families, 1976

Iron; lengths 7.6, 8.6, 8.1, 7.8, 6.6, 5.6 cm

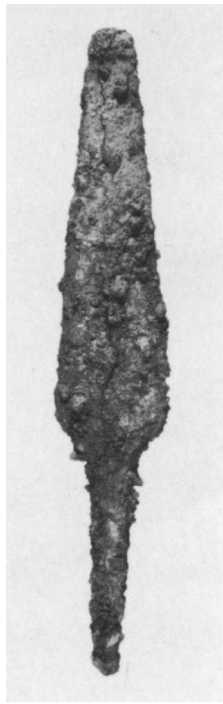
SCORES OF iron arrowheads of various lengths and shapes (ovate to lanceolate), all with solid tangs and apparently all without midribs, have come from Hasanlu, from all areas on the mound (Dyson 1964c, 40). If it were not for the fact of excavation one would have difficulty dating these common objects. Thus, very similar types come from neighboring Agrab Tepe from a later period (Muscarella 1973a, 66f., fig. 27:5–11, found with hollow socketed examples), and from earlier periods at Sialk A (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. v); a list of related



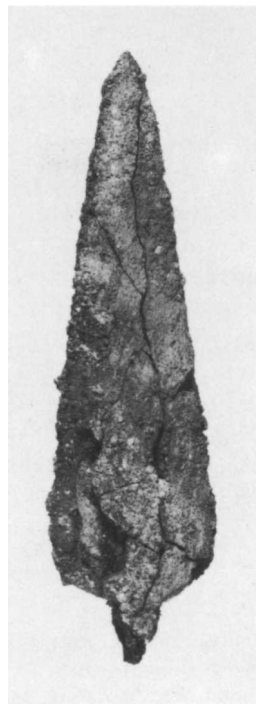
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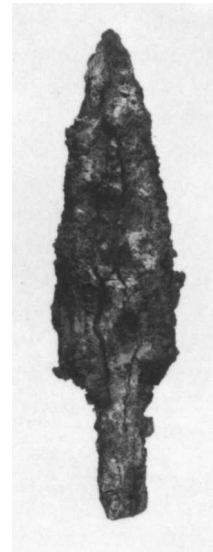
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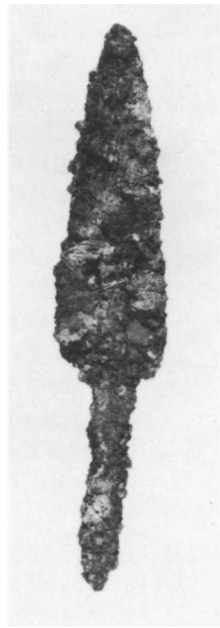
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79



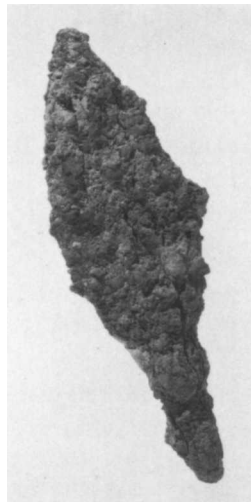
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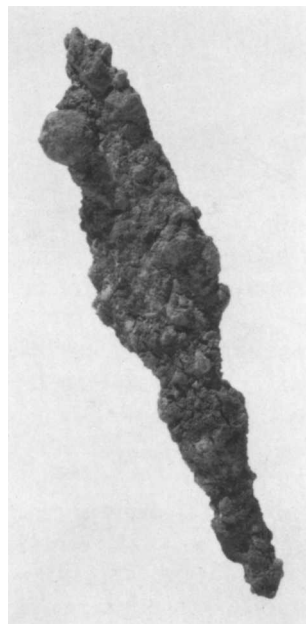
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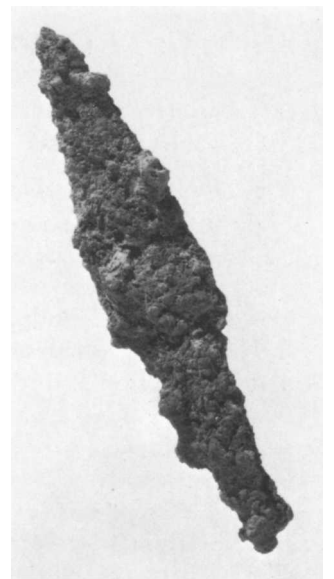
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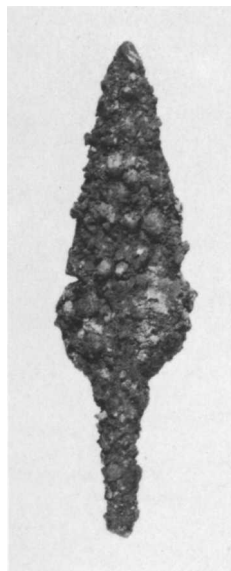
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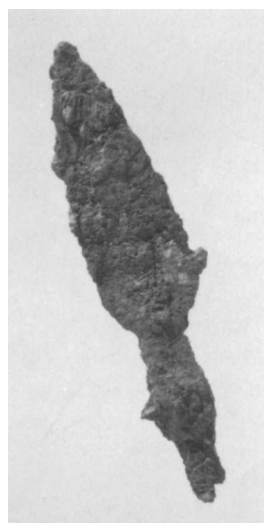
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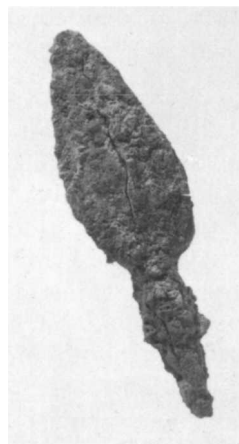
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finds may be found in Muscarella 1973a, 67; now see also War Kabud (vanden Berghe 1967, 53; 1968b, pl. 27a).

A number of warriors depicted on the ivories from Hasanlu use bows in battle, complementing the archaeological evidence (Muscarella 1966, 129, fig. 15; 1980a, 162f., nos. 49–53). Indeed, the differences in shape and size of the arrows might reflect their different functions, that is some were used as weapons, others for hunting specific species of animals and birds. However, the external evidence available does not reveal which were used for one activity or another, or even whether in fact there existed any functional activity distinctions in arrow manufacturing.

90. Socketed Arrowhead

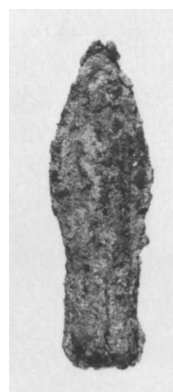
61.100.50; Hasanlu 60–316; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; length 4.3 cm

THIS ARROWHEAD has a relatively flat blade with two cutting edges and a hollow socket. As a type it is rare at Hasanlu Period IV because to my knowledge all the other arrowheads from that time are tanged. For other possible early socketed arrowheads, see examples from Tomb 9 at Amlash (Samadi 1959b, 190, fig. 26g, h; Moorey 1971a, 87).

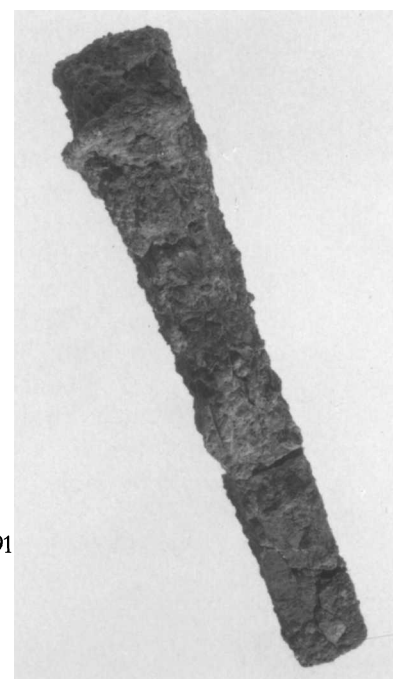
91. Socketed Tool

1976.233.27; Hasanlu 74–N472; western area of mound;
Period IV
The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the
de Groot and Hawley families, 1976
Iron; length 27.2 cm

THE TIP is flat, chisel-like, the base is circular and hollow for about 15 centimeters. An iron ring was applied near the base probably to help secure the wood shaft sleeved into the socket. This object is certainly a tool, probably used as a chisel or perhaps even as a digging implement. A fairly close parallel comes from the second millennium at Nuzi (Starr 1937, pl. 124H; Deshayes 1960, I, 134ff.; II, pl. XVI:5:1189); still closer in form are two examples from Boğazköy (Boehmer 1972, 76, no. 224, cf. no. 225, Hittite; Boehmer 1979, 35, no. 3475, unstratified: the former is bronze, the latter is iron). The shape changed very little over the centuries.



90



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92. Horse Bit

65.163.60; Hasanlu 64–371; BB II Room 10; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1965

Bronze; length 17.3 cm, thickness .8 cm

THIS BIT belongs to the broken, or jointed or flexible, type, having two canons joined loosely at their inner ends by intertwining loops. The canons on this example are twisted, but they appear to have been cast in this manner rather than formed manually.

Hasanlu has yielded forty bits, fifteen of which came from Burned Building II; twenty-two are of bronze, eighteen of iron, and some have plain canons (No. 93), others twisted.¹ All have flexible canons, and no rigid examples exist at the site (cf. Luristan types catalogued below; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 68ff., figs. 11–16; Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. C:17; Ghirshman 1964, fig. 338). At Hasanlu these bits were sometimes found isolated, sometimes juxtaposed to cheekpieces like No. 94, but they were not permanently attached to them and it is assumed that the unit was joined by leather or rope thongs (Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 121; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 68); for similar examples of juxtaposed bits and cheekpieces not permanently joined see Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. LVI, bottom) and Giyan (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pl. 8, Tomb 3, no. 11).

Moorey (1974a, 86) reports that twisted horse bits were excavated at Kaluraz in Gilan (date not certain). They are rarely encountered in Luristan. A flexible and twisted iron bit, dating to the seventh century B.C., was excavated at Baba Jan (Goff 1969, 124ff., figs. 6b, 7:5); it has separate cheekpieces, here, too, probably joined to the bit by thongs. And a pair of iron bits derives from Gul Khanan Murdah (vanden Berghe 1980, 46f., fig. 20:18).

Flexible bits, both plain and twisted, also come from Urartu. The earliest example is contemporary to those from Hasanlu or slightly later and consists of a bit with plain canons and attached cheekpieces inscribed with the name Menua (ca. 810/805–786/780 B.C.); others, plain or twisted, date to the eighth and seventh centuries (Azarpay 1968, fig. 3, pl. 22; Taşyürek 1975a, pls. xxxiii, xxxiva, b; Piotrovskii 1970, pl. 57; Özgen 1984, 100ff., figs. 24, 26). Many are reported from south Russia and the Caucasus (Potratz 1966, 196ff., fig. 85a, b, f; Ghirshman 1964, fig. 336); and twisted bits were excavated in a Phrygian level at Boğazköy (Boehmer 1972, 162, nos. 1694, 1694A, 1694B, 1695A), while another comes from Alishar (von der Osten 1937, III, fig. 114).

Twisted flexible bits occur west of Iran and Urartu, but rarely. Examples are known from Assur and from Cyprus (Potratz 1966, 105ff., pl. XLVII:105, 109; Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 119, fig. 66); a fairly large number

was excavated at Salamis (Gjerstad 1948, fig. 26:30; Littauer 1969, 294f., fig. 5; Karageorghis 1973–74, pls. LXXVI, LXXX, CXIX, CXXIV, CCLXIII).

Flexible bits were first made in the second millennium B.C. (Potratz 1966, 92, 107ff., pl. XLVII:107, fig. 45e, g; Littauer 1969, 295) but are not commonly recorded for several centuries until the ninth century, with the Hasanlu examples representing the best dated group. That they continued to be used for centuries is documented by examples from the Achaemenian period (see No. 324).

NOTE

1. Why horse bits were stored in the grand Burned Building II is not understood, but whereas complete horse headdresses or groups of horse apparatus occur elsewhere, especially in Burned Buildings IV, V, IV–V, only bits and cheekpieces came from Burned Building II (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 60, 63, 70).

93. Horse-Bit Fragment

61.100.40; Hasanlu 60–712; BB II; Period IV

Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961

Bronze; length 14.3 cm

THIS OBJECT is part of a flexible horse bit like the preceding piece, but it has plain canons; its mate is missing. Complete examples of plain flexible bits have also been recovered at Hasanlu, made of bronze and of iron (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 69f., figs. 16, 17).¹ Although the bit is cast, the loop to connect it with its mate appears to have been manually bent back, which is not unexpected since each canon was cast separately.

An exact parallel for this bit comes from neighboring Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974b, 65, fig. 36:1026); similar examples are known in Iran from Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pls. LVI bottom, LXII:s762), and Giyan (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pl. 8, Tomb 3, no. 11). Others are known from as far east as Pazyryk (Rudenko 1970, pl. 74B, c), and an iron example is known from Nimrud (Stronach 1958, pl. xxv:1).

Plain flexible bits permanently connected to their cheekpieces also occur at Hasanlu, where three have been recovered (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 69, fig. 15). In these examples the canons pass through a central hole in the cheekpiece, which is a straight bar having two large rein loops at each end. The same method of connecting canon to cheekpiece occurs on bits from Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. LXXV:s924), from Marlik (Negahban 1964, fig. 134), from Urartu (Azarpay 1968, fig. 3; Barnett 1963, fig. 45; Özgen 1984, figs. 24–26), and from the Caucasus (Potratz 1966, 186f., fig. 78); a number of examples are also attributed to Luristan (Moorey 1971a, 111f., nos. 112–14; Potratz

1966, 137, fig. 59; surely in this case from Luristan because of the leonine terminals on the cheekpieces).

NOTE

1. The statement of de Schauensee and Dyson (1983, 69) that "only one example of a copper/bronze bit" of this type, with plain canons, was found at Hasanlu is an error, as the present example indicates.

94. Horse Cheekpiece

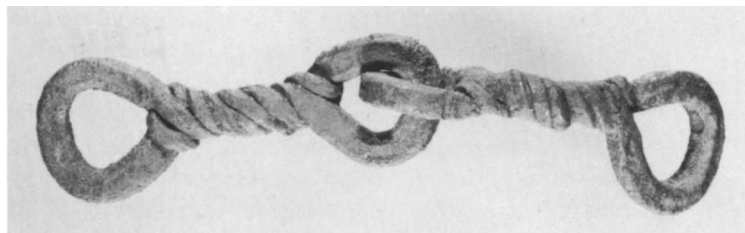
65.163.59: Hasanlu 64–1025; BB II Room II; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1965

Bronze;¹ length 16.4 cm

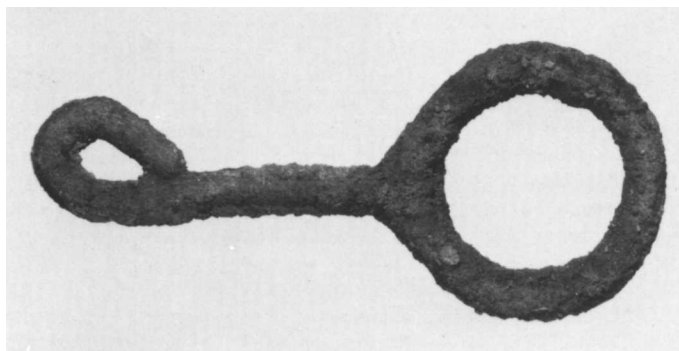
THE CHEEKPICE curves in opposite directions at both ends to form an S. One end is round, the other rectangular in section, while the center area is flattened and divided into three uniformly spaced sections each of which is pierced. It and its mate were originally attached by thongs to the end rings of a horse bit like Nos. 92 and 93.

A total of fifteen cheekpieces of the three-hole type derive from various areas of Hasanlu. In Burned Building II fifteen horse bits were recovered scattered in different rooms, and four cheekpieces without bits, this one among them, were found together in a southeast storeroom (apparently Room II; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 70). They vary in material—most are of bronze and a few are of iron—and in shape. Some are curved at one end, some are straight bars; one example is C-shaped with double snake heads on one terminal, and is unique in that the canons and cheekpieces are cast together (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 64ff., figs. 8b, 9b, 13, 14; cf. Jantzen 1972, 64, pl. 61:B951). No cheekpieces of this or of any other type are depicted on horses represented in art at Hasanlu.

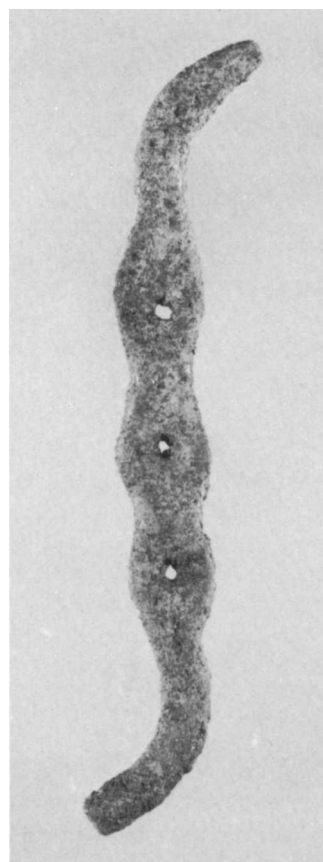
This particular form of three-hole bit with plain terminals seems to be unique to Hasanlu but related forms occur elsewhere (see No. 353). The closest in form seem to be those from Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. LVI:835) and (less similar) from Giyan (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, Tomb 3, pl. 8:11), in both cases juxtaposed to their bits but not permanently joined. Other related forms are known from Phrygian Boğazköy (Boehmer 1972, 161f., nos. 1694, 1695, 1697), and from the Caucasus and areas farther north (Potratz 1966, 126f., 186, figs. 53d–f, 78, 93a–c); and apparently Urartu (Özgen 1984, 103, figs. 24–28). Curved bits that may be related to those under discussion are depicted on Assyrian horses represented on Assyrian reliefs of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (Barnett 1975, pls. 62, 115, 127), and a derivative form was known in Achaemenian times (Schmidt 1957, pls. 78:4, 79:7; Potratz 1966, 118, fig. 47: see No. 324).



92



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94

The dates derived from the Hasanlu evidence establish a firm date in the ninth century for the earliest examples known. Those from Giyan are apparently later, eighth–seventh century, while the Sialk examples are either contemporary or slightly later, depending on the chronology for Sialk B (Muscarella 1973a, 70f., n. 14). Medvedskaya (1977, 93, 97) believed that the three-holed metal cheekpieces did not exist before the eighth century B.C.; the evidence from Hasanlu allows one to date some to the ninth century B.C.²

NOTES

1. Cu: 95.4%, Sn: 3.71%, Pb: .197%, Zn: .031% (1986). The tin content is relatively low compared to other Hasanlu bronzes tested.

2. Note that a bone cheekpiece of Scythian style with two holes preserved (the third may be broken away) derives from Period III at Hasanlu, but was inadvertently published as from Period IV: Dyson 1964a, 372, fig. 3 (but cf. the text where it is placed in Period III), and Dyson 1965, 211; on this see Nos. 328, 329, note 2. For a possible bone example from Bastam, see Kleiss 1979, 164, 178, fig. 16:14, pl. 51:6; for second-millennium B.C. Beycesultan, see Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 88, fig. 50.

95. **Horse Breastplate**

1976.233.44a–w; Hasanlu 72–147a; Corridor Building, BB IV–V; Period IV

The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976

Bronze; length 42 cm

THE BREASTPLATE is crescent shaped with raised borders and a narrow flat outer border. Along this border is a series of small holes uniformly spaced about 3 centimeters apart into which were fitted twenty-two small bronze studs or buttons, each with a central boss and a loop at the back. These loops may have originally held a leather or reed backing.

Other breastplates were found close to this one, including one that is decorated partly in repoussé and engraving with the figure of a kneeling deity holding a bull in each hand (Winter 1980). In the same Corridor Building were recovered hundreds of horse harness and headdress artifacts such as breastplates, shoulder or collar plates, bells, dangles, buttons and umbones, beads,



etc., including Nos. 96–107. This mass juxtaposition of horse equipment suggested to the excavators that the Corridor Building was probably used as a stable and tack room (Winter 1980, *iff.*, 30f.; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 60, 63ff.).¹

Aside from the archaeological juxtaposition of these objects to material associated with horses, they are also represented on the breasts of horses depicted on Assyrian reliefs (Barnett 1975, pl. 37; Hrouda 1965, pls. 28:10, 30:6; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, fig. 2). And a cavalry horse depicted on a seal from Tomb 15 at Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. LVI:810) has objects on its neck and breast that might also be a protective breastplate, here with dangles. Furthermore, at Salamis on Cyprus, Karageorghis (1973–74, pls. xxxi, xc–xcvii, cxxviii) excavated a number of breastplates in situ on horse skeletons, and Rudenko (1970, 123, figs. 57, 58, 62) also found them in situ on horses at Pazyryk.²



96

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Winter 1980, 2, n. 5, fig. 7 (incorrectly listed as being in Teheran); de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 73, fig. 20.

NOTES

1. Horse skeletons have been recovered at Hasanlu, but none of them was harnessed at the time of the destruction: six were recovered in the columned hall of Burned Building V, adjacent to the Corridor Building, and into which the horses seem to have run in panic; others come from Burned Building VI and near Burned Building III (Winter 1980, 30f.; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 60).

2. A further example of a horse represented in art wearing a breastplate occurs on an extraordinary bronze vessel from Marlik (Tomb 42; Negahban 1983, 82f., no. 56), of probably early first-millennium B.C. date. Here it is of a type different in shape than the present example (it may not have been of metal), and it is worn on the chest not the breast.

A bronze crescent-shaped horse breastplate with squared ends and holes around the border for attachment of studs was offered for sale at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 19 May 1979, no. 120: it has a modern Achaemenian-style decoration added.



97

96–101. Openwork Rattle Bells

1976.233.29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; Hasanlu 74-N251, 74-N311, 72-130a, 72-154a, 72-154b, 72-154c; Corridor Building, BB IV–V; Period IV

The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976

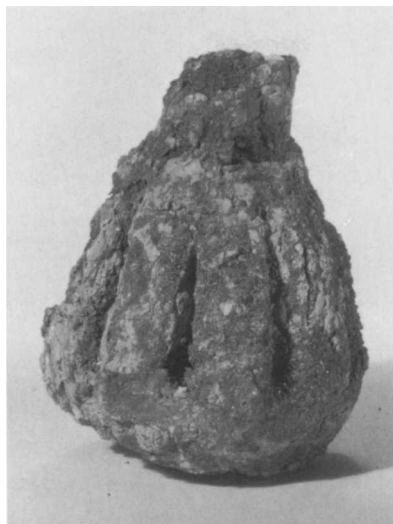
Bronze;¹ heights 7.5, 4.7, 8.7, 5.9, 5.7, 6.1 cm

THESE BELLS are part of a group that was excavated in the Corridor Building together with breastplates, horse bits, and other bronzes that collectively pertain to horse harness and attachments (Dyson 1977b, 552; Winter 1980, *iff.*, 4, figs. 4, 13, 15; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983,

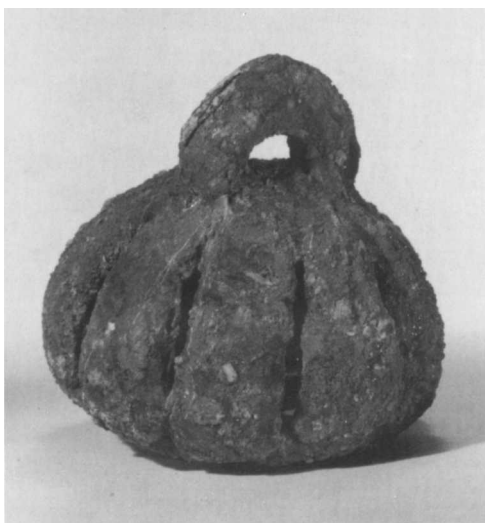


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101



71f., figs., 19a–d; see also Nos. 95, 102–107). Similar bells have also been recovered from other areas of the Hasanlu citadel (Hakemi and Rad 1950, pl. 40:2; Dyson 1968, 90). All vary slightly in height and width but are clearly of one characteristic type, referred to as openwork rattle bells (*Schellen*). Rattle bells differ from true bells (which are conical and have an open base with a free-swinging clapper in the hollow, see Nos. 150, 382–384) in that they are oval or conical closed cages with cutout openings and with one or more pellets sealed inside to make a noise when agitated; the examples shown here have two pellets, except for No. 96 which has none, and No. 89 which is broken. The number of cutouts varies; these have eight, nine, or ten, and the base is flattened or slightly rounded; Nos. 96 and 101 both have a hole in the base. For suspension from a chain, a solid loop was cast with the cage (see No. 369). Some examples of openwork rattle bells were cast in the form of a pomegranate, two of which have been excavated at Hasanlu (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 72, fig. 19a; see No. 371).

A seal from Tomb 15 at Sialk B (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. LVI:s810) depicts a cavalryman on a horse that has a rattle bell suspended on its neck, indicating how these objects were used.² At Sialk was also discovered a rattle bell similar to the present examples, but more oval in shape (see also Nos. 369, 370), a pomegranate-shaped rattle bell, and a true bell (Ghirshman 1938–39, pls. xxv:5, 6, LVI:s883, s834).

Rattle bells were also excavated at Tepe Giyan from an alleged tomb (Tomb 105; Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, 35, pl. 30) dated to the early second millennium B.C. However, it is not certain that the excavated group in fact derives from a single tomb inasmuch as the area was disturbed by grave robbers (see Nos. 366–368). Therefore one cannot be certain that the Giyan bells are the earliest rattle bells known in Iran.

NOTES

1. No. 98: Cu: 91.6%, Sn: 7.73%, Pb: .087%, Zn: .058% (1986).

2. A sealing from Hasanlu depicts a similar scene, but here the horse wears a true bell, a few of which have been excavated at Hasanlu (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 72, fig. 19d; there are others unpublished) which makes them among the earliest known, and which are the same type represented on a number of ivories from Hasanlu (Muscarella 1980a, 162, nos. 6, 29, 30, 34). In the Sasanian period bells were worn on the horse's chest and rump, in battle and hunt scenes (Ghirshman 1962a, fig. 235; Harper and Meyers 1981, 65, 74, 79, 85, pls. 17, 23, 26, 31). And a bronze vessel from Marlik (Tomb 42: Negahban 1983, 86, no. 60) depicts a row or caravan of horses with pomegranate-like objects at their chests that could be bells or tassels. The Marlik tomb may be dated to the early first millennium B.C.

102–104. Horse-Armor Plaques/Dangles

1976.233.41, 42, 43; Hasanlu 74–N313; 74–N361, 74–N362;
Corridor Building, BB IV–V; Period IV
The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the
de Groot and Hawley families, 1976
Bronze; lengths 7.8, 7.2, 7.7 cm

THESE THREE objects are identical in form and obviously had a common function. Each is flat and thin, all have four concave edges, and there is an added loop at the top for fastening to another object or material. A large number of these objects (fifty-five) were recovered in the same area as objects identified as horse trappings (Nos. 95–101, 105–107; Winter 1980, 2, figs. 4, 15; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 70f., fig. 18:2), and it is probable that these also were part of that equipment. It is possible that they served as armor plates or as dangles that were meant to create a noise when the horse was in motion; they may have had both functions. To my knowledge, no Assyrian horses are depicted with armor plates such as these, but an alternative interpretation for the use of these objects does not readily present itself.

A group of flat, oblong triangular plaques/dangles attached to chains that is without provenience but is relevant (Barbier 1970, no. 65) may furnish a clue to the way some plaques/dangles were attached: the chains would easily fit around a horse's neck or be fastened to a harness attachment¹ (cf. triangular objects—apparently not tassels—depicted on Assyrian reliefs: Barnett 1975, pls. 42–44, 147; Yadin 1963, figs. on pp. 300 bottom, 420; cf. similar groups from the Caucasus: Sadykhzade 1971, pl. XI:1–3; and elsewhere: Potratz 1968, fig. 98c). Note, however, that no chains were excavated with our examples.

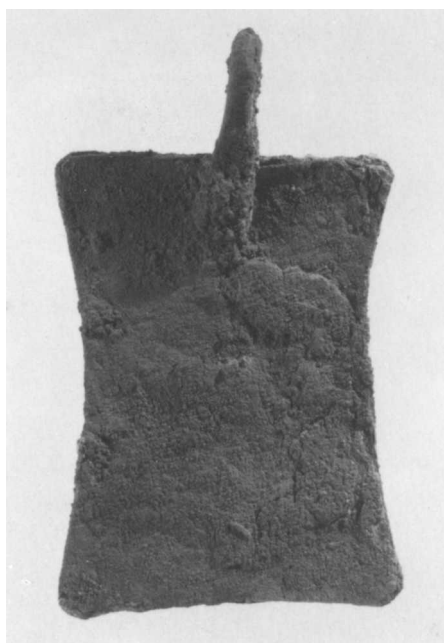
NOTE

1. Another probably genuine bronze sheet-metal horse trapping with dangles attached to chains was offered for sale at Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 91; it has a scene obviously added in recent times.

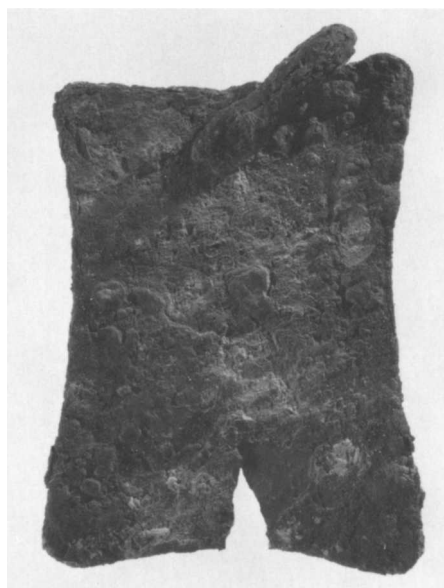
105. Horse Dangle

1976.233.35; Hasanlu 72–N371b; Corridor Building, BB
IV–V; Period IV
The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of
the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976
Bronze; height 4.4 cm, width 4.5 cm

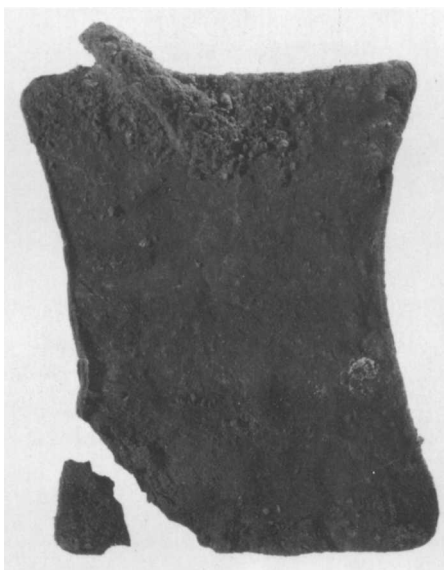
THIS SMALL object has four indented sides that form four prominent corners, and a loop added at the apex for suspension. Although the object is bell-like in shape,



102



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pl. 92 for definite bells; Yadin 1963, fig. on p. 420, top), but it is not clear whether these clusters are metal dangles such as the present one, or tassels made of a soft material.

Reinforcing the conclusion that both the present object and those cited from the Assyrian reliefs are indeed dangles is a cluster of five scalloped bronze bell-like dangles joined loosely to a ring that is in a private collection (Barbier 1970, no. 88; the text [p. 18] refers to the group as "clochettes" but no clappers exist). There can be little doubt but that the present dangle is of the same type as the Barbier ones, and it is highly probable that it too originally joined with others to a ring for attachment to a horse harness.

106, 107. Horse Trappings

1976.233.36, 37; Hasanlu 72-111a; Corridor Building, BB IV-V; Period IV

The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976

Bronze; preserved heights 13.7, 12.7 cm, thickness .5 cm

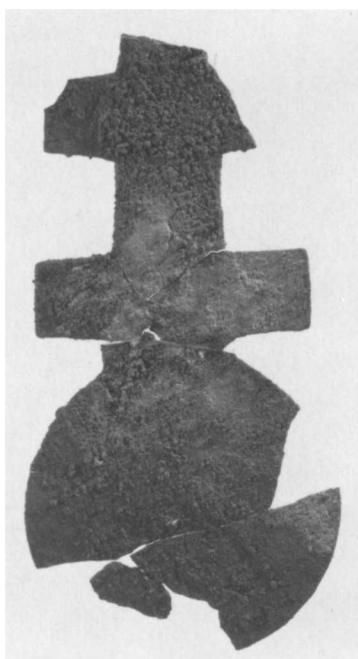
OBJECTS SUCH AS these have been described as banjo-shaped horse trappings functioning as pendants or dangles (Calmeyer 1969a, 105ff.; Moorey 1971a, 136). They are in the form of a round disk below double bars, the top part of which is folded back to form a loop; the metal is quite thin. These two examples were found close to other horse trappings (including Nos. 95-105), and are part of a group of thirteen found together with a bell, perhaps collectively forming a collar (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 70f., fig. 18:3).

To my knowledge, the only other excavated examples of the very same type are those from Tomb 15 at Sialk, which included other forms of horse equipment (Ghirshman 1938-39, pls. xxv:2, lvi:s589; Boehmer 1965, fig. 2:1). Moorey (1971a, 136f.) cites parallels at Tepe Giyan and Ghalekuti, but these objects, albeit horse trappings, are of a different shape. Further, Moorey's citation of horse trappings depicted in art at Til Barsip and Khorsabad are also of a different form; de Schauensee and Dyson (1983, 71) repeat Moorey's parallels and add Luristan as another source for their appearance, which is incorrect. A related example, with short crossbars, is alleged to come from Khurvin (vanden Berghe 1964, pl. xxxviii, no. 261).

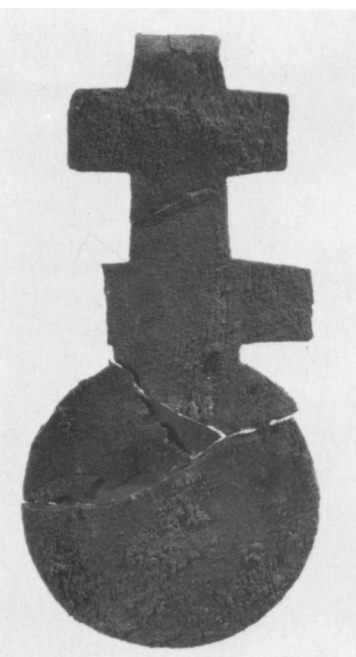
Although no other examples exactly like the present two in shape and size have been recognized from excavations or represented in art, many are known from the antiquities market, all attributed to Iran, but without actual provenience (Calmeyer 1969a, 105ff.; Calmeyer

there is no indication that it contained clappers. It is one of eleven examples found together next to a large group of horse-harness equipment (including Nos. 95-104, 106, 107), and they apparently functioned as dangles (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 72f., fig. 22).

Objects that appear to be similar to this one, having four indented sides and prominent corners, but smaller and without the attachment loop, occur in a tomb at Ghalekuti (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pl. lxxiv:31, 32) and in a second-millennium B.C. tomb at Tepe Djamshidi, northeast of Luristan (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pl. 78:3). Some Assyrian reliefs depict clusters of small bell-like objects hanging from a large rosette disk or from collars (Barnett 1975, pls. 65, 129; cf.



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106

1964a, no. 99; Godard 1931, pl. XLIX:183; Herzfeld 1941, 14off., fig. 256; Moorey 1971a, 136, no. 151; Barbier 1970, nos. 92, 93). The Hasanlu evidence firmly establishes their date in the late ninth century B.C. and confirms a northern Iranian background, in addition to those from Sialk, for their distribution.

108. Horse Dangle (?)

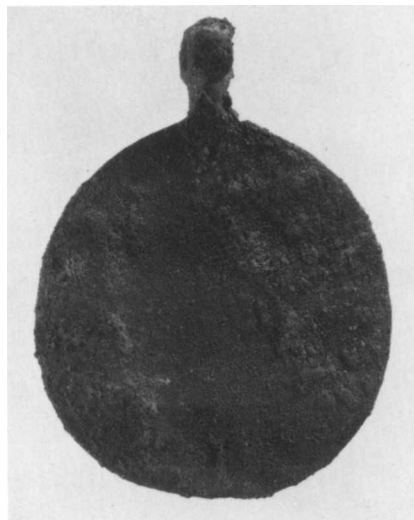
1976.233.38; Hasanlu 72-I; East Portico of BB IV East; Period IV

The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976

Bronze; diameter 6.9 cm

THIS THIN, disk-shaped object has a loop cast with it at the top for suspension. That it joined another object and no doubt hung free seems all that one can objectively say about the piece. It is probable that it was a dangle, perhaps one added to a horse's harness (cf. Nos. 102–104).

Godard (1931, 77, pl. XXVI:76, 77) published two similar bronze disks, one 8.6 centimeters, the other 12.3 centimeters in diameter, as mirrors. It is not certain if Godard's interpretation is correct or whether in fact the disks were horse dangles, as suggested for the Hasanlu example. In any event, the present disk cannot be a mirror. For similar shaped objects from Hasanlu, but with a central umbo, see de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 70f., fig. 18:4.



108

109. Horse Trappings

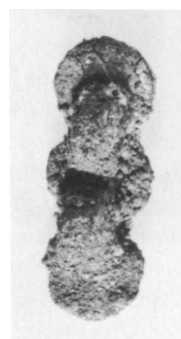
60.20.46a–c; Hasanlu 59–699; BB II; Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1960

Bronze; lengths 3.3 to 3.5 cm

THESE SMALL, flat objects were made to appear as if three disks were joined together, although they were cast in one piece; at the back are two loops for attachment.

Many objects like these have been excavated from various areas of Hasanlu. They obviously had a decorative function and were sewn onto a cloth or leather backing. Because of their similarity to the figure-eight pieces, identified as horse trappings (see No. 110), it is likely that these examples functioned in that capacity.



109a



109b



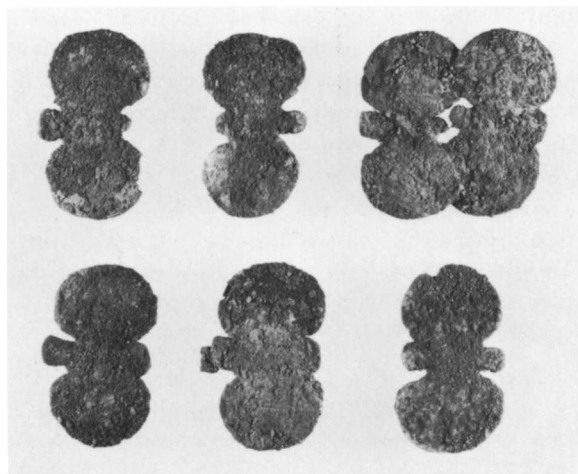
109c

110. Horse Trappings

60.20.54a–f; Hasanlu 59–838; Lower Courtyard; Period IV

Rogers Fund, 1960

Bronze; heights 5 cm



110

111a



111b



111. Horse Trappings

60.20.71a,b; Hasanlu 59–838; Lower Courtyard; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; height of No. 111a, 2.8 cm

THESEVEN figure-eight objects (No. 110) have a cross-bar at the waist and a loop for attachment at the back. They apparently were used as appliqué on leather straps placed around a horse's head or neck as is evidenced by Assyrian reliefs of the eighth century B.C. that depict similarly shaped objects used in this manner (Barnett n.d., pls. 43, 59, 87, 95, 99; Barnett 1975, pls. 63, 92; Boehmer 1965, fig. 3d).

Examples have also been found in a tomb at Sialk alongside horse trappings (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. IV:5591; Boehmer 1965, fig. 3b; cf. also Nos. 108, 109). The finds from Hasanlu and Sialk, as well as the evidence from the Assyrian reliefs, establish a floruit for these objects in the late ninth and eighth centuries B.C.

The figure-eight objects were found associated with an iron horse bit (Hasanlu 59–837, unpublished) and the two pronged objects (No. 111), and collectively they seem to have been part of a headdress (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 63f., fig. 6).¹ Each of the pronged objects has a concave bifurcated base with a loop for attachment, and on the functioning side two long and one short points or prongs; only one example is complete. If their juxtaposition to horse paraphernalia was not fortuitous, then it may be that they too are to be interpreted as part of horse-harness equipment, although how they were used is not clear.

A complete horse collar consisting of seventy-eight units exactly the same in shape as No. 110 exists in a private collection (Merhav 1981, no. 63). It neatly illustrates the original form and juxtaposition of the present examples when they were in use (it could easily have come from Hasanlu!).

NOTE

1. Although the two pronged objects (No. 111) are mentioned in the caption of de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, fig. 6, they are not illustrated there.

112. Umbo/Stud

61.100.21; Hasanlu 60–483; BB II Room 2; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 11.1 cm

113. Umbo/Stud

61.100.58; Hasanlu 60–802; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Iron; diameter 9.5 cm

BOTH UMBONES are of the same type and design: a large raised area decorated with a twelve-petaled rosette in repoussé and a narrow flat rim. The center of each rosette has a stud, and there are others on the rim, four on No. 112, two on No. 113; the backs of the studs are turned back to form a loop (see also Pleiner 1969a, fig. 5:4).

114. Umbo/Stud

61.100.23; Hasanlu 60–503; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 5.9 cm

115. Umbo/Stud

61.100.57; Hasanlu 60–799; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Iron and bronze; diameter 10.4 cm

116. Umbo/Stud

61.100.59; Hasanlu 60–692; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Iron and bronze; diameter 8 cm

THESE THREE examples have a plain, large, raised boss and a flat rim. The studs, all bronze, are placed in a straight line, one at the center and two on the rim; their ends are bent back to form loops. While the bosses of both Nos. 115 and 116 are noticeably raised, that of No. 114 is flatter.

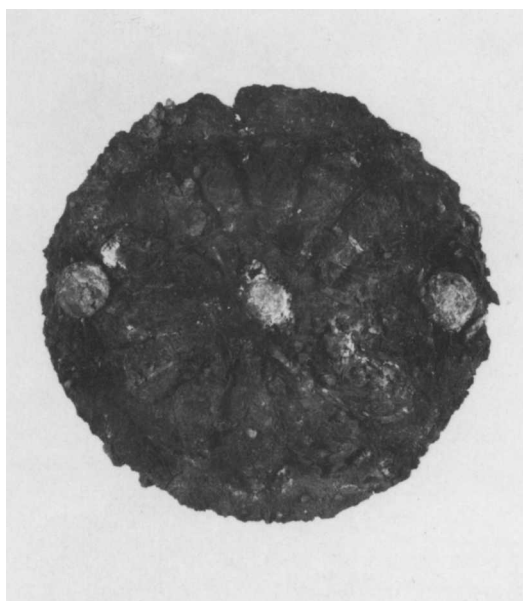
117. Umbo/Stud

60.20.70; Hasanlu 59–799; BB II; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; diameter 5.7 cm

SIMILAR IN shape to Nos. 114–116, this plain umbo has no central stud. Two holes exist on opposite sides of the rim, but it is not known whether these holes held rivets or studs with loops.



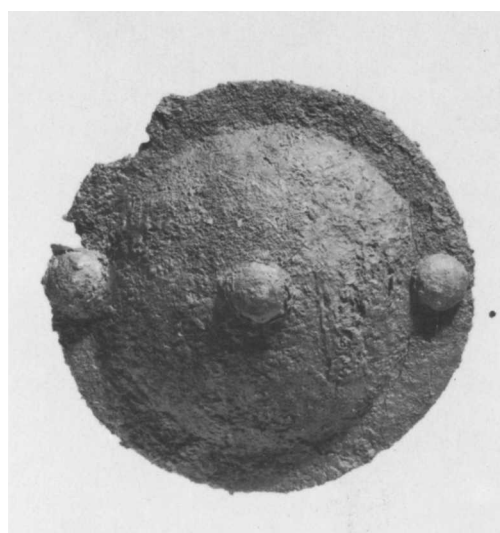
112



113



114



115



116



117



118

118. Umbo/Stud

60.20.51; Hasanlu 59-799; BB II; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; diameter 6 cm

THIS UMBO has a small central raised area framed by a raised circle and a large flat rim. There are no studs piercing the metal, instead there is a loop added at the back.



119

119. Umbo/Stud

61.100.22; Hasanlu 60-503; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 6.1 cm

A CENTRAL stud at the raised center is encircled by nine other studs. These studs were nailed through the umbo and into a separate metal object, fragments of which are still preserved at the back.

120. Umbo/Stud

1976 233.45; Hasanlu 72-137; Corridor Building, BB IV-V; Period IV
The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976
Bronze; diameter 13.4 cm

THE FLAT disk is decorated in repoussé with a central rosette of eight petals surrounded by three concentric circles. A hole is at the center of the rosette, and the narrow rim is decorated with repoussé dots.



120

UMBONES or disks of various designs, some flat, others with raised centers, some plain, others with repoussé designs, occur in many areas of the ancient Near East and were apparently employed in a variety of functions: as belt decorations, horse-harness decorations, chariot-box ornaments, furniture fittings, shield bosses, and so forth (Moorey 1971a, 246ff.). Too often these objects have been found in excavations isolated and disassociated from their original contexts, thereby making it difficult to interpret their specific use. This situation obtains for the present examples. All but one (No. 120) were recovered in Burned Building II, in which were discovered bronze belts, horse equipment, and wood furniture, objects which could have been associated with the umbones. All but one have loops at the back, which could indicate that they were sewn onto something, to leather or cloth, but the presence of the same kind of loops on objects definitely attached to metal (cf. No. 95) suggests that they could equally have had metal backings. One example alone (No. 119) has evidence that it

was attached to a metal backing, but what this object was eludes us.

The present umbones are certainly not cymbals, which are larger and have a large hole at the center to hold a cloth or leather thong but none along the rims (Moorey 1971a, 246ff.; Boehmer 1972, 135f., nos. 1239–41; Negahban 1964, 20, fig. 54, from Tomb 36: see No. 52 above, note 3). Eliminating them as cymbals still leaves the possibilities mentioned above. Assyrian reliefs depict rosette umbones exactly like Nos. 112 and 113, placed on both the inside and the outside of shields (Madhloom 1970, pl. xxvii:5–8); as horse-harness decoration, again like Nos. 112 and 113 (Madhloom 1970, pls. ii–iv, vi–viii; Yadin 1963, figs. on pp. 299ff., 382f., 387ff., 427; Potratz 1966, pl. xlvi; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 60f., figs. 1, 2); as armor plaques (Moorey 1971a, 250; Yadin 1963, fig. on p. 382; Barnett 1975, pl. 67); and as clothing decoration (Moorey 1971a, 249f.; Barnett 1975, pls. 105, 116, 118, 119, 121, 127, 130; Madhloom 1970, pls. xxxv:1, xxxviii, xxxix, xl:2, 4).

At Hasanlu, umbones of different and smaller types than Nos. 112–120 were used to decorate bronze furniture feet formed like human legs with boots (No. 2); fragments of metal of undetermined use were also found embellished with added bosses or umbones. However, none of Nos. 112–120 was recovered next to the many bodies found in the debris, nor juxtaposed to belts or wooden shields (only one bronze example was found at Hasanlu), nor to wood furniture fragments. Further, none of the shields depicted on the Hasanlu ivories have bosses or umbo decorations, nor do any of the warriors depicted wear armor or belts with umbones. With regard to horse equipment, two of the ivories (Muscarella 1980a, nos. 2, 6) show a round disk at the side of the horses in the same place where it is depicted on Assyrian horses (Yadin 1963, figs. on pp. 383, 386f., 389, etc.; cf. Belli 1977, fig. 22). Also wood examples of apparent umbones derive from Pazyryk (Rudenko 1970, pl. 73). No. 112 was found together with horse equipment and this fact, plus its size, may allow us to tentatively accept this example as horse-harness decoration.

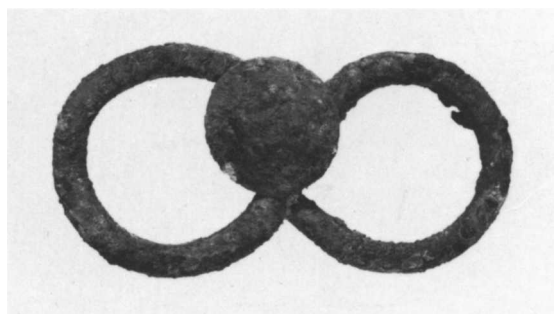
121. Ornament

63.109.7; Hasanlu 62–571; BB II; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1963
Bronze; length 4.4 cm

A CONVEX disk has a small projection on which are two spheres; corrosion makes it unclear whether the spheres are added studs, but this is probable. At the back of the disk is a loop for attachment to cloth or leather; whether the object was decoration for a human or an animal eludes us.



121



122

122. Buckle/Ornament (?)

61.100.41; Hasanlu 60–7; Upper Court Gate; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; length 8.1 cm

THE OBJECT is formed by a wire twisted into a figure eight with a stud added at the center which covers the ends of the wire; it is complete. Regarding its function, one might guess that it is a buckle for a leather belt—no bronze belt was juxtaposed—or that it is part of a horse trapping, the loops holding leather straps.

123. Wall Decoration (?)

61.100.9; Hasanlu 60–1037; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; diameter 23 cm, height of tube 9 cm

THE OBJECT is partly fragmented and crushed, but there is enough intact to allow one to distinguish a circular plaque with a hollow tubular projection that is closed at its end. There is a raised ridge at the base of the tube. The plaque and tube were cut and hammered from one sheet of metal; a separately made disk was flanged into the end of the tube, sealing it. Three holes with sturdy nails in place are extant along the edge of the plaque; there may have been a fourth.

The nails indicate that the plaque was placed against something strong and heavy, and the shape and size suggest that it functioned as a wall decoration (and not as a



123

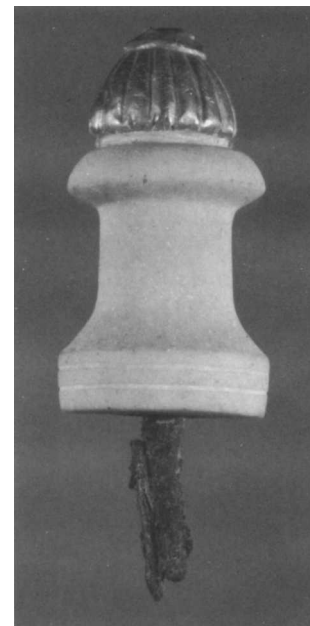
chariot axle cap). At least four different types of plaques applied to walls have been recovered from Burned Building II. Several terracotta examples of either round or concave-sided plaques with a central knob are highly decorated with glazed white, black, yellow, and blue motifs (Dyson 1959, 12ff., fig. on p. 14; Dyson 1965, 199; Dyson 1977b, 551). These are either imports from Assyria (viz. Meyer 1965, no. 127) or closely copied local productions. One terracotta example has a horned human head projecting from the plaque (Dyson 1960a, 134, fig. 11; Dyson 1960c, 6; Dyson 1967, 2961, pl. 1484B; Porada 1975, 393, no. 309b); and another of glazed terracotta (Dyson 1972, 48, fig. 7) has a snarling lion's head projecting from the plaque (cf. Andrae 1935, pl. 37b). If the example here is correctly identified, it represents the only metal wall decoration recovered at Hasanlu.

The only parallel I have found is a metal wall plaque with a long tubular projection and holes at the plaque's edges excavated at Nuzi from a second-millennium B.C. house (Starr 1937, pl. 127E; cf. Andrae 1943, pls. 53, 54, from Zincirli; and see the concave-sided metal plaques with central knob from Tell ed-Daim in Iraq, *Sumer* 16 [1960], 284f., pl. 9 [Arabic]; reference from P.R.S. Moorey).

124. Furniture/Chariot Ornament (?)

65.163.57; Hasanlu 64–320; BB II Room 5; Period IV Rogers Fund, 1965

Bronze, gold, limestone; height 11.8 cm



124

A BRONZE shaft is surmounted by a fluted conical stone cap covered with gold foil; a carved limestone casing exists below the cap. The casing was missing on this example, but it is correctly restored from a second, intact example found next to it (and now in the University Museum, Philadelphia). Both examples preserve a bronze bar overlapping the tang and attached to it by rivets, two extant on the one here, three on its mate; the bar projects below the end of the extant part of the tang. The mate also preserves traces of iron corrosion in the space between the cap and the limestone unit.

Any attempt to interpret the function of these objects will be a guess. It is possible to recognize them as finials from some item of furniture, from the uprights of a chair, for example. And not far away, adjacent to the platform at the south end of Room 5, the Great Hall, remains of a wood chair were recovered. Indeed, the objects also look very much like the knobs or pommels on the rein rings projecting above chariot bulls and horses represented both on the gold bowl from Hasanlu and on a remarkable bronze vessel from Tomb 42 at Marlik (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 63, 74, fig. 5; Negahban 1983, 81f., no. 56: both very probably early first millennium B.C.). They also have a superficial resemblance to a series of plain white stone pommels excavated in several buildings at Hasanlu, including Burned Building II (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 74f., fig. 25a). None of these objects was found next to a chariot although some were recovered in areas where horse harness and a possible chariot were excavated. Although they do not seem to be hollow (no description was vouch-

safed) for sleeving onto a pole, they have been interpreted as yoke-saddle pommels, an interpretation not to my mind absolute. In any event, they do not have a tang like this piece (and No. 1), and if we interpret this piece as a yoke pommel we are left with the problem of their occurrence in Burned Building II. Thus, the provenience of the pair as well as the tangs allow the furniture interpretation to appear more attractive, if not absolute.¹

NOTE

1. It is of some interest to note that the objects are very close in form to chariot yoke-saddle pommels from the tomb of Tutankhamen: F. James, in *Expedition* 16, 3 (1974), 32, 35, figs. 2, 3. See also Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 85, fig. 42.

125. Finial (?)

61.100.16; Hasanlu 60-1018; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze, iron; height 13.7 cm, diameter 7.7 cm, weight
1123.6 g (2 lb., 7½ oz.)

THIS SOLID, carinated, symmetrical object is plain except for a nipple at its top and a grooved, thin hollow tang within which may be seen remains of an iron core. A fragmented iron strip or bar is joined to the tang by a bronze wire.

It is difficult to interpret this object as having functioned as a mace head, although its shape suggests such a use. It is quite heavy and large, and would have required a strong individual to wield it successfully in bat-

tle; further, the tang appears to be too thin to have functioned as a socket for a mace handle as the latter would surely have broken off after a few strikes. At the same time, the weight and size seem to preclude accepting it as a scepter head. The wire remains indicate that the tang was attached to some other object, even though it seems probable that it was also held securely to some foundation by the iron inserted into the hollow.

Thus the function is not readily recognized. Perhaps we may tentatively interpret it as some type of finial, but attached to what object is unknown. At least two other examples were excavated at Hasanlu (Dyson 1959, 16: two may be seen on the table).

126. Fragmentary Disk

1976.233.50; Hasanlu 74-N444; eastern area of mound; Period IV

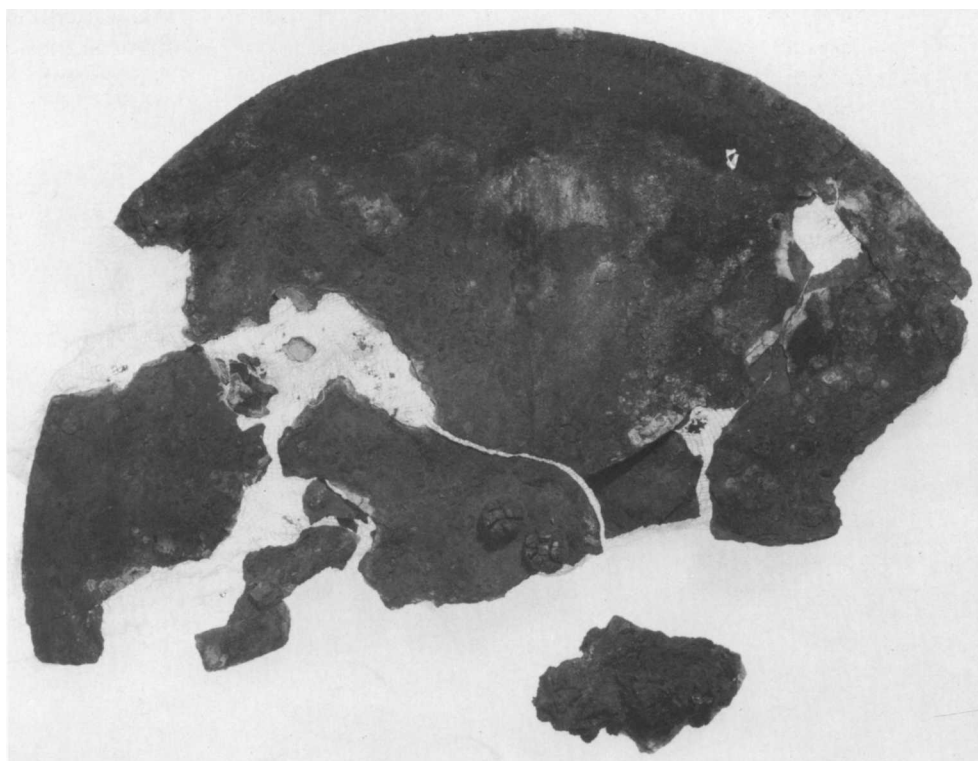
The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976

Bronze; diameter ca. 36 cm

THIS VERY fragmented and fragile round object was originally about 36 centimeters in diameter. It has a reserved border and a shallow round depression at its center in which are two rivets that held a solid loop at the back. This object does not seem to have been a shield or shield buckle, for the presence of the loop precludes that possibility. All that can be said, given the meager physical remains, is that it was a disk attached by a loop to another object.



125



126



127

127. Bolt/Linchpin (?)

60.20.48; Hasanlu 59-711; BB II Room 13; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; length 15.4 cm

A SOLID tang with a blunt base is topped by a loop below which are two small amorphous projections. The tang clearly fitted into something and the loop may have held a thong to tie the object in place. Perhaps the object was used as a door bolt, or as a linchpin for a wagon or chariot wheel. Andrae (1943, 106, figs. 136, 138, 139) published similar objects excavated at Zincirli and noted that although he originally thought they were linchpins, a local wagon builder told him they could not have served that function. None of the linchpins known from Egypt or the Near East resembles our object (Ellis 1966; Calmeyer 1980), and none of the chariots represented on the Hasanlu ivories shows a linchpin (Muscarella 1980a, 161). I do not know whether other examples of this object occur at Hasanlu and it seems best to leave open the question of its function. Gropp (1981, 107ff., pl. 11d) published a thick tanged object with a knobbed head, 14 centimeters in height, that he believes is a linchpin from an Uartian chariot (see also Calmeyer 1980, 111). Perhaps he is correct, but the evidence as interpreted by Gropp is not sufficient to allow one to conclude with certainty a similar use for the object shown here. It seems best to see it as a bolt, with still unrecognized function.¹

NOTE

1. Gropp (1981, passim, esp. 112) constructs a coherent group of chariot fittings from a large number of bronzes derived from the German art market. His interpretation of the various specific chariot positions of this material is based in part on his view that it is with certainty a *Fundkomplex*, that the pieces were found together. His interpretation is to my mind tentatively satisfactory but not in every case convincing; his reconstruction deserves more study.



128



129

128. Tube

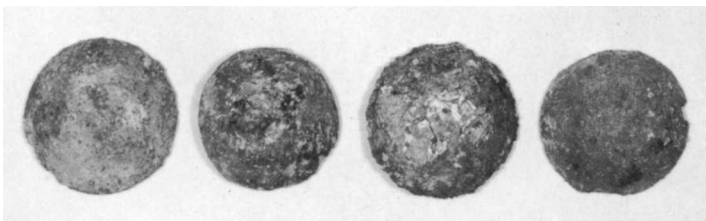
61.100.49; Hasanlu 60-753; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; length 38.4 cm, diameter .9-1.5 cm

129. Tubes

61.100.134; Hasanlu 60-733; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; 24 small fragments; lengths 3.8 to 6 cm, diameters .5 to 1.4 cm

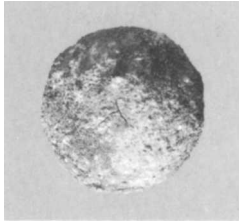
130. Studs

60.20.56a-d; Hasanlu 59-853; BB I East; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze

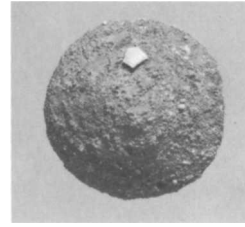


131. Stud

61.100.131; Hasanlu 60–379; BB I West; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze



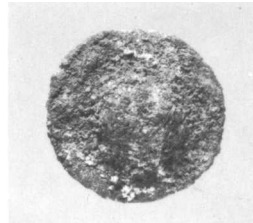
131



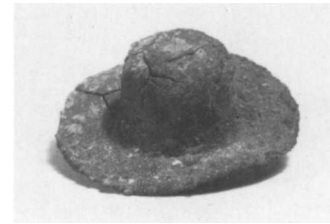
132

132. Stud

61.100.132; Hasanlu 60–518; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze



133



134

133. Stud

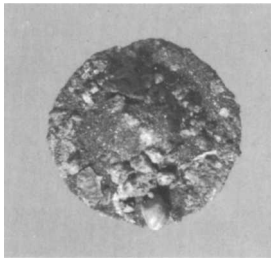
61.100.133; Hasanlu 60–1031; Upper Court Gate;
Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze

134. Stud

60.20.50; Hasanlu 59–795; BB II; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze

135. Stud

61.100.130; Hasanlu 60–374; BB II; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze



135

136–138. Studs

60.20.66, 67, 68; Hasanlu 59–590; BB I East; Period IV
Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; lengths 3.5 to 3.6 cm

139. Nail

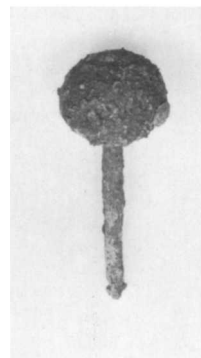
61.100.128; Hasanlu 60–672; BB II Room 5; Period IV
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; length 5.1 cm

140. Tacks

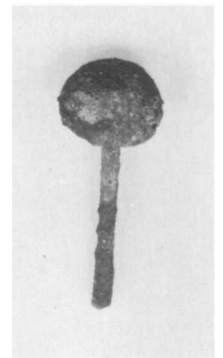
61.100.127; Hasanlu 60–12
Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Bronze; 73 examples in a cluster; height of one tack .7 cm



136



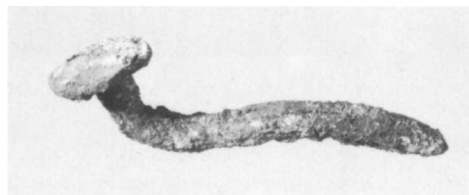
137



138

THE TUBES were found together in Burned Building II but probably had different functions. No. 128 seems to be complete (two fragments join) and may have been a straw or pipe for the passage of liquid. No. 129 consists of twenty-four small, more or less complete pieces that were most probably parts of a necklace (see No. 32). A configuration of similar and twisted bronze tubes from Ghalekuti may also be the remains of a necklace (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pl. LXXV).

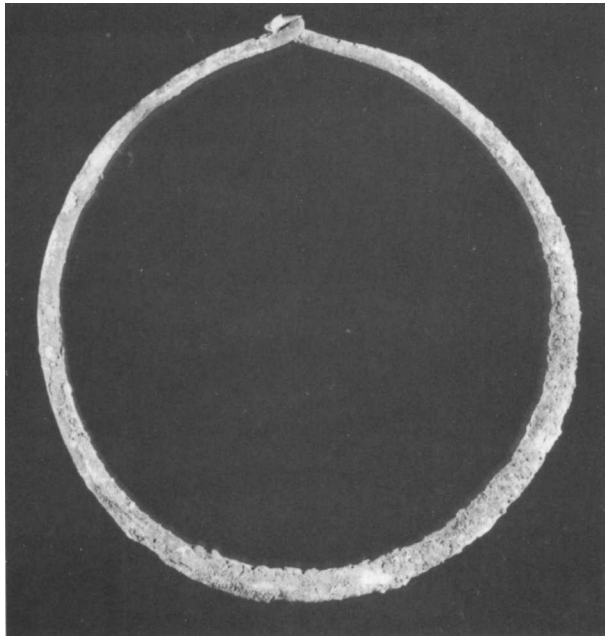
The studs were used as fasteners or decoration. One stud is still attached to a flat bronze fragment (see Nos. 2, 56–58, 61, 95, 113–119, 122). The use of nails and tacks is self-evident, to hold objects together.



139



140



141

DINKHA TEPE

141. Necklace

67.247.10; Dinkha Tepe 66–1036; Period III

Rogers Fund, 1967

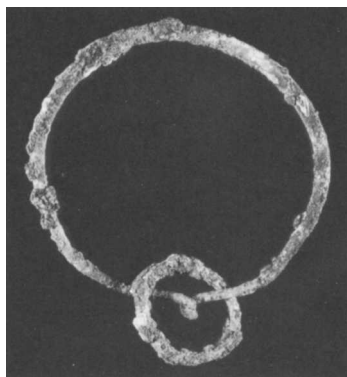
Bronze;¹ diameter 15 x 13.6 cm

BECAUSE the terminals are joined, one end linked to the other, this object is called a necklace rather than a torque. It is plain, thicker at the center than at the terminals.

The necklace was excavated in a Period III (Iron I) brick-lined tomb (Square B9a, Burial 22: Muscarella 1974b, 36, fig. 1; 84, table 1) along with a ring and bracelet, all on the skeleton of a child. Another necklace of the same type was found in a burial of the same period (Muscarella 1974b, 46f., Square B9b, Burial 16, fig. 14:1037; cf. No. 142). The chronological range for the Period III at Dinkha seems to cover the fourteenth to the twelfth centuries B.C. (Muscarella 1974b, 54) and is contemporary to Hasanlu Period V.

NOTE

1. Cu: 98.4%, Sn: 1.18%, Pb: .102%, Zn: .025% (1986).



142

142. Earring

67.247.9; Dinkha Tepe 66–1009; Period II

Rogers Fund, 1967

Bronze; diameter of larger loop 5.9 cm

THIS EARRING consists of a plain loop with its terminals linked together like No. 141, and with a solid smaller ring added to form a dangle. It is one of a pair found in situ on the skeleton of an adult in a brick-lined tomb of Period II (Square B9b, Burial 19: Muscarella 1974b, 37, fig. 2; 61, fig. 27: where the small ring is correctly shown opposite the linked terminals). Other jewelry found on the skeleton included a bronze torque, two bronze pins found at the shoulders and one on the chest, a plain bronze ring, and some beads. Period II at Dinkha is equivalent to the Hasanlu Period IV (Iron II), which spans the years from the twelfth to the ninth centuries B.C. (Dyson 1977b, 550).



143

SÉ GIRDAN

143. Axe

1975.362.3; Sé Girdan 70-12; Tumulus IV; Iron III period
The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of
the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976
Copper;¹ length 14.5 cm

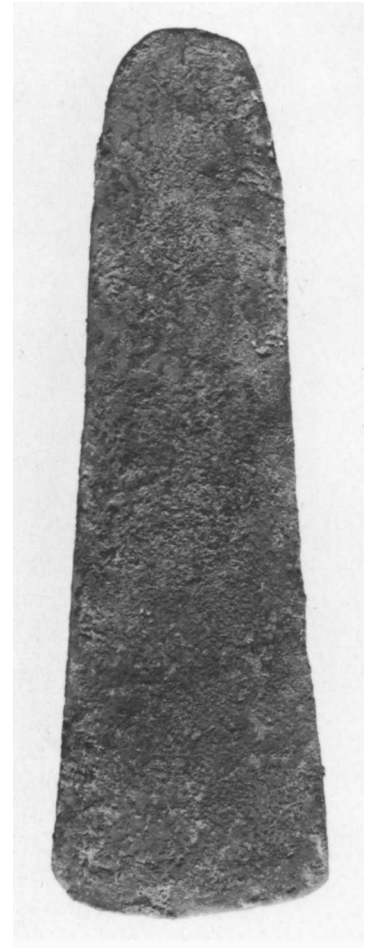
144. Celt

1975.362.2; Sé Girdan 70-15; Tumulus IV; Iron III period
The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of
the de Groot and Hawley families, 1976
Copper;² length 13.8 cm

THE AXE is slightly concave on its inner face, convex on the outer. The blade tapers slightly as does the butt, which has a projection that forms a point; the socket is almost round. The celt is thin and flat, flaring so that the long sides are slightly concave.

The axe is one of three nearly identical examples, all made in separate molds, found together with the celt in a well-made stone tomb within Tumulus IV at Sé Girdan (Muscarella 1971b, 7ff., 11, 14, fig. 14; the left-hand example is this axe, at the right is the adze). The tomb had been plundered, apparently in antiquity, and aside from the axes and celt all that was recovered was 565 gold and 38 stone beads (Muscarella 1971b, 11, 14, fig. 13). The blades do not show wear, and it may be that they were placed newly made in the tomb.

The tomb was dated by the present writer to the Iron III period in Iran, the seventh–sixth centuries B.C. This



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date was challenged by Deshayes (1973) and Sulimirski (1978, 16), both of whom considered the finds to be earlier, third millennium B.C. to Deshayes, late second millennium B.C. to Sulimirski. The writer (Muscarella 1973c) disagreed with Deshayes's chronology, arguing for the later first-millennium date as originally suggested. Moreover, the Caucasian Late Bronze Age axes brought forth as parallels by Sulimirski have nothing in common with those from Sé Girdan. In fact, the closest parallel that I can find for the latter axes is an iron example from Nimrud excavated in the nineteenth century (Layard 1853, 194: illustrated upside down?), which is about seventh century B.C. in date.

NOTES

1. Cu: 98.6%, Sn: .042%, Pb: .046%, Zn: .084% (1986).
2. Cu: 99.3%, Sn: .049%, Pb: .017%, Zn: .023% (1986).

Northwest Iran, General Objects

145. Vase

64.257.1a; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1964
Bronze;¹ preserved height 33.3 cm, maximum diameter
20.9 cm

THE VASE has been published elsewhere (Muscarella 1972), and therefore only a summary discussion will be offered here with some new views on chronology.

The vessel consists of two hammered sections joined together approximately at midpoint, a narrow strip of the lower part tucked under a similar strip of the upper and held together with studs, and a high, slightly flaring, concave neck that is decorated in repoussé with raised bands and a double row of linked conelike buds; the lower section lacks part of its lower portion and its base. Each section is decorated with three registers or friezes, for a total of six, which are divided by the joining strip. It is certain that there was not a seventh register below, primarily because of the extent and nature of the preserved lower curve, and also because of the symmetry of the design. The friezes consist of grazing animals, forty-three of which are preserved, the topmost moving to the right, all the others but one to the left, executed in repoussé and chasing. In addition to the animals, each frieze has either rosettes, plants, or trees, and winged insects or birds to illustrate an outdoor, natural environment, as well as to enhance the overall decorative effect. Beginning at the top, there is a row of three bulls and a winged composite-ibex creature, below this eight winged goats and one kid, then a row of five ibex; the next frieze—the fourth row and the first of the lower section—has twelve winged goats, followed below by a row of nine bulls, and finally the traces of three ibex.

Each creature and subsidiary element, while clearly executed in the same form and style, is individually drawn and decorated, so that no two are exactly alike. This creates the sense that specific animals, creatures, and trees are intended to be illustrated. Characteristic of the animal decoration is the division of the various parts of the bodies and joints which are marked off by curves and lines and embellished by fine, carefully rendered lines, dots, strokes, and patterning. The effect is stylized and

aesthetically stunning, and the high quality of the execution makes it one of the finest works of art known to us from ancient Iran.

It is particularly interesting that the two sections were decorated by two different artists, each conforming to the same stylistic fashion and inspiration that informed the creation of the vessel, but also allowing his own creative perceptions to reach fruition. By comparing the upper and lower sections, it is easy to recognize the different hands at work in the drawing of the heads, horns, curls, tails, wings, as well as the relative proportions of the animals' bodies and the choice of decorative markings and the technique of applying them. One may also note that the artist of the upper section allowed one frieze of animals, as well as one animal in his lowest row, to move in the direction opposite to the others; he permitted two animals to gambol, the rest to walk; he added a kid; he used a large variety of filler elements; and he decorated the narrow bands separating the rows. The artist of the lower section was more conservative but certainly not an inferior artist to his freer colleague.²

Only one exact parallel to this vase in shape, material, and manufacturing technique, and in decorative subject matter and style of execution, is known to me. Once in the Heeramanek collection and now at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Muscarella 1972, 49f., n. 80; Muscarella 1977b, 36, fig. 14; Moorey 1981, no. 415), this vessel has two friezes of parading animals, one of birds (ducks?), and one of vultures. From the drawing published in Moorey (1981, no. 415), it seems that the skill of execution equals that of the Metropolitan Museum's vessel. However, both the way the details of the bodies are drawn and the economy of filler ornament indicate clearly that the Los Angeles vessel was made by an artist other than the two who made the one here.

Because of the individual variations of style on these two vessels and their relationship to the decoration on

others of the same class of artifacts, we are able to isolate the hands of three separate northwestern Iranian artists. One may also suggest that these are contemporary artists who learned from the same sources, with the understanding that contemporary means either chronologically parallel manufacture of the two vessels or a relatively short period of time separating them. The lack of an archaeological findspot for either vessel prevents meaningful discussion on this issue. This same lack prevents a facile statement that both vessels came from the same workshop or from two workshops at the same site, for we do not know whether the Los Angeles artist worked face to face with the other two artists or whether he interacted with them from another site. In any event, one workshop or two, one site or two, the vessels were crafted by artisans and artists who shared the same formal and structural stylistic information.

Concerning general provenience, although the Metropolitan Museum and Los Angeles vases are strays, there can be no doubt that they derived from Iran, and judging from excavated parallels, probably from northwestern Iran or the south Caspian area. By far the closest parallels are from Marlik, Kaluraz, and Hasanlu, where one finds on silver and gold vessels not only animal friezes, but also the same form and style of animal depiction and body decoration (Negahban 1964, figs. 103, 108, 109, 111, 113, 136, 140, 144, pls. IV, VIII, XII, XVI; Hakemi 1968, 63, 64, pl. XXIII; Muscarella 1966, 127, fig. 10; Porada 1965, pl. 23, figs. 63, 64). Of further interest is a small group of ivory plaques from Hasanlu that depict winged bulls executed in the same style and with the same elaborate body markings and divisions as on this vase and the others cited above (Muscarella 1980a, 108ff., 190f., nos. 214–20). I have argued that these are Iranian ivories carved under the influence of the artists who worked on the sheet-metal vessels and that they are distinct from the “local style” Hasanlu examples.

Other stray vessels, although of different shape than the one here, have animals of the same style and body decoration, and they are surely from related workshops (Amiet 1976, 50, no. 95; Carless 1965, 27, fig. 2; Muscarella 1972, 38ff., fig. 21; see also No. 146 below).³

With regard to chronology, I noted in 1972 that, based on the excavated parallels and generally accepted chronology, the Metropolitan Museum vase was probably made sometime between 1000 and 800 B.C. This was given as a broad and tentative date. Reinforcing this chronology is the group of Iranian ivories from Hasanlu just mentioned, which was recovered in a destruction level dated very close to 800 B.C.; unless they were heirlooms, their occurrence in a late ninth-century context supports the first-millennium chronology. Two scholars

have suggested alternative dates for the vase. Calmeyer (1973a, 205, n. 443, c) believes that it was made in the second millennium B.C., whereas Moorey (1975c, 25) claimed (but without explanation) that it should be dated to the Iron Age III B period (cf. Moorey 1981, 84, where he dates the Los Angeles vessel ca. 1000–650 B.C.). Three separate dates have thus been suggested as the chronological period within which the vase was manufactured, an indication that maybe we are far less secure about the chronology of northwestern Iranian material than is realized.

In his most recent publication of selected objects from the Marlik cemetery, Negahban (1983, 89f.) casually informs us with no comment or discussion that one tomb, Tomb 36, contained a fibula: which I argue signifies that the tomb was deposited, closed, not earlier than the late eighth century B.C., or later.⁴ This tomb yielded, among many items, two gold vessels (Negahban 1983, G10 and G12; Negahban 1964, figs. 111, 140, 144, pls. VIII, XII) decorated with animal friezes in two levels. These vessels were in use up to the time of the tomb's closure, whether or not it is eventually concluded that they were curated heirlooms, and the archaeological evidence does not contradict the conclusion that the vessels could have been made in the eighth century B.C. This means that the Metropolitan Museum vase could have been manufactured sometime between, to give the outside limits, the tenth or ninth century and the years, more or less, close to about 700 B.C.. The Marlik data derived from Tomb 36 also suggest that our dating of a number of the vessels found at the site (but not necessarily all, viz. Negahban 1983, G15, Tomb 52), as well as a number of related strays, will have to be considerably lowered. Negahban's (1983, viii, 95) dating of all the tombs and their contents from the fourteenth or thirteenth to the tenth century B.C. is untenable, but until all the tombs are published in full further discussion is precluded.

In the original publication of the vase (Muscarella 1972, 43ff.) I argued that its form of horizontal friezes may have been the ultimate prototype for the origin of certain East Greek animal friezes represented on pottery vessels, those known as “Wild Goat” style (see also Moorey 1974c, 195). At that time the major problem with this argument was that the Greek examples did not appear before the mid-seventh century B.C., at least a century and a half later than the latest date I had assigned to the vase. But now, given the new information from Marlik, manifestly indicating a longer life for the animal frieze in Iran than hitherto recognized, the chronological gap between the advent of the Wild Goat style and the Iranian parallels brought forth is significantly



FIG. 7.
Reconstruction of No.
145, drawn by Grace
Freed Muscarella.

narrowed, if not indeed closed. For the two vessels in Tomb 36, whose latest deposition date could conceivably have been in the seventh century, were presumably in use up to that time and available to interested observers; the animal frieze was not limited in Iran to a time before 800 B.C.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1972, figs. 1–12; Muscarella 1977b, fig. 13; Muscarella in *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 51; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 45, fig. 62.

NOTES

1. Cu: 87.6%, Sn: 11.8%, Pb: .179%, Zn: .000% (1986).
2. Two artists working on the decoration of one vessel might more appropriately be expected on painted terracotta examples (see Hardin 1979, 92f.) than on those of metal. Some undecorated Phrygian bronze vessels were made in two sections joined together (R. S. Young 1981, 116, 120, 225). Kellner (1976, 88, fig. 67) and vanden Berghe and De Meyer (1982–83, no. 173) published a vessel made in this manner; it is constructed of iron and may be Urartian.
3. Note that the goblet in figs. 13 and 14 of Muscarella 1972 is a forgery as pointed out in Muscarella 1977b, 36, n. 16. Also the vessel cited in Muscarella 1972, n. 6, is not necessarily from Luristan as implied in the text (p. 38) but is probably from the same area that produced the present vase; cf. Moorey 1975c, 25, n. 41. Note also that suspicious vessels with strange uncanonical scenes executed in a manner not consistent with what one expects from the Caspian area, the “Marlik culture,” keep appearing, e.g., *Nouveau Drouot*, Paris, 24 September 1981, nos. 162 and 163, and 26–27 May 1983, back cover, none of which inspire confidence that they are ancient, especially the last; see also No. 146.
4. In Muscarella 1972 (42f.) I already believed that a second-millennium B.C. date for all the Marlik material was not necessarily a correct view, that a first-millennium date must also be considered; Negahban 1983 confirms this anticipation. See No. 52, notes 1 and 3.



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Detail of No. 145.



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146. Bowl

51.114; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1951
Bronze; diameter 13.3 cm

THIS SMALL hemispherical bowl with a flat lip is decorated on two sides with the same scene depicting a feline attacking a horned animal, probably a goat; there is no groundline. I am not absolutely certain that the scene was executed in ancient times, although it is "authentic" in style and details. While the exterior surface seems to look correct, the interior has a fresh appearance to my eyes, crisp and sharp lines. With these hesitant, but still unfirm, thoughts in mind, I will concern myself with the scene strictly on its own terms.

The stylized patterning of the bodies, the division of the bodies into parts and joints, and the outlined hooked front shoulders characterize the style and execution as features represented in northwestern Iran (see No. 145 for references). In addition to general stylistic parallels in northwestern Iran, there is an exact parallel in all details, the scene and the drawing and body patterning, on an unexcavated object that may be a belt clasp, which was one time in the David-Weill collection (Amiet 1976, 82f., no. 192).¹ Another stray belt clasp of the same type exhibits a similar scene by another craftsman, with the emphasis here given to the feline (Barbier 1970, no. 29, cf. no. 30). The date of the Metropolitan Museum bowl, if the scene is indeed ancient, will be the same as that suggested for No. 145, between the tenth–ninth centuries and about 700 B.C.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

D. Carter 1957, pl. 27c; Muscarella 1972, fig. 16.

NOTE

1. On visual terms it seems that this clasp was made by the same craftsman, or one from the same shop, as produced the bowl; or, alternatively, one (the bowl?) was copied in recent times from the other.

147. Horse Cheekpiece

1980.324.3; Gift of Louise Crane, in memory of her mother, Mrs. W. Murray Crane, 1980
Bronze;¹ height 11.5 cm

THAT THIS object is a cheekpiece for a horse is clearly indicated both by the central hole through which the now missing bit was secured and by the six spikes on the back that bruised the horse's cheek for better control. The scene represented is the so-called master-of-animals motif, in which a central figure, here probably a hero, for he lacks otherworldly attributes, holds an animal in each hand. The hero bends on one knee and is oriented to the left, but with his face and torso shown frontally for an awesome effect on the viewer. He has a thin mouth, prominent nose, large and round eyes framed by thick brows that meld with his hair, which forms a curl at his shoulders; a plain rounded hat covers the top of his head. His distinctive beard is divided into three thick, pointed units; his moustache, however, appears to be thin. While his hair is incised, corrosion prevents knowing whether the beard and moustache are similarly decorated. The clothing consists of a short-sleeved frock and a mini-kilt that forms a short triangle at the center, as if to protect the hero's modesty; no belt is visible. Vertical incisions decorate the borders of the sleeves and kilt and crosshatched incisions framed by vertical ones indicate boots.

The hero grasps two animals by the neck in a menacing, even destructive, fashion, rather than a simple mastering one, and it is possible that the creatures are dead. They certainly seem to be depicted as limp although it is possible that their front legs grasp the two straight palm trees (?) that frame the scene. That the creatures are ibex seems indicated by the swellings on their horns, and the horns curve back to touch the hero's curls. The left ibex has an ear that extends to touch the hero's shoulder; the ear of the right ibex is short and simply projects upward. The latter's foot touches that of the hero and his extended tail touches his thigh; the left ibex has no tail and his rump abuts the hero's knee. Both creatures have incised body markings, but corrosion prevents a full description.

This cheekpiece was at one time in the possession of the Stora Art Gallery, Paris, before it passed to the Crane collection, and in the literature it has been referred to as the Stora cheekpiece. Its mate was at one time in the David-Weill collection before being acquired by the Louvre. It would seem that the pair was found (not excavated) together and dispersed to their separate modern homes by dealers. They are basically the same in form and features, except for minor details: on the Louvre piece (judging from photographs) the hero's head seems

more vertically positioned and the beard seems slightly longer than on the Metropolitan Museum piece; also on the Louvre piece the ears of both ibex touch the hero's shoulders, and there is a space below one; further, the tips of the palms (?) are blunt and not neatly articulated. For the sake of symmetry, the two heroes kneel in different directions. These differences surely indicate castings from separate modelings.

Of some interest with regard to the modern history of the pair is the fact that although both pieces have been known since 1931, they have been consistently confused, so that in publications the cheekpiece here has been labeled as being in the David-Weill collection (Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 30A; Ackerman 1936, 188, fig. 4; Potratz 1966, 177, no. 2), while that piece was listed as being in the Stora collection (A. Godard 1931, pl. xli:168; Rostovtzeff 1931a, 48, pl. 3:4; Potratz 1966, 177, no. 1).

In a recent monograph Irene Winter (1980, 11ff.) has discussed the iconographical motif of the kneeling master-of-animals figure, demonstrating its ancient history in various areas of the ancient Near East going back to the third millennium B.C. In the early first millennium B.C., within which period the cheekpieces surely were made, such scenes were common across the Near East. For example, they are represented in the art of North Syria in the ninth century B.C. at Karatepe, Carchemish, and Zincirli (Orthmann 1971, pls. 15a, 32d, e, 82e), in most cases with the central figure depicted frontally. The scene is also represented in contemporary Assyrian art on reliefs, but here the central figure, sometimes standing, is always represented in side view (Winter 1980, figs. 39–41, 68). However, in none of these North Syrian and Assyrian compositions do we find any specific elements or stylistic features that would indicate an origin for the cheekpieces. The formal relationship represents solely a common artistic and cultural knowledge and the need in different cultures to depict the scene. Moreover, cheekpieces such as the one here do not occur west of Iran.

Turning to Iran, a different picture develops, one that allows us to feel secure in attributing the cheekpieces to some area in that vast and multicultural region. The province of Luristan is a logical place to begin an investigation of provenience, for no other culture in the Near East has yielded such a large quantity and variety of metal horse cheekpieces and bits. In addition, the master-of-animals motif is commonly depicted there, not only on the characteristic Luristan openwork heavy bronze pins and idol standards (Moorey 1971a, pls. 33–38, 55, 56) but, more significantly, on cheekpieces, including types where the scene is enclosed in a square frame, not far removed in form from the pair discussed here (Potratz 1966, figs. 75, 76, pls. 69–71, esp. nos. 168, 170). Yet



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Reverse of No. 147.

one immediately notes that in all instances cited, the execution of the Luristan objects is cruder than that of these cheekpieces, and the central figure, albeit frontally rendered, is usually a demon who stands upright. Far more important, the style of those objects, and of Luristan art in general, which is abstract and highly stylized, is far removed from the more natural tendency evident on the cheekpieces. Kneeling figures do occur on Luristan

disk-headed pins (A. Godard 1962, figs. 34–36, 81), and in some instances they are shown frontally, but alone, while in others they hold creatures by the neck. Again, however, the formal parallel with Luristan is not matched in style and attitude when compared to the present cheekpiece. Thus, while there is an obvious cultural relationship between these cheekpieces and those from Luristan, and some shared artistic motifs, the former cannot be attributed to a Luristan background.

At the site of Hasanlu in northwestern Iran, however, were excavated three bronze objects relevant to our study. Each represents a kneeling male figure depicted frontally and mastering animals. One is a superbly executed horse breastplate with a representation of a helmeted and elaborately clothed figure holding in each hand a bull by its front leg; the second is a bowl with a representation of a figure holding a bull by the tail in one hand and a weapon in the other; and the third is a squared vessel handle with finger grip that depicts in openwork a figure holding two animals upside down (Winter 1980, figs. 17 and foldout, 63, 64). In none of the representations do we find the same type of beard, hair, hat, and animal positioning as on the cheekpieces, nor do we have at that site the same type of horse cheekpieces. Yet, we do have the same iconography, and the formal relationship between the squared vessel handle and the cheekpieces is obvious. The Hasanlu evidence is significant, not because it allows us to claim that the cheekpieces were made there, for the differences in style and absence of similar objects there precludes such a conclusion, but because it indicates that cultural areas other than Luristan employed similar motifs.

Winter has argued that there is no compelling reason to assume that the three pieces mentioned above were made at Hasanlu, and she has concluded that they could have been made elsewhere in northwestern Iran, an area famous for its high-quality metalwork. The same conclusion, I believe, is viable for the Metropolitan and Louvre cheekpieces. They were certainly not made in Luristan, nor is there an indication that they were made farther south in Elam. This leaves an area to the north of Luristan, one that was in contact both with that province, because of the nature of the cheekpieces themselves, and with the northwest, because of the iconography from Hasanlu. At present that location remains a mystery because of the lack of excavated parallels, but I believe that the divided beard will eventually supply the clue; I know of no parallels. Finally, it should be noted that there are horse cheekpieces traditionally attributed to Luristan that should be reattributed to other cultural areas within Iran (see Nos. 148 and 149; see also No. 354 and Winter 1980, 18f., n. 91),² probably also to an area north of Luristan. Like the present cheekpieces, they too fit

into a first-millennium B.C. environment, when decorated bronze examples were very common.

This conclusion prevails also for the only other cheekpieces known to me that closely parallel the pair under discussion, which may derive from the same workshop. In the catalogue of a sale at Christie's, London, 17 November 1977 (pl. 3, no. 53), is a complete pair with its crossbar representing a standing hero grasping by the neck two ibex framed by palm (?) trees. Aside from the hero's standing position, clothing, and beard, all the other features including his face, hair, and cap, the posture of the ibex, and the tree frame are exactly matched on the Metropolitan and Louvre pieces; they may derive from the same workshop.

That the craftsmen of this workshop were aware of the Luristan productions of cheekpieces (assuming the priority of the latter), were in "communication with the originators" (Clarke 1978, 378), and copied them, expressing their own stylistic-cultural experiences in the modeling process, seems almost certain. The formal relationships of the respective cheekpieces preclude independence of creation, while the stylistic individuality by itself does not necessarily indicate "a lack of between-group contact" (Hodder 1978, 49). And given the attribution of our cheekpiece (and its relatives) to a non-Luristan area, because to modern eyes it "looked different," it follows that these differences were likewise recognized by the manufacturers and equally their neighbors. These differences surely served a purpose—perhaps, it may be suggested, to distinguish cultural regions, thereby functioning "as a component in the process of boundary maintenance" (Conkey 1978, 67). Mounted on chariot or cavalry horses, cheekpieces could have been an artifact/motif denoting identity, perhaps also of importance in close-combat battles when soldiers had to make quick decisions about who was the enemy (Hodder 1978, 52, 58; Hodder 1981, 82). The people who manufactured and displayed the present cheekpiece would be stating "we are X (not Lurs)," which message may, it is argued here, be similarly read in modern times.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Ackerman 1936, 188, fig. 4; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 30A; Potratz 1966, 177, no. 2; O. W. Muscarella, in *Notable Acquisitions 1980–1981* (MMA, New York, 1981), 7ff.; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 49.

NOTES

1. Cu: 88.0%, Sn: 11.3%, Pb: .205%, Zn: .011% (1986).
2. Winter claims that two cheekpieces in the Adam collection (Moorey 1974a, 71f., no. 37A; see also No. 354) have the "closest relationship to the Hasanlu breastplate [the one with the kneeling figure holding bulls]," but the present example is manifestly closer in form and iconography.

148. Horse Cheekpiece

1979.352.2; Gift of Christos G. Bastis, 1979
Bronze;¹ length 11.7 cm

THIS HORSE cheekpiece is cast fully in the round in the form of a horse with its rider. The horse's body is plain with swellings at the thighs, the eyes are round, the ears project, and there are a projecting forelock and a prominent mane; the feet and tail rest in a standing position on short tangs that extend at right angles from a cylindrical base. Loops above the head and the rump as well as a hole through the horse's body held the reins. The rider is small in proportion to the horse, and the lower part of his body is awkwardly attenuated. His left hand holds twisted reins that connect to a slightly curved plain horizontal cheekpiece, the bit part of which is indicated within the mouth; his right hand is held closed at his waist. His face is distinguished by a large sloping nose, big ears, hair that swells from each side of the face, and he wears a wound turban. It cannot be determined from the state of preservation whether the man is nude or clothed, or whether he wears boots.

The apparent mate to this piece is in the British Museum (Moorey 1974b, pl. VI B; Barnett and Curtis 1973, 121, pl. XLIXa:134927). While it shares the form and details, the man's turban and face and the horse's head seem to be slightly different from the Metropolitan Museum's example, indicating the use of separate molds and of modeling. Reinforcing this conclusion is the fact that on the British Museum piece, the man holds the reins with his right hand, balancing No. 148 (see also No. 147). Whatever the man is meant to be, he seems not to be a deity for he has no divine attributes.

Representations in art and textual discussions indicate that by the early centuries of the second millennium B.C. horses, asses, and onagers were being ridden in Egypt and the Near East (Moorey 1970). By the first millennium B.C. it was a common occurrence as indicated by scenes on North Syrian and Assyrian reliefs and on ivories and metalwork from Hasanlu in Iran. The present cheekpiece clearly fits into a first-millennium background although its provenience can only be postulated on internal analysis.

Cheekpieces in the form of a horse are known both in Luristan in Iran, where they are very common (Nos. 253, 254), and in Assyria, where they are known in art and also as artifacts at Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, 127, fig. 70); Assyrian cheekpieces in the form of a horse were excavated on the islands of Rhodes and Samos (Muscarella 1977b, 40; see the discussion of Luristan cheekpieces below). The fact that the horse here stands with its feet solidly planted on a base distinguishes the



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cheekpiece from the Assyrian types, which do not have a groundline and in which the horse gallops. And whereas the Luristan examples always have a groundline, the horses' feet are depicted walking, and the figures are usually cast in relief on the obverse only. Thus, neither by reference to the technique of casting fully in the round, nor by style or iconography can this cheekpiece be placed within a Luristan environment. The one area where bronze riders on horses seem to have been represented in some number is the Caucasus (Farkas 1970, no. 27; Jantzen 1972, 83f.), and while our figure does not self-evidently proclaim itself as Caucasian, it may be that Caucasian influence generated the inspiration for its creation. If indeed the piece derives from Iran—and stylistic details preclude its manufacture farther west—then one may suggest that it (and its mate) came into existence somewhere in the northwest, in an area that had ties to the north, without, at the same time, categorically excluding Luristan.

At least two bronze horse cheekpieces in the form of tethered horses with a male figure standing on their backs, rather than riding them, are known to exist in private collections (Moorey 1974a, no. 40, cf. no. 41; Amiet 1976, no. 120). While the horses of the two cheekpieces are the same in style and posture, the standing figures are not. As with the example here, it is perhaps best to think of a general northwestern Iranian background as their place of origin without attempting to narrow it



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Detail of No. 149.

down further. There are also bronze figurines, not cheekpieces, with a man riding a horse (Ghirshman 1964, fig. 39; Moorey 1974a, nos. 163, 164; Barbier 1970, no. 143). Since they are known from the antiquities market, it is impossible to place them chronologically and geographically; they are attributed to the Amlash area: a bronze horse rider does apparently come from this area for one is published as from Kaluraz, i.e., the "Amlash" area (Hakemi 1968, 81, pl. xxxvii).

This latter figurine has the rider apparently in a side-saddle position. A number of stray bronze figurines exhibit the same position (*Sept Mille Ans* 1961–62, nos. 428, 443, 444; Nagel 1963, no. 143; Ghirshman 1964, fig. 569; Amiet 1976, no. 139). While all have been attributed to Luristan, none exhibits features that allow us to feel secure with such an attribution. That they are Iranian seems fairly clear, but they may also derive from an area other than Luristan, perhaps in the north (see also Nos. 147, 149).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

O. W. Muscarella, in *Notable Acquisitions 1979–1980* (MMA, New York, 1980), 9.

NOTE

1. Cu: 89.5%, Sn: 9.91%, Pb: .141%, Zn: .002% (1986).

149. Horse Cheekpieces and Bit

1970.241; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1970
Bronze; length of sphinxes 10.8 cm

MALE SPHINXES with lion bodies and human heads turned sideways are the cast cheekpieces of this horse bit. The heads have a pointed beard and a curved mouth that suggests a smile; the nose is prominent and the hollow eyes elongated. Whether the obliquely incised curved ridge over the eyes is hair or eyebrows is unclear; likewise, whether the rounded triangular area above is hair or a hat is unclear. The fore and rear sections of the body are raised while the elongated central section is flat; a penis projects from the appropriate position and a rein loop exists above the rear. The lion's feet and rear legs and the right part of the body are incised, as is a collar or necklace. The sphinxes seem to be in a springing position. On the slightly concave reverse of each cheekpiece are an oblique loop behind the head and four goad spikes in a row.

I can find no other cheekpiece that has the same sphinx head and body form and configuration, although sphinx cheekpieces as such exist, all known to me as having wings. One, a single example (Potratz 1966, 148f., fig. 63b) strides with the head facing sideways; it is unbearded and could be a female. Another, a complete pair (Moorey 1974a, 84, no. 49), also striding and with the head turned

sideways, is bearded and wears a horned headdress (Moorey doubts its authenticity). And a third, in Los Angeles (Moorey 1981, 43, no. 153), is a single example of a seated sphinx facing straight ahead. On this example, apparently a female, the nose is prominent and the hat/hair pointed.

Of interest is that each of the examples cited is a unique piece, just as is the present example (which alone is without wings). Not one of the sphinxes is obviously of Luristan style in execution, which raises the question of geographical provenience. As with the two previous examples, it may be suggested that these cheekpieces derived from an area in Iran outside of Luristan. Whether this area was to its immediate north or east remains to be investigated.

150. Bell

62.225.5; Gift of Robert B. Forrest, 1962
Bronze and iron; height 3.7 cm

THIS SMALL conical bell is cast with a thin, flat horse at its apex. The horse's feet are not articulated, but they are clearly represented brought together so that the horse could balance itself, so to speak, on the apex; a suspension hole exists at the stomach area of the horse. The clapper is of iron and is now corroded against the wall; it was suspended on an iron crossbar, the ends of which project slightly through two sides of the bell (cf. No. 575).

Bells such as this have been attributed by dealers to Iran, some to the south Caspian area (Calmeyer 1969b, 429, fig. 4), others to Luristan (Spear 1978, 83, 86, figs. 74, 75). Characteristic of the class is the small size and conical shape, and either a flat animal or addorsed animal heads at the apex. They may in fact derive from Iran, but until excavated finds come to our aid we cannot know exactly where; I would suggest that they do not come from Luristan but from some area in the north.

A clue that the bell may indeed have derived from the south Caspian area is one of style, the high curve of the horse's neck and the lowering of the head: a pin or cosmetic stick with a horse terminal that has these features was excavated at Ghalekuti, dating to the late centuries of the first millennium B.C. (Sono and Fukai 1968, 37, 45, pls. XLVII:4, LXXX:II; Hori 1981, 50, fig. 5:9: same as Terrace 1962, no. 40; cf. Terrace 1966, no. 42; see also No. 423). (It should be noted that the donor claims to have found this bell, along with Nos. 172, 307, 603, and 604, in a tomb at Ishtahard, some sixty miles west of Teheran. Aside from the fact that there are no controls concerning the claim, and that objects like No. 307 have to date been excavated only in Luristan—where

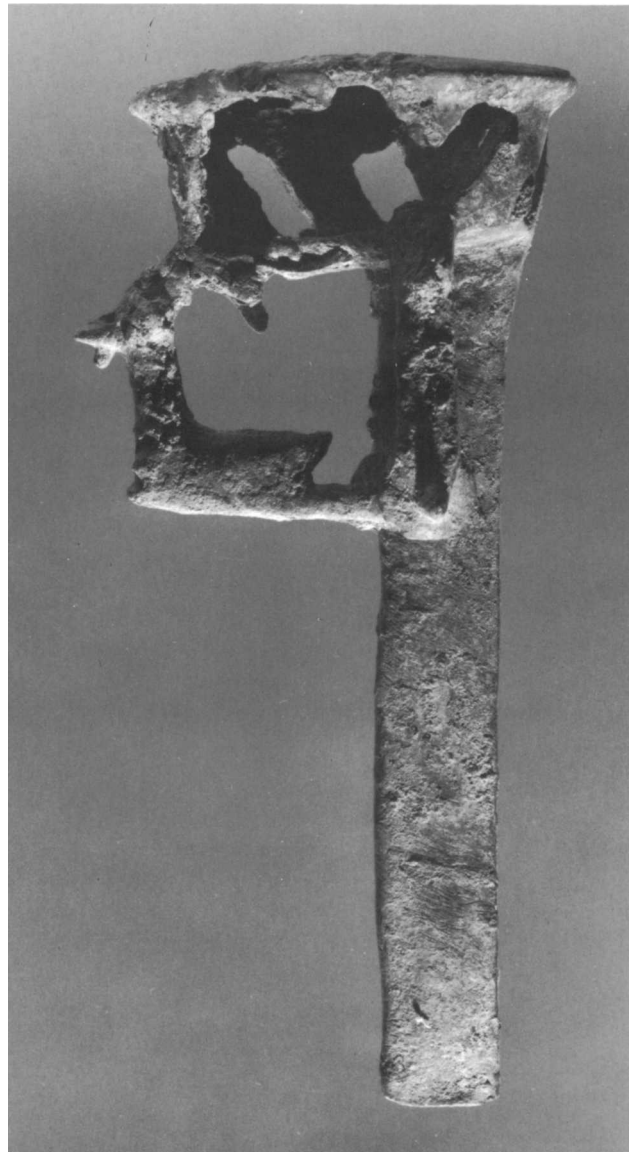


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151



152



I have placed it—I think it prudent to treat Nos. 150, 172, 307, 603, and 604 all as separate items, rather than as a tomb group.)

The presence of iron, the clapper, indicates that the bell does not predate the ninth century B.C. and could be much later (Pleiner 1969a, 34; vanden Berghe 1973c, 25; vanden Berghe 1973f, 4; Pigott 1977, 218, 223, 226, 231). Moorey (1981, 118, no. 694) refers (apparently, for it is not illustrated) to an example similar to this in shape, size, material, and decoration, which he dates to the Parthian period (see No. 423). This date is based on a comparison to a conical bell excavated in Dailaman (Egami, Fukai, Masuda, 1966, pl. XLIX:34) but which lacks a figured form at the apex.

The Ashmolean Museum has on loan nine bells of the present type with addorsed horses' heads (the same as listed in Christie's catalogue, 10 March 1970, no. 145). And a dozen examples are in the Negishi Equine Museum in Japan, which Keiko (1981, 101, 105f., figs. 1, 2) dates to the ninth–seventh centuries B.C. While not readily dated, the parallels of the Ghalekuti pin and the Dailaman bell shape suggest a Parthian date for the type, that is, later rather than earlier in the first millennium B.C.

151. Openwork Cage Object

1978.514.1; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978
Bronze; height 19.6 cm

152. Openwork Cage Object

1978.514.2; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978
Bronze; height 17.9 cm

THE OBJECTS are the same in basic form and, seemingly, in purpose, differing in size and minor details; they are probably not a pair. A round chamber or cage consisting of eight diagonal ribs at the sides and four triangular cutouts on the flat top surface is cast together with three short vertical rods, two parallel and one isolated opposite them. The three rods are joined to a fourth, and longer, vertical rod by horizontal bars. The long rod, which extends below the horizontal bars, seems to be a tang, to be inserted into another unit. Of interest is that on No. 152 instead of the isolated rod there is a recumbent horned animal, now corroded. No. 151 has a circular hole centered among the triangular cutouts at the top; and some of the diagonal bars are now missing on No. 152; one is missing on No. 151 (they had been restored in recent times but were removed).

Spear (1978, 71) suggested that these objects were placed on chariot boxes to create a jingling noise (it is

not known whether the cages originally held pellets). However, no representations of chariots depict such a posited contraption. Could the pieces have functioned as linchpins? I know nothing of parallel pieces to suggest either use or provenience. Because of the triangular cutouts and the cage, they might tentatively be assigned to northern Iran or to the Caucasus.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 71f., figs. 46, 47.

153. Stag Brooch

21.166.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1921
Bronze; height 10 cm, width at body ca. 4.8 cm

THE STAG is well modeled, albeit almost stylized. Its cast body is formed in three sections, chest and neck, body, and rump. The legs curve slightly forward giving the impression that the animal stands on its toes, ready to spring; they are joined together just above the hooves. The tines are naturalistically rendered and seem to be in correct proportion to the body; they are joined together by a cast braided bar, but it is not clear whether it is soldered in place or whether it was cast with the tines. A loop exists at the mouth (to indicate a domestic animal?), and two ovoid loops form the ears, another the tail; eyes are pellets. The reverse is hollow except for the legs; a wire bar at one end holds a loose ring while at the other end is a hook. It seems certain that a pin originally existed and that the object was a brooch.

Rostovtzeff (1922a, 38, 40, fig. 2) considered this





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brooch to be from the Caucasus, and he gave published and unpublished references. Farkas (1970, 47, 57, no. 31) also assumed it to be Caucasian, of the fifth–fourth centuries B.C. Nevertheless, from the references given by both Rostovtzeff and Farkas, I can find no close parallel to this brooch; on the basis of the stag, however, I believe that it must have derived either from northern Iran or the Caucasus.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Rostovtzeff 1922a, 38, 40, fig. 2; Farkas 1970, 47, 57, no. 31.

154. Stag Figurine

59.14; Gift of Norbert Schimmel, 1959
Bronze; length 7 cm, height 10 cm

155. Stag Figurine

59.28; Gift of Mrs. Khalil Rabenou, 1959
Bronze; length 7.3 cm, height 10.5 cm

THE STAGS' bodies are schematized, cylindrical in form. No muscles or natural body curves, nor eyes, mouths, ears, proper hooves, or tails are depicted; the head shape, very elongated in No. 155, and the proportionally large antlers are the characteristic features. The bodies of both are pierced twice above each pair of legs, indicating that the figurines were probably suspended in some manner.

Thanks to evidence from excavations one is able to place the stags in northwestern Iran, in the Gilan area of the south Caspian region. Here very similar stag figurines—some pierced (but none with two holes), others with loops on the back, others simple figurines—have been excavated at Marlik (Negahban 1964, fig. 96A: Tomb 36; fig. 96B–D: Tomb 50), at Ghalekuti (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pls. VI:3, XXXI:1, L, LVI:63), at Kaluraz (Hakemi 1968, 80, no. 106), and at Tomadjan (Samadi 1959a, 39, figs. 30, 38); a figurine of similar stylized concept, probably a goat, derives from Hasanlu (Hakemi and Rad 1950, 33). No stag figurines (nor representations of stags) have been excavated, or even reported, in Luristan, so it is very probable that many, if not all, of the stray examples in various collections, including these two, may derive from the same region as the excavated pieces (viz. Terrace 1962, no. 31; Terrace 1966, 36f., no. 39; Nagel 1963, nos. 13a, b; Calmeyer 1964a, 13, nos. 18–21; Barbier 1970, nos. 160, 161, 177; Buhl 1974, 98, no. 91; Moorey 1974a, 167, nos. 154–57; Harper in Muscarella 1974a, no. 148; Merhav 1981, nos. 40, 42; De Waele 1982, 174f., nos. 276–79). Their chronological range cannot be fixed more accurately than about late second millennium to about 700 B.C.¹

It has been claimed that the example from Ghalekuti

was suspended from a man's belt, but the stag is not pierced and the published evidence is not conclusive (see Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pls. vi:3 and xxxi).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Porada 1965, 104, pl. 25, top, for both. No. 155: Glubock 1963, 32.

NOTE

1. Small animal figurines are easily forged, and it is impossible to know from photographs or even autopsy how many in existence in private hands are ancient: see Muscarella 1977a, 187, no. 192.

The lower chronological limit is established at Marlik, where an example derives from Tomb 36 (Negahban 1964, fig. 96A), a late tomb (see No. 52, note 3); the three other stags in Negahban 1964, fig. 96B–D, derive from Tomb 50 (grid XXI L), which also contained an unbridged spouted silver vessel with gold inlay, a horse bit, a bronze beaker, and a shell necklace (Negahban 1964, figs. 61, 96B–D, 108, 134); this tomb may perhaps be dated about early first millennium B.C., possibly tenth–ninth century B.C., although the unbridged spouted vessel may of course indicate an earlier date, Iron I. Of interest is the fact that the technique of manufacture of the silver vessel from Tomb 50 is the same as that on a beaker from Period IV, Iron II, at Hasanlu (Dyson 1960b, 127). Calmeyer (1982, 342) also notes the relationship of the inlays between the Marlik spouted vessel and the Hasanlu beaker; he sees the former as an import from Mesopotamia but does not discuss the typical Iron I shape of northern Iran in this context. Calmeyer (1982, n. 37) considers Tomb 50 to be “eines der ältesten” at Marlik.

156. Stag Pendant

1978.514.23; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; length 8 cm, width 8.4 cm

A SOLID cast stag is represented in stylized tubular form, with a raised hind quarter and undefined legs; its genitalia alone seem to be realistically modeled. Characterizing this pendant, defined as such by the loop on the back, are the feet, which are openwork cages; there are no pellets. On both sides of the animal's body there is a raised molding whose significance is not obvious.

I know of no excavated or other examples of this specific form. On the basis of the stag form and the openwork cages, I think one might attribute this pendant to northern Iran or still further north in the Caucasus (cf. Samadi 1959a, 32, 39, figs. 30, 38; Barbier 1970, no. 160). The only area to my knowledge where animals stand on multiple cages, although two not four, is Thrace (Bouzek 1971, fig. 13:12). These objects are formally the same as the present example (though not pendants) and surely were not created without some knowledge of their existence.

For stags with the same body structure, see Barbier 1970, no. 160; De Waele 1982, 239, no. 393.¹

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 74f., pl. 9.

NOTE

1. I am not certain that the bird on the body of a stag published in *Trésors* 1966, no. 539, fig. 34, is ancient (it is cited by A. M. Bisi, in *The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. E. Akurgal [Ankara, 1978], 358, fig. 26).

157. Figurine Pendant

1978.514.40; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze;¹ height 7 cm

THIS ABSTRACTLY modeled object is cast in the form of tightly wound coils, as if to represent a basket weave, with uniformly placed cast studs. Its openwork, hollow form is visible from the back where there are eight grooved ribs, each with a cast stud. At the top is a horned animal that has a grooved—collared?—neck and is joined at its rear to a suspension loop; at the base of the pendant is a tang terminating in a pyramid-shaped knob. Viewed straight down, the coiled obverse and the lower knob resemble a turtle shell and head, which may be fortuitous.

As extraordinary as the piece seems, it is not unique, and a fairly large number of similar and related examples exist in various collections, each an individually cast piece (Barbier 1970, no. 189; Moorey 1981, no. 689; sale catalogue, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 7–8 July 1981, no. 22; see also No. 158 below). None of them have pellets within the cage, suggesting that they were not rattle bells but pendants. All the cited examples share a protome animal head above the cage, a molded tang at the base, and a loop for suspension. The Barbier and



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Reverse of No. 157.

Drouot examples seem to have a child held by the protome figure, thereby indicating the female figurine nature of the pendants in abstract form. This abstraction is more obvious than that characterizing other figurine pendants sharing the same concept and cultural background, and which I suggest also derived from the same workshops as ours (see No. 158).

The openwork technique suggests a northern Iranian background, and fortunately there is concrete evidence to justify this attribution. For while no examples of these pendants (nor those listed with No. 158) have been excavated, there is one northern site that provides a clue with regard to the area where these pendants may have been manufactured. At Marlik Tepe (Negahban 1964, fig. 133) was discovered a fragmentary oval cage pendant with openwork or cutouts, a head (?) above and a tang below, and two loops for suspension at the sides. In both form and technology it seems to be the same type of object as the one under discussion here.² We may thus tentatively assign the pendants to northwestern Iran, in particular to the Caspian region, and date them tentatively to a time after 1000 B.C., depending on how one will eventually date the Marlik material (see No. 52, note 1; No. 145; Moorey 1981, 117f., dated these objects to the Parthian period, see below, No. 158).

Aside from the fact that these objects were suspended from someone or something, their specific function is unknown. One may suggest that they could have served in some apotropaic or amuletic manner and that they depict a female goddess. Knowing nothing about their deposition history, except for the Marlik example, found in a tomb, we cannot speculate further.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 77ff., pls. 10, 11.

NOTES

1. Cu: 73.2%, Sn: 9.41%, Pb: 15.4%, Zn: .010% (1986). The Pb content is high: see also Nos. 419, 444, 477; for other objects with a high lead content but under 10%, see Nos. 486 and 595.

2. The Marlik piece, not an exact parallel to ours, apparently derives from Tomb 6 and was found with a plain bronze vase (Negahban 1983, 71f., B39).

158. Figurine Pendant

65.145.2; Gift of Nuri Farhadi and Habib Anavian, 1965
Bronze; height 7.6 cm

REPRESENTED in intricate and abstract openwork technique is a cast humanlike figure with a long neck, prominent nose, and two coiled hair sections; mouth and eyes seem to be depicted but corrosion may have covered

them. The body and "skirt" are in openwork, with feet projecting from the latter; a "belt" of small cast studs adorns the waist. The figure has arms that hold what apparently is a child. A loop is placed at each shoulder and a third exists at the back of the head, indicating that the object was suspended and is a pendant.

A number of other stray examples exist, each matching this one in form—stylized full figurine, in details such as studs and loops, and in execution (Ortiz collection: Hanfmann 1954, no. 186; Pomerance collection: Terrace 1966, no. 35; Barbier 1970, nos. 182–84, 190, 191: cf. nos. 154, 185; sale catalogue, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 17; Los Angeles County Museum of Art: Moorey 1981, nos. 683–88). Each is slightly different in size and proportion, in the nature of the openwork, and in the presence or lack of subsidiary elements, indicating that each was made in its own distinct mold. The Pomerance, Drouot, and at least one of the Los Angeles examples have chains or loops with small pendants that swing freely. One of the Barbier pendants lacks side loops (no. 182) and birds flank the central head, which is horned; another Barbier pendant and the one in the Ortiz collection lack side loops. The openwork skirt on the example here is matched by the Ortiz, Pomerance, Drouot, one or more examples in Los Angeles, and one of the Barbier examples (no. 184). And the heads of the Pomerance and Ortiz pendants are basically the same as ours. Further, most examples carry a child and therefore they must represent females, specifically fertility or mother goddesses.

None of the above examples have pellets in their cages, and there is no reason to assume they were rattle bells. That this group is the very same type of pendant associated with No. 157 is patently clear from a formal examination; in addition, both types share studs, basket-weave pattern, and the child.

The Ortiz pendant was assigned to Greece, the Barbier ones to Amlash, and the Pomerance one to Luristan, which says something about dealer attributions, as well as the difficulty of objectively placing unexcavated material in a specific (and correct) cultural environment. On the basis of the Marlik find mentioned in the discussion of No. 157, which is an openwork cage with loops at the sides, we may also tentatively assign these objects to the Caspian region of northwestern Iran and assume as probable that they are all contemporary.

Attention should be called to the existence of a related group of openwork objects, here circular plaques rather than cages, which have the same features as those under discussion: stylized female head at the top, stylized infant held, in these cases, at the neck, and a loop for suspension: P. Ackerman in *SPA I/II* (1938/1964), 862, fig. 300; Barbier 1970, no. 185; Merhav 1981, no. 79.

159. Animal Figurine

64.99; Gift of Nuri Farhadi, 1964
Bronze; length 5.4 cm

A LARGE animal holds a smaller one in its mouth. The larger animal is stiffly executed with sticklike legs, a thick, short tail, a heavy chest that is pierced through sideways, and a long neck that does not terminate in the expected head but rather as pincers that hold the small creature. The latter has a long nozzle, ears or horns, and a curled-up tail. Neither animal is recognizable as a known animal.

I know of no parallels to this piece as such, but in its crudeness and sticklike legs spread apart, it seems to fit into a class of bronzes considered by some scholars to derive from northwestern Iran (cf. Moorey 1974a, no. 167; cf. No. 423). The motif of a carnivorous animal holding or eating its prey—as opposed to attacking it—occurs in various areas of the ancient world and may simply depict local observation rather than cultural interrelationships. For example, in the first millennium B.C. we note it in Phrygia (Kohler 1964, 60, pl. XIX:1, 2; Bossert 1942, 1091–93), Urartu (T. Özgüç 1966, 29, 54, figs. 35, 36, pls. II:3, III:1), in the Caucasus (Farkas 1970, 57, no. 32a [b?]), on a gold epaulette said to come from Ziwiye (Farkas 1970, 57, no. 14), and at Pazyryk (Rudenko 1970, 147, figs. 75C, pls. 110F, 141A, B) and still farther east (Bunker 1970, 143f., nos. 112, 113, 122). Earlier, we find the motif depicted on an ivory probably from the second-millennium B.C. site of Acemhöyük (Farkas 1970, 51, no. 3); and, closer to where I believe the figurine was made, the motif is depicted in gold inlay on a silver spouted vessel of Iron I form from Marlik (Negahban 1983, 58f., s21, Tomb 50; see Nos. 154, 155, note 1).



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160. Zebu Figurine

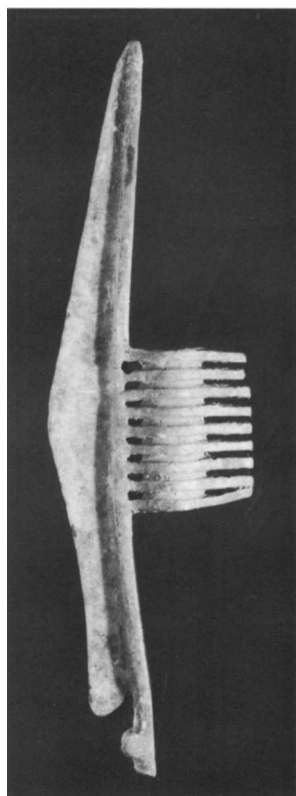
64.7; Gift of Prudence O. Harper, 1964
Bronze; length 7.5 cm, height 5 cm

THIS ANIMAL, a zebu bull, is stylistically related to the bronze stag figurines (Nos. 154, 155) in that it has the same stylized, plain cylindrical features and sticklike legs. The horns are spread wide, the hump is elongated, the tail falls straight, and no eyes, mouth, or ears are depicted; there are no holes for suspension.

Excavated bronze parallels derive from the same Caspian area where the stags also occur: from Marlik (Negahban 1964, fig. 95, Tomb 24, fig. 100, Tomb 27; Negahban 1977, 101, fig. 26, Tomb 36), and from Ghalekuti (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pls. xxxi:2,



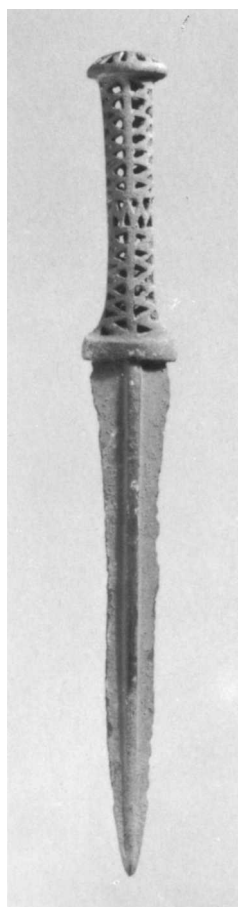
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LXXIV:27, a bull); this is the same area that has also yielded terracotta zebus (Negahban 1964, pls. 1, xiv, figs. 20, 91, Tomb 18; Samadi 1959a, fig. 24).¹ As with the stags, it is probable that many of the stray examples of bronze zebu figurines derive from the south Caspian region (viz. Terrace 1962, no. 31; Terrace 1966, 38f., no. 40; Calmeyer 1964a, no. 14; Barbier 1970, no. 136, on a pin; *Sept Mille Ans* 1961–62, no. 137; *Okayama Municipal Museum of Near Eastern Art Catalogue* [1979], no. 88; Merhav 1981, no. 43; De Waele 1982, 177f., nos. 287–89; Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1983, nos. 111–16).

The chronological range of the bulls should be roughly parallel to that of the stags, late second millennium to first millennium B.C.

NOTE

1. Tomb 24 at Marlik also contained a pitchfork or “kabob skewer” (Negahban 1964, fig. 35) that is similar to many examples from Sialk B and Hasanlu Period IV (Moorey 1971a, 97f.), and a terracotta bear (Negahban 1964, fig. 92) that is typologically and stylistically related to the terracotta figurines from Tomb 36, which is dated about 700 B.C. (see No. 52, note 3). Tomb 24 may also be dated, tentatively, to the first millennium B.C. Other objects in this tomb include Negahban 1964, figs. 44 right, 66, 70, 74, 107, 124; Negahban 1983, B32, B33, S18, (G4); Negahban 1981, illus. 6.

Tomb 18 is also probably first millennium in date (see No. 12, note 1). Tomb 27 on the other hand is probably second millennium in date. It contained, besides the zebu, two Iron I shaped bridgeless spouted vessels: Negahban 1964, fig. 29; Negahban 1983, B43, B45; also Negahban 1964, figs. 31, 40, 79; Negahban 1983, G2, B38, (B36); Negahban 1981, pl. 63, fig. 21.

161. Axehead

1970.33.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1970

Bronze;¹ height 33.3 cm, width 8.9 cm

ULTIMATELY related to a halberd form (see Calmeyer 1969a, 76ff.), this axe has a long, narrow, subtriangular shaped blade projecting from a flange; at its base are a cutaway section and a knob on the flange. At midpoint behind the blade is the shaft hole, the outer ribs of which project as nine spikes.

A number of axes of this type are known, two of which are exact parallels to this example. One was excavated at Marlik (Negahban 1964, fig. 125; Negahban 1981, 371f., pl. 61, fig. 9), from Tomb 26, dating to the Iron I or II period, to the last centuries of the second or the early first millennium B.C.² The other is claimed as having been excavated at Khurvin, but without firm confirmation (vanden Berghe 1964, 25, pl. xxxvi:247). Several others are in private collections (Calmeyer 1964a, 22, no. 45; Barbier 1970, nos. 195, 196; Moorey 1971a, 58, nos. 25, 26; Moorey 1981, no. 46; Amiet 1976, 32, no. 32); some of these have an animal added to the outside or inside of the blade, others have a loop at the

base, rather than the cutaway and knob. Presumably the latter features were meant to hold thongs that helped secure the blade to the shaft.

Given the evidence of an exact parallel from Marlik, the *only* excavated example known, one can do no more at present than assume that the Metropolitan Museum axe came from the same area and that it is to be dated to the same period, about late second to early first millennium B.C.; a Luristan provenience cannot be sustained for stray examples (see Amiet 1976, 32; vanden Berghe 1968b, 151f., fig. 4:9; Negahban 1981, 371; De Waele 1982, 29, no. 22, but cf. p. 37).

NOTES

1. Cu: 91.4%, Sn: 7.55%, Pb: .130%, Zn: .020% (1986).
2. Tomb 26 is mentioned in Negahban 1965, 315f., with reference to some of the finds given, and in Negahban 1981, 377, here giving a long list of the objects from the tomb but with few illustrations cited. I believe the following objects are from the tomb: Negahban 1964, figs. 25, 33, 39, 49, 50, 51, 53, 56, 58, 59, 68, 69, 83, 97, 102, 114–15, 125, 131; Negahban 1983, G1, (G8), B4; Negahban 1981, figs. 5, 6–10, 15–17, 19, 20; illus. 9. It is not readily dated; for the skewers/pitchforks (Negahban 1981, fig. 8) see Tomb 24 (No. 160, note 1); for the arrows (Negahban 1964, fig. 49) see Nos. 396–418; for the sword (Negahban 1964, figs. 50, 51) compare those from Tomb 47 (see No. 371, note 2, for problems of chronology), grid XVIII F/ Tomb 33? (see No. 168, note 1, for problems of chronology), and Tomb 52 (see No. 12, note 1, for chronology). Only the latter tomb may be clearly second millennium, the others second or first. The tomb is probably best dated at present to a time close to 1000 B.C., although the spouted vessel may be earlier (Negahban 1964, fig. 49).

162. Knife

65.144; Gift of Jerome M. Eisenberg, 1965
Bronze; length 19 cm

IN ALL details of form, the curve of the blade, the up-turned tip, and the tang position, this blade is the same as examples of iron excavated at Hasanlu and Dinkha Tepe in northwestern Iran dated to the late ninth century B.C. (see No. 74). Deshayes (1965, 99f., 101, pl. VI, nos. 14–17) came across a number of these blades in antiquity shops in Teheran, whence our example derives.

163. Dagger with Openwork Hilt

66.31.2; Gift of Jerome M. Eisenberg, 1966
Bronze; length 25.9 cm

THE HOLLOW and cylindrical hilt is decorated with vertical rows of openwork triangles; the pommel is domed and decorated with an openwork cruciform pattern. The guard is a thick rectangle, and the blade is slender and pointed; the midrib is thick. The whole seems to have been cast in one piece.

To my knowledge no examples of this dagger type

have been excavated, but two unexcavated parallels exist. One was in the Adam collection (Moorey 1974a, 58, no. 27); the other was formerly in the possession of Bach (1973, no. 52). A clue to the probable provenience of the present dagger is the openwork pattern of triangles, which is characteristic of the Caucasus and northern Iran (cf. Schaeffer 1948, figs. 231:3, 236:left 9, 280:9, 296:5, 6; vanden Berghe 1964, 23, pl. xxxiv:225, for openwork pommels; Schaeffer 1948, fig. 298, for other objects). As for chronology, we may tentatively place this dagger to a time about 1000 B.C., plus or minus.

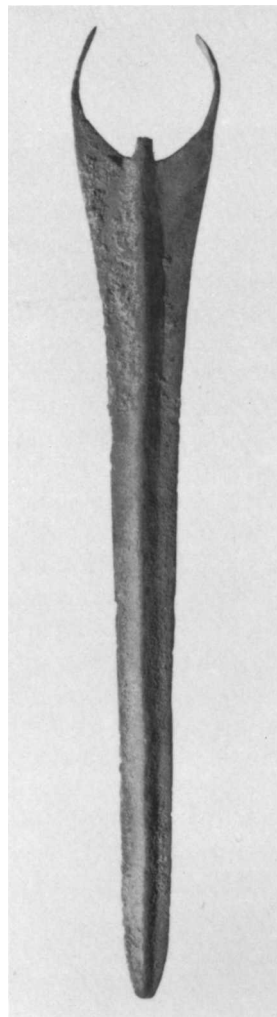
164. Dagger Blade with Winged Guards

61.261.6; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1961
Bronze; length 39.3 cm

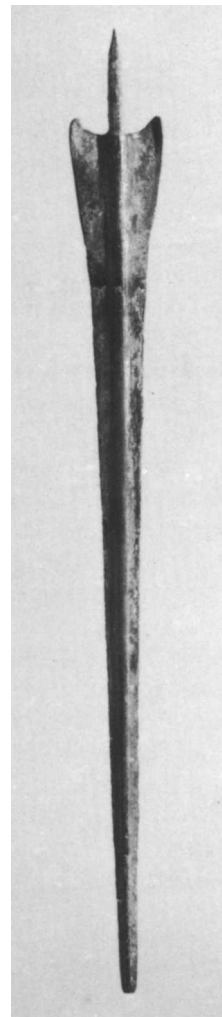
165. Dagger Blade with Winged Guards

61.261.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1961
Bronze; length 54.7 cm

THESE BLADES are characterized by a prominently curved or winged guard, less pronounced on No. 165, which extends out from the ricasso of the blade and



164



165

partly frames the hilt; that was made separately and is missing on these examples and on all the others known. Another characteristic feature is the thick midrib that extends slightly above the ricasso where it probably held the hilt.

These daggers are further examples of a type that seems to have a northern background. Excavated examples have been recorded in the south Caspian area from Tomadjan (Samadi 1959a, figs. 32, 34), in the same area at Ghalekuti in Iron Age tombs (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pls. LIV, LXII:12; Fukai and Ikeda 1971, pls. XXXII, LII), and farther north in the Iranian Talish area (Schaeffer 1948, fig. 224c, pl. LIX). The curve of the guard reminds us of the barbed arrow and javelin heads reported from the Talish area and from Marlik, and reportedly from a grave at Bît-Sorgh, near Kermanshah (Schaeffer 1948, figs. 217, 227, pl. LIX; Negahban 1964, fig. 49; Dyson 1964c, fig. 1; cf. Nos. 396–418). Dyson (1964c, 40) related the arrows to the blades and dated them to the late second millennium B.C. However, the examples from Tomadjan were recovered together with hinged fibulae and therefore a later date is manifestly indicated, perhaps late eighth or the seventh century (see No. 53 for hinged-fibulae chronology). For some stray examples see Calmeyer 1962, 219, pl. 9:3; Crouwel 1972–74, 120, pl. XIII, no. 17.

166. Sword with Disk Pommel

60.82.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; length 52.7 cm

IT IS POSSIBLE that the hilt and blade were not cast as one unit (cf. Calmeyer 1962, 220), but rather that the hilt was cast onto the blade (Birmingham, Kennon, Malin 1964; Maxwell-Hyslop and Hodges 1964; cf. No. 168). The hilt is tubular and plain, tapering toward the disk pommel; five centimeters down the hilt is another disk. The pommel was certainly made and added separately; the other disk probably was too. The thick guard reminds us of the crescent type (see Nos. 169, 170), but here it is almost rectangular, albeit with rounded shoulders; the ends touch the thick, prominent midrib. The blade tapers with a slight concave curve to a sharp point.

This sword also has a northern background, judging from the excavated evidence. Similar or closely related examples occur at Tomadjan and Ghalekuti in the south Caspian region (Samadi 1959a, 36, 38, figs. 34d, 36; Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, 54, fig. 7 in the Japanese section; Fukai and Ikeda 1971, 13, pls. XXVII:4, XLIV:1), and the Iranian Talish region (Schaeffer 1948, fig. 232:1, 11). These examples are made all of bronze, all of iron, or of bronze and iron, the last examples surely employing the cast-on technique. The presence of iron sug-

gests an Iron II date, rather than earlier, for some examples of this type. Thus, Moorey's (1971a, 79) suggested date of ninth–eighth century seems generally correct (see also Calmeyer 1964a, 37ff.). An almost exact duplicate to the present example is in the Ashmolean Museum; it was published by Moorey (1971a, no. 58) and was at one time in the collection of Bach (1973, no. 51); see also Calmeyer 1962, 220f., no. 5, pl. 10:5.

167. Dagger Hilt

56.102.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1956
Bronze; preserved length 14 cm

THE HILT is decorated with three rings or ridges set above incised chevrons; the pommel is a thick disk. Cast as part of the hilt, the guard has round shoulders forming two arms that overlap the blade and become constricted, almost touching at the ends. Only the upper part of the blade remains. It is almost certain that the hilt was cast onto the blade (see No. 166), and a small projection on top of the pommel is probably the end of the blade's tang. The function of a small hole on the blade just below the guard is not clear.

This dagger is related in type to those with crescent guards (Nos. 169, 170), while the pommel relates it to those with disk pommels (No. 166), a further indication of the interrelationship of the workshops manufacturing swords in northern Iran. A fairly close parallel in all details—hilt cast together with the round, constricted guard and the disk pommel—was published by Samadi (1959a, 11, 21, fig. 19) as coming from Tepe Hissar in northeastern Iran, but there is no reference to it in the final report of that site (Schmidt 1937). Similar cast hilts, but with less constricted, penannular guards, derive from Hasanlu Period IV (Wever 1969, 26). Farther south at Bad Hora, seventy kilometers west of Hamadan, in a second-millennium B.C. tomb, was excavated a sword with a plain hilt cast together with a crescent, penannular guard (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pls. 82, no. 7 in Tomb 1, and xxiv:2, 3). The pommel is a small disk and the closest parallel for this sword's hilt is the one from "Tepe Hissar." Others close parallels, unexcavated, were at one time in the Godard collection (De Waele 1982, 46ff., nos. 46–48) and in the Adam collection (Moorey 1974a, 59, no. 30).¹ The Adam dagger and two of the Godard pieces (nos. 46, 47) have openwork hilts (cf. Godard 1938, 252, fig. 107, right; Amiet 1976, no. 34).

Given the northern proveniences of related examples, it is highly probable that the present hilt also has an origin in an area north of Luristan. Based on the chronology of the related forms from Bad Hora and from

Hasanlu Period IV, we may date the hilt to a time range of late second–early first millennium B.C. (ninth century B.C.).

NOTE

1. De Waele's no. 48 is an exact parallel to the "Tepe Hissar" dagger; and Moorey's no. 30 is an exact parallel to De Waele's no. 46.

168. Flanged Sword

61.261.4; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1961

Bronze; length 45.7 cm

THE HILT and blade appear to have been cast in one piece, but they may in fact have been made by the cast-on process, in which the hilt is cast around an already cast blade (see No. 166). The hilt is ribbed for a more secure grip (cf. No. 64) and is flanged to hold a wood inlay that is partially preserved; it terminates in a splayed pommel. The blade tapers in a slight curve from a horizontal squared guard to a sharp point, and there is a prominent rib evident for most of the blade's length.

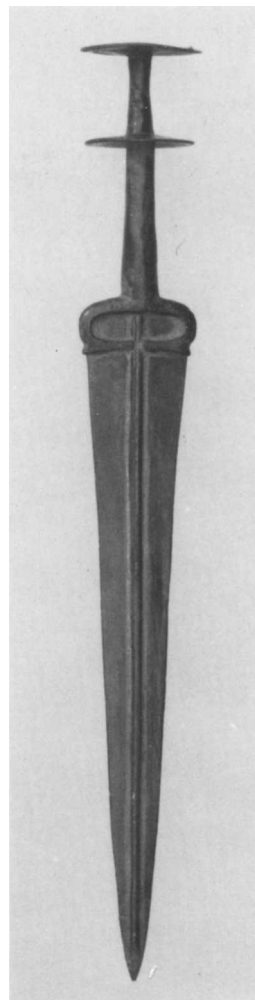
The sword is related by the flanges and the blade form to other examples in the Metropolitan Museum's collection and elsewhere; it clearly fits into a northern Iranian background where subtypes of the same class exist (see Nos. 169, 170). Very close parallels were excavated at Marlik (Negahban 1964, fig. 47, right, Tomb 33?; cf. fig. 123, Tomb 25);¹ and at Kalar Dasht (vanden Berghe 1959, pl. 1) we find the same hilt form; another example, but with a plain flanged handle, is allegedly from Khurvin (vanden Berghe 1964, 23f., pl. xxxiv:226). Further, two of the daggers represented on the Hasanlu gold bowl have the same squared guard (Dyson 1964c, pl. x, left and right; see Calmeyer 1962, 218f.).

Several examples without provenience exist in various collections (Moorey 1971a, 75f., no. 54; Calmeyer 1962, 218, no. 2, pl. 8:2; Calmeyer 1964a, pl. 22, no. 51). Related types occur in the Talish region of Iran and Russia (Schaeffer 1948, figs. 217:14, 223, 227:10, 231, 233:3; de Morgan 1896, figs. 56, 63).

Moorey (1971a, 77) suggested a date of about 1000 B.C. for swords and daggers of the present type. However, the Hasanlu bowl depiction may reflect a tenth–ninth century B.C. date (Muscarella 1980a, 165); and still unpublished swords from Hasanlu Period IV (ninth century B.C.) have squared guards, but with side projections along the upper part of the blade. The Hasanlu evidence suggests a tenth- or ninth-century B.C. date for the Metropolitan Museum's sword.

NOTE

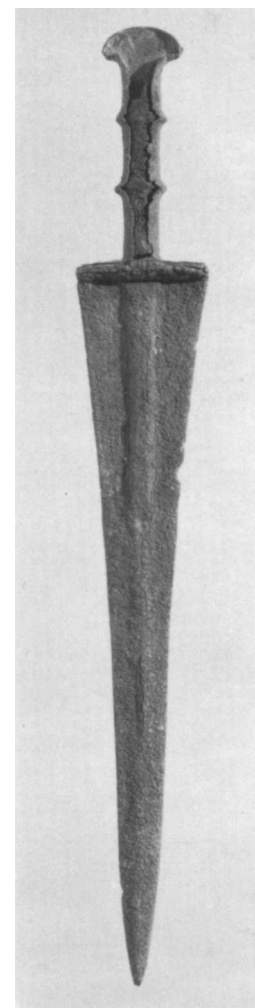
1. The sword was found along with Negahban 1964, figs. 65, 67, 75, 76, and 78 in grid xviii F: there is no tomb in this grid and it is



166



167



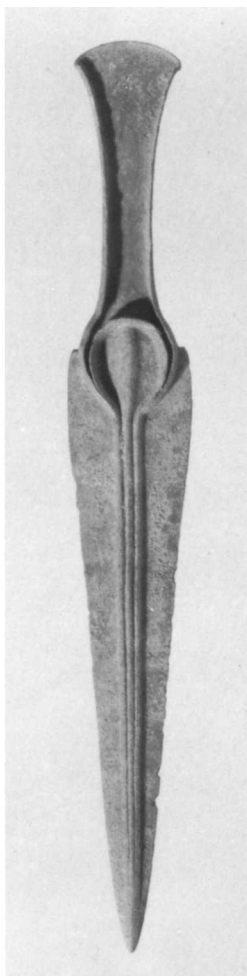
168

possible the objects derive from neighboring Tomb 33 (xvii f) or from an unlisted tomb. Fig. 78 is a cluster of gold spheres, the same as those on the gold necklace from Tomb 32; see below, Nos. 171, 172, note 2. Of interest is the fact that a very similar cluster of gold spheres, but without the flaring tube at their bases, a characteristic of the Marlik examples, occurs at Hasanlu Period IV (Hakemi and Rad 1950, fig. 90b). Still a third example of these clusters of gold spheres occurs at Marlik (Negahban 1964, pl. iii); it is from grid xiii j, a square that has no tomb recorded. Tomb 25 (Negahban 1964, figs. 72, 123; Negahban 1983, B37) is not readily dated based on the present incomplete information of its contents. The blade form of the present Museum example is the same as that on swords from Tomb 26 (Negahban 1964, figs. 50, 51; see above, No. 161, note 2), and Tomb 47 (Negahban 1983, color pl. 3; see No. 371, note 2).

169



170



169. Flanged Dagger with Crescent Guard

59.178.2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1959

Bronze; length 39.4 cm

170. Flanged Dagger with Crescent Guard

61.261.5; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1961

Bronze; length 32.8 cm

BOTH DAGGERS are subtypes of the same class of weapon, exhibiting minor differences. The hilt curves inward from a splayed pommel, forming concave sides, and is flanged to receive an inlay, now missing in both cases. From squared shoulders, more prominent on No. 169, the blade tapers to a sharp point and has a prominent midrib (cf. No. 168); the blade of No. 170 has blood channels. An almost circular crescent guard encloses the upper part of the midrib: on No. 170 it is flanged to receive an inlay and overlaps the hilt; on No. 169 the guard is solid and barely overlaps the hilt.

This class of dagger is well attested in northern Iran from excavations at Marlik (Negahban 1964, figs. 47 left, 122, Tombs 44 and 3),¹ at Ghalekuti II (Fukai and Ikeda 1971, 14, pls. xxviii:3, xlv:35), and at Kalar Dasht, where a gold and a bronze example (each with finger-grip hilts) were recovered (Samadi 1959a, figs. 10, 18); an example is claimed for Khurvin, but it is not a verified find (vanden Berghe 1964, 24, pl. xxxiv:227). Note also that an example is represented on the Hasanlu gold vessel (Dyson 1964c, pl. x, center). A large number derives from farther north, the Russian and Iranian Talish region (de Morgan 1896, figs. 56, 63; de Morgan 1927, 204, fig. 198:3, 5; Schaeffer 1948, figs. 217:3, 219 left, 227:7-9, 231:1, 236 right, 1; pls. lviii, lx). Given the exclusiveness of the northern proveniences, it may be stated that all the strays attributed to Luristan are incorrect (viz. A. Godard 1931, pl. vii:14; Maxwell-Hyslop 1946, 48f.; Arne 1962, fig. 6, top, no. 5; Nagel 1963, pl.

v:2; Atasoy 1976–77, 164f.). However, examples published by Calmeyer (1964a, 22, pl. 22, no. 49), Dyson (1964c, 35, fig. 2:5), Moorey (1971a, 72f., no. 49; 1974a, no. 29), and Orthmann (1982, 21f., no. 72), as well as those in Barbier 1970 (nos. 201, 202, 205, 206, 208) have been correctly attributed to northern Iran.

Dyson (1964c, 40ff.) suggested that daggers with a crescent guard in a “closed” position, i.e., with the ends touching at the midrib of the blade, are earlier than those where the crescent guard is “open,” i.e., penannular and not touching the midrib. But this chronological distinction is far from certain. A second-millennium B.C. sword of another subtype form from our examples from Bad Hora, 70 kilometers west of Hamadan, has a solid hilt and an open guard (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, Tomb I, pl. 82, no. 7, pl. xxiv:2); and a flanged dagger with an open guard derives from a classic second-millennium Iron Age I tomb at Godin Tepe (the tomb may be intrusive there; T. C. Young 1969, fig. 25:11). These finds indicate a second half of the second millennium B.C. date for some examples with open guards, including possibly the one from Ghalekuti II. The dagger represented on the Hasanlu gold vessel as well as those from Marlik have closed guards. I believe that the gold vessel from Hasanlu is tenth–ninth century B.C. in date, which may be the date for the Marlik daggers (see note 1). Thus, we have evidence that the closed guards, or some, are later than some penannular ones but overlapping may have occurred.

Maxwell-Hyslop and Hodges (1964) have demonstrated that the daggers under discussion were made in several ways. Some were single castings, like No. 170. Some had the blade cast first, after which a separate mold for the hilt and crescent guard was placed around the blade; molten bronze poured into the mold cast the blade to the hilt; this process seems to be the one used to create No. 169 (macroscopic examination). Usually, only an X ray is able to reveal the method of manufacture. Still other daggers were made in one piece but had the crescent guard added as a separate process.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 169: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 43.

NOTE

1. Tomb 44 at Marlik contained a bent-tang spearhead exactly like No. 172, and inter alia fragments of a decorated bronze vessel (Negahban 1983, B61). This vessel seems to me to fit best into a first millennium B.C. context, chronologically close to Hasanlu Period IV, Iron II, ninth century B.C. Tentatively, I would date the tomb to the tenth–ninth century B.C. For Tomb 3 I could isolate only the sword as deriving from this locus.

Other objects from Tomb 44 include Negahban 1964, figs. 46 left, 119, 120; Negahban 1983, B23, B63; Negahban 1981, figs. 22, 23 (and 11).

171. Spearhead with Bent Tang

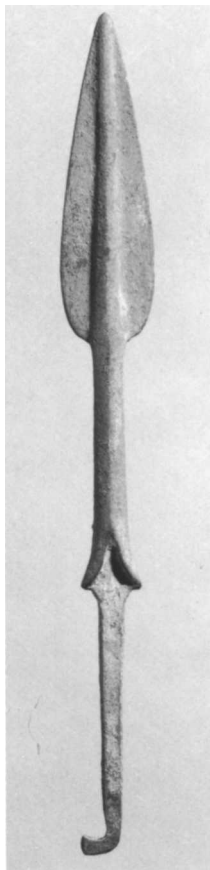
61.261.2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1961
Bronze; length 31.1 cm

172. Spearhead with Bent Tang

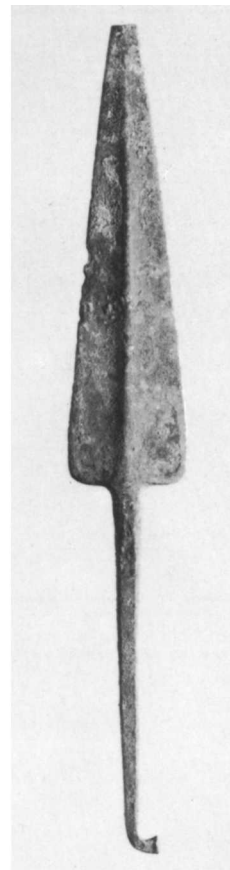
62.225.1; Gift of Robert B. Forrest, 1962
Bronze; length 25.7 cm

CAST IN one piece, No. 171 has a leaf-shaped, round-shouldered blade with a prominent midrib extending into a long shank; the latter is separated from the square tang by a bifurcated molding, and the tang terminates in a bent, blunt end. No. 172 has a flat blade with a raised narrow midrib that is aligned with the tang, also bent, but here with a button terminal; the shoulder is almost squared.

The long bent tangs and prominent midribs connect these spearheads to the same class and further relate them to a fairly large group of blades found all over the Near East (allegedly including Afghanistan: Amiet 1977b, 108, 110, fig. 15:9), dating from the third through the late second and into the early first millennium B.C. (Gordon 1951, 49, fig. 2:15–35; Moorey 1971a, 88; see Nos. 546–551 for Anatolian examples with slotted blades).¹



171



172

Examples with the shank separating the blade from the tang, like No. 171 but with more proportionate-sized tangs, occur in the Gorgan region of northeastern Iran at Tepe Hissar and Tureng Tepe (Schmidt 1937, pl. LI:H3230; Heine-Geldern 1937, fig 9; Calmeyer 1962, 218; cf. No. 176). Still closer examples to these two pieces, in form and, significantly, in the length of the tang, exist in the southwest Caspian region, specifically at Marlik (for No. 171: Negahban 1964, fig. 46 right, Tomb 44; cf. fig. 44 left, Tomb 32; for No. 172: Negahban 1964, fig. 44 right, Tomb 24; cf. fig. 45, Tomb 47);² and at Ghalekuti similar forms to No. 171 occur (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pls. XXIX:4, LXIV:19, LXXIX:201; see also Moorey 1971a, no. 84; Crouwel 1972-74, 123f., pl. xv, nos. 25, 26; Orthmann 1982, 20, nos. 68, 69).

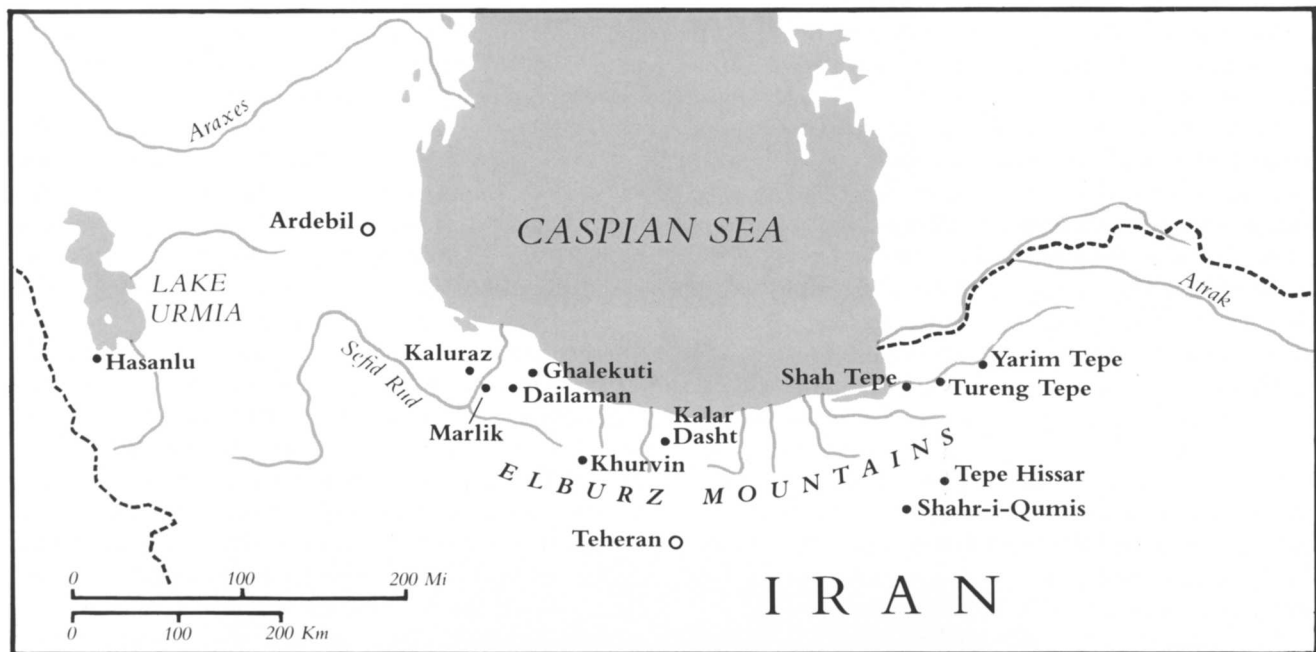
It is therefore probable that the two present examples derive from the Caspian area and date to the late second or early first millennium B.C. (see No. 150 for a comment on the alleged findspot of No. 172).

NOTES

1. I wish here to call attention to an intelligent article by Trevor Watkins, "Wessex without Cyprus: 'Cypriot Daggers' in Europe," in *To Illustrate the Monuments: Essays on Archaeology Presented to Stuart Piggott*, ed. J. V. S. Megaw (London, 1976), 136ff. Watkins correctly discusses the role of modern trade in the distribution of Cypriot bent-tang daggers into Europe in the nineteenth century A.D.

2. Tomb 44 at Marlik contained a sword with a closed crescent like No. 169 (see note 1 of that entry). Tomb 32 also contained two lion-head pins, with gold heads and bronze tangs (Negahban 1964, fig. 85), related in form and bimetallic structure to the lion pins from Period IV, Iron II, at Hasanlu (see Nos. 42-50).

Tomb 32 also contained a gold necklace (Negahban 1964, pl. vi c) composed of quadruple spiral beads and a cluster of spheres. The former have a long history and occur as late as the Median period at Nush-i Jan (Stronach 1969, fig. 8); and both the bead form and cluster are found at Hasanlu Period IV, ninth century B.C. (Hakemi and Rad 1950, figs. 88b, 90b). Other objects from Tomb 32 include Negahban 1964, figs. 23, 24, 62, 64, pl. viii B; Negahban 1983, G5 (and 13), B57; Negahban 1977, figs. 11-18. This tomb may well be dated in the early first millennium B.C. For the possible first-millennium date of Tomb 24, see above, No. 160, note 1. The date of Tomb 47 is unclear.



Northeast Iran, Excavated Objects

Yarim Tepe, Tepe Hissar, and Shahr-i-Qumis

YARIM TEPE is situated north of the Elburz Mountains in the extensive and fertile Gurgan plain, about 110 kilometers east of the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea and 10 kilometers south of the modern Iranian town of Gunbad-i-Qabus. One of several hundred mounds in the Gurgan area (about 310, according to Deshayes 1968, 35), it is at the far eastern corner, about 50 kilometers northeast of Tureng Tepe and 75 kilometers northeast of Shah Tepe, two excavated and well-known Bronze Age sites in the plain. One hundred thirty kilometers across the Elburz range in the Persian plateau to the south lies Tepe Hissar, another important Bronze Age site, and Shahr-i-Qumis is also along the south flank of the Elburz Mountains, some 32 kilometers west of Tepe Hissar.

Yarim Tepe is about 20 meters in height and 150 meters in diameter; its eastern flank is cut away by the Kara Ku River, hence its name, which in Turkish means Half Mound. The mound was chosen for research in part because archaeologists were able to examine the cut-away section and determine before excavation that the site had a long life, exhibited by thirty-three occupation levels. Initial settlement began in the neolithic period in the fifth millennium B.C. and continued with several abandonments through the Bronze and Iron Ages and the Parthian and early Sasanian periods, terminating in about 400 A.D. The Bronze Age levels are the most extensively preserved, and their material remains are culturally related to those found at the three other sites mentioned above; the Bronze Age material from all these sites is known archaeologically as the Gurgan culture and extends in time from at least the second half of the third millennium B.C. to the early centuries of the second millennium B.C.

The terminal date for the final phase of the Gurgan culture at Tepe Hissar, Yarim Tepe, and Shah Tepe is generally assumed to have been about 1900/1800 B.C. (Hissar IIIC Period); at Tureng Tepe it is slightly later (IIIC:2 Period), perhaps about 1800/1700 B.C. (Deshayes 1968, 38; Deshayes 1972, 38; Dyson 1973, 689f.; Bovington et al. 1974, 198).¹

The Gurgan plain during the Bronze Age is an area

of importance in Iranian archaeology for a number of reasons. In the first place, it contains a clearly defined, urban-organized, rich culture, with connections in architectural features and artifacts extending into modern Afghanistan and to Seistan in southeastern Iran (Deshayes 1977). Secondly, lapis lazuli has been found in great quantities in both finished and raw states at Tureng Tepe and Tepe Hissar, suggesting that in the late third millennium B.C. the area's wealth was based on trade in this material. The stone was probably transported from Afghanistan, at present the only area in the Near East where it is known to occur, worked at Hissar and Tureng Tepe, and shipped to various centers in Iran and Mesopotamia (Deshayes 1968, 37f.; Deshayes 1977, 107ff., fig. 9; Tosi 1974, 9, 14, 20).² Thirdly, a number of scholars believe that the mounds in the Gurgan region represent the earliest homeland within Iran of the Indo-European Iranians; it is argued that after the abandonment of their sites in the plain the Iranians moved west, reaching northwestern Iran (e.g., Hasanlu V, Khurvin, Sialk V) at the beginning of the Iron Age, sometime in the fourteenth century B.C. The reasons for this view are too complex to discuss here but are based primarily on similarities in pottery: the occurrence in both the northwest and the east of monochrome gray wares, pattern burnishing (although very rare in the west), and the spouted vessel. To my mind, the evidence is not sufficient to support such a major conclusion: gray wares and spouted vessels have a long history in Iran and the Near East (Gordon 1951, fig. 1);³ and are not per se proof of ethnic identity; burial customs and architecture in both areas are not the same; and, not the least in significance, the chronological gap between the terminal date for the Gurgan culture and the earliest time possible for the beginning of the Iron Age in the west is at least two or three hundred years, despite attempts to narrow it (Bovington et al. 1974, 198f.). These problems have been discussed to some extent in the past (e.g., T. C. Young 1965, 76; T. C. Young 1967, 24, 31; Porada 1965, 43; Deshayes 1968, 38; Deshayes 1972, 38; Dyson 1973, 688ff.; Stronach 1969, 2ff.),⁴ and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to note that the questions concerning the

homeland of the Iranians before they moved into western Iran and the routes they took is still open for discussion.

The British Institute of Persian Studies and the Metropolitan Museum excavated the site of Yarim Tepe for two seasons, 1960 and 1962, under the direction of David Stronach; only brief preliminary reports have appeared to date (Crawford 1963; Stronach 1972a). The Metropolitan Museum has received, as part of its division of material with the British Institute and the Iranian Archaeological Service, twenty-six objects, of which three are bronzes, the rest pottery; of the bronzes, two are from the Bronze Age levels, one is from the Parthian period.

In 1957 the Metropolitan Museum exchanged a number of objects with the American Museum of Natural History. Among the objects received by the Metropolitan Museum was a copper/bronze blade excavated at Tepe Hissar by E. Schmidt and given to Gertrude H. Thompson (Mrs. William Boyce Thompson), who was the principal patron of the Hissar excavations. Mrs. Thompson left to the Museum of Natural History twenty-six objects excavated at Tepe Hissar, a number of which, including the Metropolitan Museum's blade, have no field number recorded.

At Shahr-i-Qumis, excavations were conducted in 1969 and 1971 under the sponsorship of the British Institute of Persian Studies, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and the Metropolitan Museum, and in 1976 by the British Institute alone. The site is vast, consisting of a number of mounds spread over an area about 4.8 by 2.1 kilometers; the remains date from the Iron Age (first millennium B.C.) continuing through the Achaemenian, Hellenistic, Sasanian, and Parthian periods. Shahr-i-Qumis was a major settlement in the last period, and probably earlier as well.

The position of the site and its size led some scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to identify it with the city called by the Greeks Hekatompylos, the city with "a hundred gates," perhaps more a poetical than a literal attribute (Hansman 1968, 132). It was from this city that Alexander the Great, after finding the murdered body of Darius III, decided to continue his

campaigns farther east, into India (for discussion of identification of the site see Hansman 1968, 111ff., 131ff.).

Preliminary reports (see Stronach 1972b; add *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1974, 8–22) have published the major architectural finds and tombs of the Parthian and Sasanian periods, as well as less extensive remains of earlier periods. Among the finds was silk, thereby attesting empirically to what was already known from written sources, that the area was athwart the great silk route from the East to the West.

The Metropolitan Museum has as part of its Shahr-i-Qumis division of finds nine terracotta vessels, three bullae with seal impressions, and a number of bronzes, all from the Parthian period. Because they will all be published in detail in a final report with more information than is available to me, I present the bronzes here summarily.

NOTES

1. Dyson 1973, 687ff., suggests that enemy destruction ended the Gurgan culture. The evidence at the sites suggests abandonment, not destruction (except at Hissar Period IIIB).

2. In Muscarella 1980a, 215, I noted the lack of evidence for a lapis lazuli trade route between northwestern Iran and the southwestern areas of the Caspian Sea in the late second and early first millennium B.C., a time much later than the evidence indicates for the trade in the Gurgan area. It is also unlikely that northwestern Iran was part of the route during the earlier period (see also Tosi 1974, 18, and fig. 1).

3. One serious problem for those who wish to connect eastern and western pottery forms is the precise levels (periods) at Tureng Tepe in which unbridged spouted vessels occur: see and compare Deshayes 1972, 36f., fig. 1; Deshayes, in *Iran* 12 (1974), 226, pl. XI c; Deshayes, in *Proceedings of the IVth Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran . . . 1975* (Teheran, 1976), 305. Other problems are the absence of sites with the appropriate wares and shapes along the alleged migration route from northeast to northwest, and the chronology of the bridge-less spouted vessels found in various areas of Iran.

4. Some scholars have suggested that it was the Medes who were the specific Iranian people to move from the Gurgan area to the west (e.g., implied by T. C. Young 1967 and stressed by Deshayes 1968, 38). Stronach (1969, 3f.) rejects the Gurgan area as the original home of the Medes, preferring the area around Teheran. One of the key reasons for Stronach's and Young's placement of the Medes to the east is their acceptance of the Assyrian references (beginning with Tiglath-Pileser III) to Mount Bikni as indicating Mount Demavand, northeast of Teheran. This identification has to my mind been neatly dismissed by Levine (1974, 118f., nn. 167, 168, following König), but cf. Ghirshman 1974, 38, and Reade 1978, 141, who still accept it.

YARIM TEPE

173. Socketed Trilobate Arrowhead

63.102.6; Yarim Tepe 60/2; A 2, floor 1; Parthian period, about first–second century A.D.

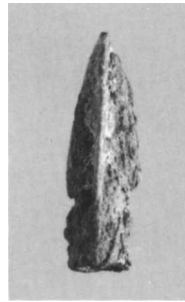
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1963¹

Bronze; length 3 cm

THE HEAD is in the form of three sharp blades that blend together at a sharp point; a single hole at the top of the socket once held a rivet that secured the head to the arrow shaft.

Many hundreds of socketed trilobate arrowheads, some plain like this example, others with a barb, have been excavated at numerous sites all over the Near East, Anatolia, Egypt, and in Europe. Scholars have associated their earliest archaeological occurrences, along with bilobate forms, with the expansion of the Cimmerians and Scythians from southern Russia into Anatolia (now see Norşuntepe: Hauptmann 1983, 254, 258) and Iran beginning in the last years of the eighth century B.C. However, they continued to be used for centuries over a vast geographical area (for distribution see Sulimirski 1954; Cleuziou 1977; Boehmer 1972, 111ff.; Erdmann 1973). For excavated finds in Iran up to and including the Achaemenian period see Boehmer 1972, 112, and Moorey 1971a, 87: Ziwiye, Zendan, Susa, Nush-i Jan, Persepolis, Sialk B (outside the tombs), Tureng Tepe, South Caspian (Samadi 1959b, 190, fig. 26), Baba Jan (see Goff 1978, fig. 14:23, one example: not stuck in a wall, as Yamauchi 1982, 96), and Hasanlu III. To this list we now add Agrab Tepe (Muscarella 1973a, 66f., fig. 27:2), Bastam (Kroll in Kleiss 1979, fig. 15:1), Sagzabad (AMI 12 [1979], 61), and Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, 181 and fig. 94; see No. 322). During the Achaemenian period they seem to have been standard equipment for forces in the Persian army. Schmidt (1957, 99, pl. 76:7–11) discovered 3,600 examples in the Treasury at Persepolis, and Stronach (1978, 181) excavated a number at Pasargadae, here dating both to the Achaemenian and post-Achaemenian periods; see also Sardis (Waldbaum 1983, 10, 35, pl. 3). The finds from Yarim Tepe (see also Crawford 1963, 268, 273) and Shahr-i-Qumis (Nos. 180, 181) document their continued use in the Parthian period.

In a major study of trilobate arrowheads, Sulimirski (1954) suggested that they first appeared in the Near East about 750 B.C. (also Ghirshman 1964, 279; Yamauchi 1982, 93); in a later publication Sulimirski (1978, 17) placed them even earlier, in “the late Iron IV [*sic*, i.e., Hasanlu Period IVB] period in north-west Iran.” However, the assertion in either case is not supported by ex-



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cavated finds. After a comprehensive study Boehmer (1972, 111ff.) concluded that no excavated examples from any Near Eastern site may be dated before about 690/680 B.C. (see also Muscarella 1973a, 67, and Cleuziou 1977, 190ff.), while Stronach (1978, 180f.) places the earliest appearances still later, in the late seventh century B.C. The Cimmerians and Scythians do not appear in the Near East until the very late eighth and the early seventh century B.C. respectively, when they are mentioned in the Assyrian annals of Sargon II and Assarhaddon. This would mean that *if*—for it is still an unproven claim—the trilobate arrowheads were initially the characteristic weapon of these marauders (first by the Cimmerians?) and were introduced into the Near East by them, we would expect the earliest excavated finds to parallel these dates. Therefore, Boehmer’s chronology seems the more accurate.

Their wide distribution and extensive chronological range—over eight centuries—obviously indicates that many ethnic groups and nations used trilobate arrows, apparently because of their armor-piercing qualities and their light weight, which permitted a more portable bow (Cleuziou 1977, 197). It therefore follows that one cannot assign casual ethnic, cultural, or chronological labels to given examples, whether they are excavated or stray (Erdmann 1973, 31f., 57; Kroll 1984, 130; see also Nos. 521–526). Indeed, trilobate arrows may originally have been introduced by one or more ethnically related group—perhaps Cimmerians and Scythians—and for a time functioned as a recognizable ethnic identity marker (viz. Wobst 1977, 321ff; Hodder 1978, 47ff.; Hodder 1981, 82ff.; Conkey 1978, 67).² But inasmuch as other ethnic and cultural groups subsequently utilized them, it must have resulted that trilobate arrowheads became neutral in battle with regard to signaling an identity. Once the type ceased to be an artifact characteristic of a specific people, it no longer served to identify the enemy (e.g., as Cimmerians or Scythians).³

At the same time it should be recognized that this conclusion does not suggest that ancient Near Easterners were unaware that various items of armor and weapons used by them had a foreign origin. Ebeling (1952, 207, n. 2) cites a neo-Babylonian text that refers to military equipment by their original and foreign ethnic appellation: Akkadian bows, shields, and arrows, and, of special interest here, Cimmerian arrows. These objects are not formally described in the texts because they had a clear stylistic meaning to contemporaries. As for the Cimmerian arrows, we cannot state that they were bilobate or trilobate forms, although, of course, it is not an impossible assumption that it was one of these forms. Moreover, the texts refer to the equipment of soldiers who are neither Akkadians nor Cimmerians, neatly documenting that troops would use weapons that they knew were of foreign origin, but with no intent to be ethnically identified by them.⁴

NOTES

1. H. Dunscombe Colt generously gave funds to the Metropolitan Museum of Art that were used as the Museum's contribution in the excavations of Yarim Tepe and Shahr-i-Qumis.

2. See Polly Wiessner, "Style and Social Information in Kalahari San Projectile Points," *American Antiquity* 48, 2 (1983), 253–76, for a discussion of how South African Bushmen, speaking different languages but sharing material culture, were able to recognize, by variations in size and shape, the arrows of neighboring or far-distant peoples.

3. Just as, for another example, it cannot be said that the trilobate arrows assumed to come from Marathon belong exclusively to the Persians and not to the Greeks (Erdmann 1973, 31f.); nor, pace Medvedskaya 1982, 92ff., that in the Persian army only the Medes and central Asiatics used trilobate arrows. S. Kroll in Kleiss 1979, 100, n. 11, suggests—but does not assert—that because of the presence of some trilobate and two-winged arrowheads at Bastam in northwestern Iran, the site may have been destroyed by Scythians. M. van Loon, in *BibOr* 42, 1–2 (1985), 190, categorically claims that because of the presence of the arrowheads it was indeed the Scythians who destroyed Bastam. The evidence of the arrows is not sufficient to permit presentation of such an archaeological interpretation. For another misuse of archaeological data in connection with these arrowheads in order to obtain historical information, Scythians at Jerusalem, see Yamauchi 1982, 97ff., and 1983, 94ff.

4. Ebeling is primarily concerned in his article with a text from 423 B.C. that lists the outfitting of a soldier. Among the weapons supplied are certain arrows of a type called *gi-ir-ri* (Ebeling 1952, 207), which defies precise translation. Ebeling presents a number of possible translations, one of which could be Cimmerian, but without certainty. Therefore, we may not include this particular text as another example of ethnic appellation for certain arrows (see *Assyrian Dictionary* [University of Chicago], s.v. "Gimirrija").

[Now see four examples from Nush-i Jan: J. Curtis 1984, 28, fig. 6, nos. 259–62. On page 28 Curtis flirts with the idea that trilobate arrows were originally associated with Scythians, and then with the Medes, while those with two blades were associated with the Cimmerians: I find this distinction to be without merit; we do not have any objective information or evidence that either of these two (related) groups consciously used only one type of arrow (see note 2 above). Compare Stern 1982, 154. For double-bladed arrows from Bastam see Kroll in Kleiss 1979, figs. 3:1, 2, 10:8, 16:30–32.]

174. **Spearhead**

63.102.17; Yarim Tepe 62/85; Z 12, Burial 1; Early Bronze period, about 2800 B.C.

Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1963

Copper;¹ length 11.7 cm

THIS SMALL spearhead was recovered from a grave. It has rounded shoulders, a short tang that fits into a wood hilt, and a flat blade that tapers concavely to a point. During the Early Bronze period at Yarim Tepe bronze/copper weapons were fairly common (Crawford 1963, 273).

NOTE

1. Cu: 98.3%, Sn: .035%, Pb: .790%, Zn: .012% (1986).

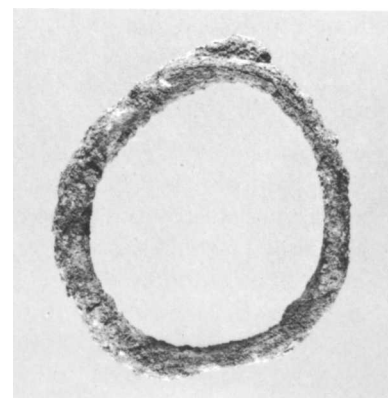
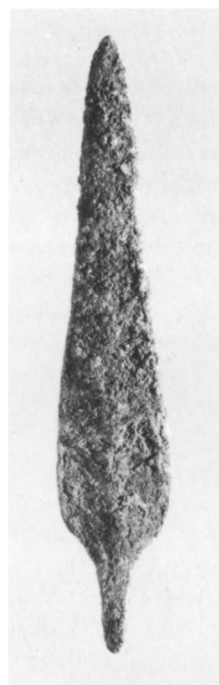
175. **Bracelet**

63.102.16; Yarim Tepe 62/104; Z 12, Burial 7; Early Bronze period, about 2800 B.C.

Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1963

Bronze; diameter 4.5 cm

FOUND IN a burial of a child, this small, plain bracelet seems to have been made in the form of a coiled snake. One end is thin, tail-like, the other, overlapping it, is flat; there are no indications of eyes. For examples of serpent heads on bracelet terminals see Nos. 23–25.



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TEPE HISSAR

176. Blade

57.99.22; Tepe Hissar; Period III; acquired from the American Museum of Natural History, New York Rogers Fund and Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, by exchange, 1957
Copper;¹ length 31.5 cm

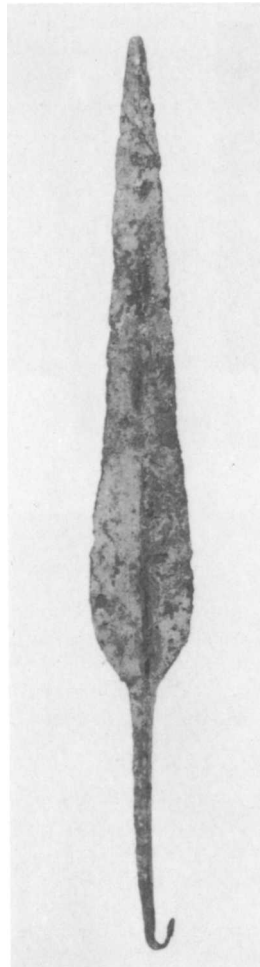
WHETHER this blade is a spearhead or a dagger is not certain (Stronach 1957, 104; Maxwell-Hyslop 1946, 27f.). A number of similar blades, some considered to be daggers, others clearly spearheads, all with bent tangs, derive from Hissar Period III. Many of these have a button terminal (Schmidt 1937, 203, pls. xxxiv, L, LI), but some have a plain, pointed terminal like the one here (*Museum Journal* [University Museum, Philadelphia] 23 [1933], pl. cm:11040).

This blade has no field number so it is not possible to know exactly where it was excavated; its date, however, must be early second millennium B.C. (See also Nos. 171, 172, 546–551 for examples of spearheads with bent tangs from other areas of Iran, and from Anatolia, where the blade was often slotted.)

NOTE

1. Cu: 97.8%, Sn: .048%, Pb: .084%, Zn: .039%, As: 1.06% (1986).

To resolve the problem of whether the presence of arsenic with copper in an artifact indicates that it was an intentionally added ingredient (an alloy) or that it was an organic component of the copper ore is practically impossible for a lay scholar. The latest evidence available is that of N. H. Gale, Z. A. Stos-Gale, R. G. Gilmore, "Alloy Types and Copper Sources of Anatolian Copper Alloy Artifacts," *AnatStud* 35 (1985), 143–73, esp. pp. 145, 154, 157. These authors claim that all arsenic up to 7% in an artifact is probably a result of accident, that it was a component of the ore. They also maintain that "there seems to be no way to distinguish between accidental and deliberate arsenical copper alloys." These views differ categorically from those of others, some cited by Gale, Stos-Gale, and Gilmore, e.g., Charles, de Jesus, Muhly. The objects in this catalogue that contain more than 1% arsenic are: Nos. 214, 281, 334, 335, 337, 386, 444, 464, 466, 467, 494, 495, 513, 515, 516, 528, 530, 531, 536, 550, 566; No. 513 has the largest amount among the artifacts tested.



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SHAHR-I-QUMIS

177. Earring

1978.93.60; Shahr-i-Qumis 71/123; Site XIII, Area D, Room 10 fill; Parthian period
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978
Bronze; length 3.7 cm

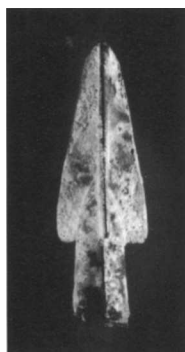
AT THE base of the now broken loop is a round, corroded pendant, which may have been added. The loop-with-pendant form of this earring has a long history, as may be seen from Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, figs. 79, 126f., 133.



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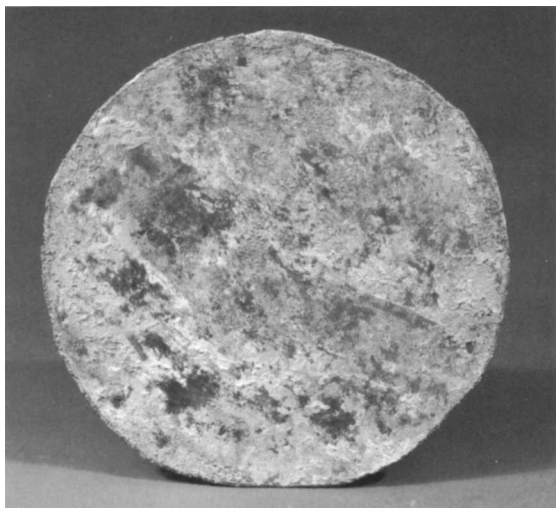
179



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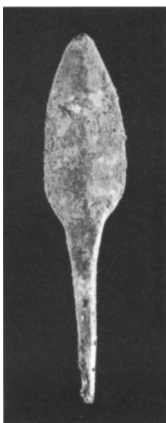


181



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183



178, 179. Pins

1978.93.57a, b; Shahr-i-Qumis 71/129; Site V, layer 1, Room 16; Parthian period

Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978

Bronze; lengths 4.6, 2.3 cm

No. 178 has a hemispherical head; its upper shank is round in section, while its lower is flattened: reused? No. 179 is round in section and also has a hemispherical head; it is very thin.

180. Socketed Trilobate Arrowhead

69.24.23; Shahr-i-Qumis 67/81; surface find

Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1969

Bronze; length 3.5 cm

181. Socketed Trilobate Arrowhead

1978.93.59; Shahr-i-Qumis 71/121; Site V, Area C, Room 3; Parthian period

Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978

Bronze; length 3.4 cm

THESE TWO arrowheads are trilobate, formed of three sharp blades and a hollow socket. No. 181 has a barb and there are traces of wood still noticeable in the socket. For further references, see No. 173 from the Parthian period of Yarim Tepe.

182. Scale Plate

69.24.26; Shahr-i-Qumis 67/117; Site VI, Room 15B; late Parthian period

Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1969

Bronze; diameter 11.3 cm

THE PLATE is round and slightly concave, with three equidistant holes for suspension. The position of the three holes suggests that this object was one of a pair of balance scale plates.

183. Arrowhead

69.24.25; Shahr-i-Qumis 67/154, surface find; Parthian period

Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1969

Bronze; length 4.7 cm

184. Arrowhead

1978.93.56; Shahr-i-Qumis 67/2, Site VIII, Room 2, surface find; Parthian period

Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978

Bronze; length 2.4 cm

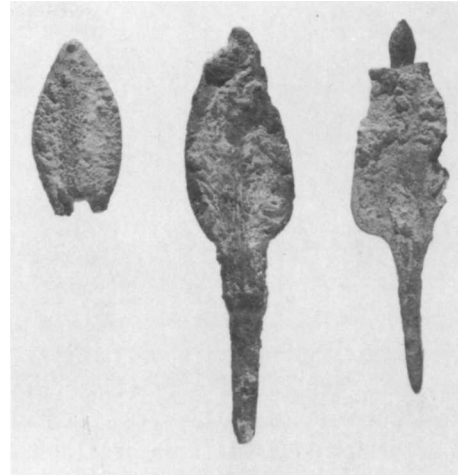
185. Arrowhead

1978.93.54; Shahr-i-Qumis 67/67, Site I, Room 1;
Parthian period
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978
Bronze; length 5.8 cm

186. Arrowhead

1978.93.58; Shahr-i-Qumis 71/119, surface find; Parthian period
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978
Bronze; length 5.2 cm

ALL FOUR blades are basically the same in form, leaf shaped, with a midrib, pronounced on No. 185. All have a long, thin tang except No. 184, which has two barbs parallel to the blade; the tip of No. 183 is bent, presumably from use.



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187. Arrowhead (?)

69.24.24; Shahr-i-Qumis 67/72, surface find
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1969
Bronze; length 3.5 cm

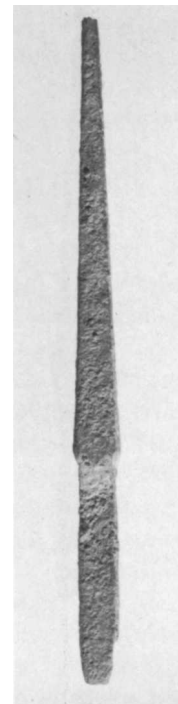
188. Arrowhead (?)

1978.93.52; Shahr-i-Qumis 67/37, surface find
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978
Bronze; length 7.6 cm

THE FUNCTION of No. 187 is not clear; one end is thickened and blunt, the other slightly tapered. It may be a projectile point used to hunt birds. No. 188 has a relatively long pointed section and a shorter cut back "tang," both rectangular in section; the tip and the rear end are both broken. This too might have been a projectile point, or a tool of some sort.



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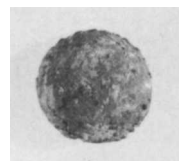


188

189. Button

1978.93.53; Shahr-i-Qumis 71/111; Site IV, Room 5;
Parthian period
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978
Bronze; diameter 1.3 cm

MADE of thin sheet metal, the button has an attachment loop inside.



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190. Bead

1978.93.55; Shahr-i-Qumis 67/45; Site VI, surface find
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978
Bronze; length 1.5 cm

THE BEAD is biconical in shape and pierced for suspension.



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Luristan

The Luristan Bronzes

THE FOLLOWING essays and the discussions in the catalogue entries do not present a full history of the Luristan bronzes, the archaeology of Luristan itself, or the modern history of Luristan scholarship. Rather, I have limited myself to specific issues that interest me and to ones I consider relevant and appropriate to the purposes of this catalogue, with the choice determined by the types of objects in the Metropolitan Museum's collection.

With some justification it may be argued that a comprehensive and objective archaeological history of the Luristan bronzes, one that will satisfy most scholars, cannot at present be written. One may further argue that it may never be written, that it is not possible to build the bridge between the present and the past, let alone travel across it. Precisely because of the way the great majority of artifacts was acquired, there is lacking much of the basic data that underpins archaeological research which allows time bridges to be built. Indeed, the bulk of the material attributed to Luristan and available to scholarship derives not from archaeological excavations but from dealers' shops, and therefore both general and specific proveniences are empirically unknown. Aside from the numerous publications concerned primarily with the many bronzes housed in museums and private collections, a number of attempts have been made to bring some order and control to the material attributed for over fifty years to Luristan (vanden Berghe 1981, 18, mentions over 350 publications concerned with the Luristan bronzes). Yet when the historical and archaeological conclusions presented in these studies are carefully examined, it is immediately evident that many are based on unverifiable sources for information on attribution and provenience, and on guesswork for interpretation. At best, the information that supports the conclusions was derived from the observations or obiter dicta of travelers—scholars or otherwise, or their informants; at worst, and more commonly, it was based on the word of dealers, who manifestly could not know the source of the material brought to them. No other area in the ancient Near East suffers this phenomenon to the extent recognized for Luristan, and this fact (it cannot be stated too often) must inform all studies of the Luristan bronzes.

An overview of the publication history of the Luristan bronzes has been presented by Calmeyer (1969a, 143ff.) and Moorey (1971a, 4ff.), and it need only be summarized here with comments and modifications. Up to and including the year 1930, some scholars who noticed the few stray bronzes reaching Europe that were subsequently recognized as typical Luristan types attributed them to areas and cultures outside Iran. As Moorey has recorded, the earliest publication of a Luristan bronze was by C. H. Read (1918, 1ff., pl. A, which is Moorey 1974b, pl. VII:A) who discussed two horse cheekpieces destined for the British Museum (cf. Potratz 1963, 125, for an erroneous candidate for the earliest published example). They had apparently been obtained in Bombay (by the husband of a Lady Hunter) from a Parsee who claimed his family had had them from "time immemorial." They were originally taken from Iran, where, we are told, they had been attached to the gates of the city in which the family once lived; it is a story with an authentic ring. Read assigned the cheekpieces, although not recognizing them as such, to Armenia, citing Wallis Budge as an authority supporting the attribution. A short time later Rostovtzeff (1922b, 11, 40, pls. II:B, D, E; Louvre; v:3; British Museum) assigned a small group of classic Luristan bronze finials and standards (along with non-Luristan objects: Rostovtzeff 1922b, pl. II:A, c) in the British Museum and the Louvre to Cappadocia, where they had "been discovered." He did not cite the Bombay cheekpieces, nor did he reveal his source about the alleged area of discovery (cf. Rostovtzeff 1931a). To him they were artifacts belonging to the cultural milieu of the Cimmerians and Scythians. And although a few years later Dalton (1926/1964, xlii f., n. 3, fig. 25) attributed one of the Bombay cheekpieces, by this time in the British Museum, to the Caucasus, several subsequent writers followed Rostovtzeff's lead and accepted the still rare and puzzling pieces as deriving from Cappadocia (e.g., Sauerlandt 1929, 41, pl. 21; Heeramanek 1929, Introduction p. 1, 106–12; Tallgren 1930, 52, 55, pl. 6:3–5).¹

It was not until 1930 and the immediately following years that the bronzes were first recognized in print as indeed deriving from Luristan, an area bordered by Iraq to the west, the Saimarreh River and Elam (Khuzistan)

to the south, the eastern Zagros Mountains and Khurramabad to the east, and the Mahi Dasht and Harsin plains to the north. The Luristan attribution was presented in the books and articles that began to publish the many bronzes purchased within a short period of time by private collectors and museums in Europe and the United States (see the bibliographies in vanden Berghe 1959, 176ff.; 1968b, 84ff.; 1979a, 119ff., 197ff., 212ff.). E. Herzfeld (1929, 982f.) was the first scholar to attribute the bronzes to Iran, not to Luristan as is sometimes stated, but to the Nihavand area to the northeast (see Dussaud 1930, 246, 253, 260; Dussaud in A. Godard 1931, 7; A. Godard in Dussaud 1930, 260). To my knowledge, the earliest published correct attribution to Luristan was given in 1930 by both Pope (1930a, 388ff.; 1930b, 444f.; 1932a, 380) and A. Godard (in Dussaud 1930, 253, 260ff.; Y. Godard 1971, 25), soon followed by others (Rostovtzeff 1931a; Speleers 1931, 1932; Minorsky 1931; Pijoán 1931, 421ff.; Dimand 1931; Moortgat 1932; Przeworski 1933, 150; and so forth). Stark (1932; 1934/1947) made her attributions based on her travels and informants, and she herself never actually witnessed the recovery of a bronze in situ (she saw only one grave cleared—1932, 501; it contained no bronzes).

After 1930, a Luristan provenience for those few examples known previously and those that had recently surfaced en masse was rarely challenged. To be sure, a few scholars, although accepting the mass of material as deriving from Luristan, continued to believe that isolated pieces had indeed surfaced in other areas. Potratz (1963, 124f.; 1966, 134) considered it possible that some of the bronzes could have reached Cappadocia in antiquity; others believed that some were found at Maku in Iranian Azerbaijan (Przeworski 1938/1964, 250f., fig. 52; Przeworski 1940, 257; Moorey 1971a, 16, 143), or in Arabia (S. Smith 1952, 203ff., figs. 1, 2; Akurgal 1955, 29). Concerning the latter examples, in the first place they are not Luristan bronzes (Moorey 1971a, 27; cf. Herrmann 1968, 6, n. 26), and moreover, like those attributed to Maku, they were not excavated and have no verified provenience, pace scholarly claims (see Muscarella 1981b, 359, n. 187). More recently Taşyürek (1980, 212f., pls. x, xi) casually refers to “a large number of Luristan bronzes” brought to the Adana Museum in Turkey, which “are known to be found in the Urartian tombs in the Van province. . . .” Indeed, we “know” no such thing (cf. Atasoy 1976–77, 171, who does not claim that the Luristan bronzes purchased in Istanbul derive from Turkey); moreover the objects illustrated by Taşyürek are not Luristan bronzes.

The publication dates of the earliest works to give a correct attribution to Luristan suggest that the mass of material began to surface, i.e., that active plunder-

ing began, shortly before 1930. It is an indication of the disorder and incompleteness of our knowledge of the bronzes that events in their modern history (one of the main components of Luristan research) are skewed, and, to give one example, various dates have been presented as the incipient time for the mass plundering. S. Smith (1952, 203) stated that the first examples surfaced in Baghdad, a view based either on his own experience in that city or on Stark (1934/1947, 50ff.), who got her information firsthand from Lurs living in Baghdad, who claimed to have smuggled bronzes across the border into Iraq some years before 1932 (see also Basmachi 1963; Maleki 1964, 2; Y. Godard 1971, 25). Rostovtzeff (1931a, 45) gave the earliest date for the mass plundering as “after the war” (WW I), while Moorey (1971a, 4) first thought it occurred shortly after 1922, although later (1981, 14) “at the end of the 1920s.” Dussaud (1938/1964, 254, n. 1) and Nagel (1963, 43) gave the earliest date as 1925, the latter scholar, however, accepting 1929 as the main period of plundering, a time also accepted by Schaeffer (1948, 478) and Porada (1964a, 9). A. Godard (1931, 11, 22; 1958, 55) more specifically claimed 1928 as the incipient date, followed by Speleers (1931, 56), Contenau (1937, 149), Przeworski (1933, 150; 1940, 230), Amiet (1976, 1), and vanden Berghe (1968b, 149; 1981, 9, 16, 20). In one article Pope narrowed the time to March of 1930 (1932a, 380), but later changed the date to 1929 (1945, 14). Other scholars simply accepted a time between 1927 and 1930.

It may be concluded that the first mass plundering (as opposed to the previously recorded scattered finds claimed for Cappadocia) began a few years before 1930. This is objectively indicated by the fact that multiple examples reached the Metropolitan Museum in New York, Chicago (*Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* 25 [1931], 92f.), Hamburg (Potratz 1955a, 180; 1963, 124), London (Gadd 1931; *ILN*, 6 September 1930, 388ff., 13 September 1930, 444f.), Brussels (Speleers 1931, 56ff.), and the University Museum in Philadelphia (Legrain 1934, 3) by 1930, and that by 1929 (1925 according to Dussaud 1938/1964, 254, n. 1) Heeramanek and Stora had acquired substantial collections. Further, I believe that A. Godard, who was in Iran from 1928 and visited Luristan in 1930 (Y. Godard 1971, 25), can be accepted as a reliable source for the correct date, at least within a year or two, which seems to be 1928 or 1929. And shortly thereafter, mass collecting of Luristan bronzes began in earnest. Pope claimed that there was a “shrinking volume” of bronzes on the market after 1930 (*ILN*, 22 October 1932, 613), a claim difficult to verify.²

To even estimate a figure for the number of Luristan bronzes known to exist in scores of private collections, museums, and dealers’ shops is an impossible task (for a

listing of museums and private collections housing Luristan bronzes, see vanden Berghe 1979a, 212–23; add Porada 1979b; Moorey 1981; De Waele 1982). One may merely note that there are many thousands, “*pièces sans nombre*” (Melikian 1961, 71), and the very mass of the material is one of the most characteristic features of the bronzes. A further characteristic—perhaps the most significant (modern) attribute—is that only a small minority of the corpus has been excavated by archaeologists; the great majority are orphaned strays. Aurel Stein excavated no material in his pioneer sondages in Luristan in 1936 and was only able to purchase some strays brought to him.³ Nor did the Danish campaigns of Meldgaard and Thrane in 1963 and 1964 uncover typical Luristan bronzes, although certain scholars have treated hearsay evidence mentioned by the Danes about the uncovering of typical bronzes by Lurs as if it were archaeological information.

C. Goff reported finding two canonical bronzes, a zoomorphic-headed pin and a Janus-headed tube, at the settlement site of Baba Jan (see below). The most successful and significant work of all (aside from Schmidt’s work at Surkh Dum, see below), because of its thrust and accomplishments (not to speak of the energy and perseverance of the excavator), is that of L. vanden Berghe in the Pusht-i Kuh, western Luristan (vanden Berghe 1981, 21f., 109f. for a bibliography of his fifteen campaigns, 1965–79). From these campaigns, all involving cemeteries, thirteen canonical bronzes have to date been published. To this published corpus of excavated bronzes, Iranian excavators have added about a half-dozen more from the cemetery of Xatunban (see below). There is one other excavation in Luristan that has yielded bronzes, here apparently in the many hundreds: the occupation site of Surkh Dum in the Pish-i Kuh, eastern Luristan, excavated in 1938 by E. Schmidt. Although Surkh Dum is without doubt the most important site excavated in Luristan, and one of the most important sites in Iran, up to the present time only twenty-five of its bronzes have been published (Muscarella 1981b, 329f., 333ff.; see also 359, n. 184, for reference to other excavated Luristan bronzes including a canonical standard from Samos and a probable Luristan pendant from Crete). Thus, to have available for meaningful research fewer than fifty provenienced artifacts, some as yet unpublished, whereas thousands exist without a findspot, illustrates poignantly the dimensions of the tragedy of Luristan archaeology: and precisely defines the difficulties for those who seek to grasp correct, firm anthropological and historical conclusions. The full publication of Surkh Dum will alter both the excavated figures and the range of artifact assemblage considerably, but cannot of course affect the problem of unprovenienced pieces.

It has been noted by a number of scholars that the

appellation “Luristan bronzes” should be assigned specifically to a characteristic, stylistically limited group of objects recognized as distinctly isolated from other Iranian and Near Eastern types and styles, even if these latter objects were in fact excavated—or assumed to have been excavated—in Luristan (e.g., Frankfort 1955, 206; Nagel 1963, 45; Moorey 1971a, 2f., 25ff.; Moorey 1971b, 114ff.). The most extensive attempt to define and delimit the specific types of bronzes acceptable as canonical Luristan bronzes has been made by vanden Berghe (1968b, 149ff.; 1973e, 72ff.; 1981, 63f.). In one broad category vanden Berghe places all the bronzes “*que l’on trouve au Luristan*,” a group that includes both the types of objects he himself excavated there and those assigned to Luristan on the basis of generally accepted opinion (1968b, 151ff.). This category is in fact a corpus of all the various forms and styles of the bronzes usually assumed to derive from Luristan, weapons and tools, jewelry, finials and standards, whetstone handles, horse bits and horse-harness equipment, and vessels, and it includes material dating from the third millennium B.C. to the first millennium B.C.

In a second category, vanden Berghe (1968b, 153f.) isolates and lists fourteen types or groups from the corpus that he regards as “*bronzes typiques du Luristan*”: they are distinguished “*des autres bronzes par une forme originale et une iconographie particulière*,” and, further, “*ne furent trouvés nulle part ailleurs, et qui, par conséquent, ne sont caractéristiques que de seul Luristan*.” These objects are confined in vanden Berghe’s chronology to a period from the twelfth to the seventh centuries B.C. In general, the two categories form the basis for all discussion and commentary on the problem of discerning what is a Luristan bronze; but there is need for refinement. First of all, and limiting oneself here only to the crucial second category, a number of the types of objects that vanden Berghe placed within this specifically Luristan group in fact have not been excavated there, nor do they stylistically belong there: helmets, chariot rein rings (see No. 466), belts. Nor is it certain that decorated nipple beakers (not *situlae*) are typical Luristan objects, although indeed a fragment of one was excavated at Surkh Dum (Muscarella 1981b, 329f.; see Nos. 342, 343). Secondly, a number of the types of objects listed by vanden Berghe in his first, but not in his second, Luristan category, in fact should also be considered as typical Luristan bronzes: certain bracelets, pendants, sword types, axes, mace, and quiver (see appropriate entries below, Nos. 264–275, 201, 212, 293–297, 302–305, 307, 308). A number of these objects have the canonical Luristan style, others, primarily weapons, do not, but nevertheless they are from Luristan, derived there from excavations, not by hearsay.

It is easier to recognize an object as canonically of

Luristan style than it is to define it precisely. Characteristic are certain idiosyncratic forms: finials and standards, horse bits and horse harness, sculpted pinheads. And in most instances there is a highly fantasized stylization of human and animal forms, of real and otherworldly creatures, and often a combination of these forms. There is a generous use of coiling in details, especially animal heads. And the zoomorphic juncture on pins, bracelets, horse bits, and axes is common, usually in highly stylized forms. Sometimes there is a sense of realism, primarily in the depiction of some animals, but this feature occurs on typical forms such as horse bits and whetstone handles, so that the Luristan derivation is not ambiguous. Casting was the predominant technique, but repoussé work was also used. Typical, canonical Luristan bronzes may be defined in the sense of "group idiosyncrasies and . . . the group modal type" (Clarke 1978, 27ff., 155, 203), that is, they have sets of attributes that are both characteristic and common.

Using vanden Berghe's 1968b second-category list and his figures 1–17, which include drawings of the objects, as a convenient guide, I suggest that the following groups of bronzes are typical products of Luristan: of vanden Berghe's fourteen groups listed (1968b, 153f.), numbers 1–6, 8–13 (not no. 7, belts). Of his figures, the following may be cited as Luristan bronzes: fig. 1:1, 6 (dagger, sword; see No. 303 here); fig. 2:2, 3, 9, 14, 15 (quiver, umbo, maces, bracelet); fig. 3:9, 10 (axes); fig. 4:1, 2, 8 (axes); fig. 5:9 (whetstone handle); all of fig. 6 (horse bits and cheekpieces); fig. 7:3, 6 (horse rein ring, rattle bell); fig. 8:5–12 (pendants); fig. 9:8, 16–19 (ring, bracelets); fig. 10:3 (pendant); fig. 11:10–15 (pins); all of figs. 12, 13, 14 (finials, standards, pins). Indeed, this listing is not necessarily definitive and will no doubt be modified, or lengthened, but, one hopes, primarily on the basis of excavated evidence.

A directly related issue touched on above warrants a brief comment. Many stray bronzes of general Near Eastern types, mainly weapons of third and second millennium B.C. date but including vessels and other items, although not related to the regionally characteristic style of Luristan as defined above, or to its chronological range, have too often been assumed to have derived from Luristan (see vanden Berghe's first category). The possibility that such bronzes in fact may have derived from recent plundering in neighboring lands or other areas of Iran, and brought to market cities in Iran (or elsewhere) via *modern* trade routes, has not been considered, and this bending of the data has caused much confusion and generated incorrect conclusions in an already confused situation. Although some scholars have issued warnings against such inclusions in the Luristan corpus, they themselves have proceeded to ignore their own caveats. Often the argument will be oxymoronic, a casual ad-

mission that a given object has no findspot (excavated provenience), but then followed by the statement that it comes from Luristan, i.e., a and not a, which is a contradiction in archaeological methodology. While we may accept as certain that the fairly closely defined "Luristan bronzes" derive from Luristan (not a single example has ever been excavated elsewhere in the Near East), it is equally certain that we cannot know how many of the Near Eastern types in fact derive from there because the alleged evidence does not exist outside of the modern marketplace. The only exceptions of course are the types of bronzes included among the material excavated by vanden Berghe, itself a major contribution to the archaeology of Luristan and Iran in general. It is as unfortunate as it is common for scholars to discuss *ancient* trading patterns between Luristan and the west or south, Elam, not to mention manufacturing centers, basing their conclusions on the interpretation of unexcavated material. But this is anchorless intuition, not archaeology, and ignores the mechanics of *modern* tribal (viz. Hole 1979, 198) and dealer trading patterns (e.g., as transpires from a close reading of Basmachi 1963, Atasoy 1976–77, and the comments of Pope 1932, 667, albeit self-serving).

I found the discussions of Potratz (1960, 34; 1963, 127ff., 130, n. 1, 131f., 135, 144; and 1968, 71ff.) to be—with reservations—intelligent with regard to Near Eastern–Luristan provenience problems (but cf. Potratz 1963, 128f., 139, figs. 2, 4, and comments by Calmeyer 1969a, 50, 139f., 182). For some other references to provenience problems see also Frankfort 1955, 207, 263, n. 38; vanden Berghe 1959, 92; vanden Berghe 1968b, 149ff.; vanden Berghe 1981, 39; Melikian 1961, 67, 69, 70f.; Nagel 1963, 45f.; Maleki 1964, 2; Moorey 1971a, 2f., 28; Moorey 1971b, 113ff.; Evrard-Derriks 1977–78, 8, n. 14, 18; Muscarella 1977d, 77ff.; Muscarella 1978b, 241f.; see also No. 454. In this catalogue, see Nos. 304, 305, 334, 349, 385, 386, 513, and 515 for types of artifacts that have been excavated both in Luristan and Elam; Nos. 349, 513, and 515 have been excavated in Luristan, Elam, and Mesopotamia.

Since the 1930s it has been accepted as a given fact that the great majority of the stray bronzes came from plundered tombs found together in cemeteries. The only exception allowed has been the finds from Surkh Dum, both those excavated by Schmidt and those arbitrarily assumed to have been plundered from there. Depending on which authority or source was invoked, opinions have varied on a matter of cultural importance: whether the cemeteries were established isolated from or juxtaposed to contemporary settlement sites. Two examples of contrary statements on this issue, both from individuals who traveled in Luristan, one in the east, the other in the west, will illustrate the situation. A. Godard (1931, 19ff., fig. 2) claimed that the cemeteries

were near settlements (he presumably meant contemporary ones: but how could he know?), while vanden Berghe (1968b, 155f.; 1981, 21) says they were not. The pattern may be different in eastern and western Luristan, but until cemeteries and nearby mounds are excavated together, one cannot accept definitive statements that cemeteries were laid out adjacent to their occupants' *contemporary* habitations. And surely vanden Berghe's extensive surveys and excavations, as well as the reports of archaeologist-travelers (Moorey 1981, 15) cannot be gainsaid. Goff Meade (1968, 109) mentions site mounds "associated in the early first millennium with large graveyards," and isolated graveyards placed on "older tepes or on bluffs overlooking the river." But the nature of the association in the first category was not clarified, while that of the second suggests isolated cemeteries. Ethnographic evidence indicates that in present-day western Iran cemeteries may be adjacent to a village (the source of its existence) or "as much as a kilometer removed from the settlement's edge" (Kramer 1980, 318). But this contemporary, and Islamic, evidence cannot be imposed on the past, just as we cannot impose on the past supposition not based on excavated data.

Tentatively accepting that the majority of finds derive from isolated cemeteries, we next turn to the issue of regional distribution of the Luristan bronzes: are we able to record whether the bronzes occur uniformly throughout its borders, or whether certain types occur only in the west, others only in the east (as vanden Berghe 1968b, 156; 1981, 65f.), or some north, others south (e.g., Stark 1932, 500, 503f.)? Using only the excavated material, the objects recovered and published to date from the sites of Surkh Dum, Baba Jan, Tepe Guran, Tang-i Hamamlan, and the cemetery of Xatunban,⁴ in the Pish-i Kuh, and the cemetery sites in the Pusht-i Kuh excavated by vanden Berghe, the following regional distributions occur: from the Pusht-i Kuh alone (all from graves), there are maces, quiver(s), animal finials, master-of-animals standards, non-figured horse bits; from the Pish-i Kuh alone (from sites or graves) there are disk-headed pins, zoomorphic-headed pins (Baba Jan?), openwork pins and plaques, sheet-metal plaques with figured reliefs, Janus-headed tube(s), figured horse bits. And the types of objects that occur in both east and west include animal-headed whetstone handles, finials, supports for finials/master-of-animals standards, pendants, duck-headed pins, zoomorphic terminal pins and bracelets, fibulae, vessels, horse bits, spiked axes, and flanged-hilted swords and daggers.

If we further divide this limited material into deposition units, recording those objects excavated in graves and those excavated on site mounds (to date the latter known only in the Pish-i Kuh), we note that quivers, maces, axes, swords and daggers, whetstones, fibulae,

pins and bracelets, master-of-animals standards, animal finials, and figured and plain horse bits occur in graves (but not universally); nipple beakers, disk-headed pins, openwork pins and plaques, sheet-metal plaques, fibulae, pins and bracelets, and Janus-headed tube(s) occur at sites.

When this evidence is reviewed with the aim to perceiving specific patterns of deposition, it must be admitted that one still does not have firm answers to the questions posed above. Except to the extent that the evidence informs us where within Luristan certain objects were deposited and in what specific loci, significant data to be sure, it is nevertheless of limited value; while necessary, it is not sufficient to allow one to present definitive conclusions. For example, Surkh Dum in the Pish-i Kuh is probably a sanctuary site, and as noted by A. Godard (1962, 36f.), it might be expected to contain types of objects other than those placed in graves. But until a sanctuary is excavated in western Luristan, and concomitantly, more graves in the east, Godard's suggestion about deposition patterns cannot be confirmed. And, it could be argued, we ought not speak forcibly to the issue of regionalism based solely on the Surkh Dum material. Moreover, one must take into consideration the enormous quantity and variety of stray objects indiscriminately plundered from scores of destroyed cemeteries reported in the east and west; mixed together in dealers' shops and collections, these objects are manifestly without specific provenience with regard to region or site function.⁵ In this context, the excavated evidence stands out as disconnected and fragmentary. And this pessimistic attitude must take into consideration the anthropological knowledge totally lost in the plundered cemeteries: the juxtaposition of specific types of objects in a given grave, the nature of the distribution of types across the cemetery population, the presence or not of a curated technology, the quantitative distribution of wealth within a cemetery, the relation of one cemetery to another in distribution patterns, and so forth.

It might be maintained that the excavated evidence, being thus skewed, cannot be used as an argument against the hearsay claims of dealers, or better, of travelers and specialists, that the standards, finials, horse bits, and other bronzes came from both graves and sites in all areas of Luristan, as Pope claimed (*ILN*, 22 October 1932, 613). As reasonable as this argument may appear, it must be balanced by the recognition that there is an absence of validation, and a potential for archaeological misinterpretation. We cannot yet speak with security about regional cultural boundaries within Luristan.

From the time of the first appearance and publications of the bronzes, scholars have not hesitated to identify, either by fiat or by suggestion, both the ethnic

background and the settlement patterns of the ancient Lurs. A. Godard (1931, 13ff., *passim*; 1958, 54f., 61f.; 1962, 19, 31f., 76f.) assumed that it was the Kassites who, entering Luristan after their decline in Babylonia, manufactured the typical “bronzes du Luristan,” an attribution accepted by a fairly large number of scholars (e.g., Minorsky 1931, 141f.; Rostovtzeff 1931a, 51 [cf. 1922b]; Speleers 1932, 56ff.; Diez 1944, 16; Schaeffer 1948, 495; Dussaud 1949, 197ff.; Dumézil 1950, 18ff.; Nagel 1963, 56ff.; Frye 1963, 59; Potratz 1968, 78; Moortgat 1969, 93; Merhav 1981, 71: Kassites and Cimmerians!). Reasoned arguments against this attribution have been presented by Przeworski (1933, 152), Ghirshman (1964, 28ff.), and Moorey (1971a, 10f.; 1971b, 117). König (1934, 19), Hančar (1934, 106f.) and, more vigorously, Ghirshman (1954b, 106; 1960, 211f.; 1962b, 172ff.; 1964, 42ff.; 1964–65, 56; 1983, *passim*; also Akurgal 1968, 83, 92; Culican 1965, 22; Belloni 1969, 17) chose to assign the bronzes to the Cimmerians, a position rightly challenged by van Loon (1967, 22), Goff Meade (1968, 130f.), Calmeyer (1969a, 168ff.), and Moorey (1971a, 10ff.). However, Goff Meade (1968, 132) thought the bronzes were made by the Medes “or a related Iranian group” (see also 1978, 41f.). The Medes were also brought into the picture by Ghirshman (1962b, 167) in a cryptic remark that the Cimmerians were “probablement apparentés aux Mèdes. . . .” He also argued (1974, 38) that Luristan bronzes were among the types of objects that the Medes supplied to the Assyrians: neglecting to point out, however, that not a single example has ever been excavated in Iraq.

If we stand back and coolly review these guesses and assumptions (they are nothing more), it is clear that they must be rejected: the ethnic background of the creators of the Luristan bronzes remains unknown (as Potratz 1960, 34, and Moorey 1971a, 9ff., 12, have already stated), all the more so as there is not a single example of local writing in existence.⁶

As for conclusions that the ancient Lurs (the only appropriate appellation) were nomads (Dussaud 1930, 258; Ghirshman 1962b, 167f.; Carless 1965, 28; vanden Berghe 1968b, 155; vanden Berghe 1981, 64f.), or that some were nomads, others sedentary (A. Godard 1962, 35f., 39, 64, 67; Amiet 1976, 27; Hrouda 1971, 248, n. 1), I prefer to plead ignorance except to note that Surkh Dum is a sanctuary site and Baba Jan a settlement site; furthermore, judging from modern conditions, both sedentary and nomadic life styles probably coexisted (Hole 1979, 206ff.; Moorey 1979, 23; Moorey 1982a, 89). It may also be possible to posit that the isolation of cemeteries may suggest an absence of permanent sites for at least part of the population. At the same time, one wonders whether a primarily nomadic, or even transhumant, population could have manufactured the sophisticated bronzes, with all the complex economical mechanics of

importation of material, especially tin, payment, distribution, design, and actual production.⁷

Well before the beginning of controlled excavations, in fact from the time of the first publications, an understanding and control of the chronological range of the bronzes, their incipience, florescence (*floruit*, *Blütezeit*), and termination, have been goals—and problems. Almost all scholars who have studied the bronzes have felt compelled to supply a date for each of these stages, in some cases basing their observations on perceived parallels with the art of neighboring cultures (although not always agreeing on which cultures had the alleged parallels), in other cases based on guesses. One of the causes for the difficulty in arriving at a consensus was the inclusion of third and second millennium B.C. Near Eastern bronzes, primarily weapons, into the category of Luristan bronzes (*viz.* Schaeffer 1948; Arne 1962); another was the lack of datable excavated material, a situation remedied in part only in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet, even excluding the earlier material, and concentrating on the typical Luristan types, the range of dates suggested by different scholars has varied considerably (for summaries of chronological opinions see Contenau 1937, 164; Nagel 1963, 44f.; Calmeyer 1969a, 1ff.; Moorey 1971a, 5ff.). Here a brief outline will suffice. Rostovtzeff (1931a, 46, 53ff.), one of the first writers to be concerned with chronology, saw Scythian parallels predominating and accordingly dated the bronzes between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C., which included the full Achaemenian period. In essentials, Rostovtzeff's chronology was accepted by some of his contemporaries, e.g., Gadd (1931, 110), Dimand (1931, 50), Moortgat (1932, 6), and Legrain (1934, 9f.), and in more recent times by S. Smith (1952, 207: albeit reluctantly), Belloni (1969, 17), and also in part by Kantor (1946, 238, n. 6). Dussaud (1938/1964, 275, 277; 1949, 197) and Speleers (1931, 88), while accepting a terminal date in the Achaemenian period, placed the incipience in the late second millennium. Another, and large, group of scholars considered the incipience and *floruit* to have occurred solely in the first millennium, beginning early and terminating before the Achaemenian period (Minorsky 1931, 141f.; Frankfort 1955, 213; Ghirshman 1954b, 106; Ghirshman 1964, *passim*: eighth–seventh centuries; König 1934, 32, and Hančar 1934, 107: seventh century; Potratz 1955a, 188; Potratz 1968, 75ff., 77f.; Porada 1964a, 26ff.; Porada 1965, 82ff.; Moorey 1971a, 41f., 289ff., 309; Moorey 1971b, 129; Amiet 1976, 30f.).

Aside from the few scholars who considered the *floruit* of the industry to have occurred solely within the second millennium (Herzfeld 1941, 108, 124, 128, 168; Schaeffer 1948, 486ff.), a number, agreeing that the termination occurred before the Achaemenian period, placed the incipience in the late second millennium (A. Godard

1931, 99ff.; Godard 1962, 71, 76; Przeworski 1933, 151; Przeworski 1938/1964, 241, 250, 252; Diez 1944, 20; Nagel 1963, 46; vanden Berghe 1959, 92; vanden Berghe 1968b, 155; vanden Berghe 1981). It should be noted that some scholars made a distinction between the time of the industry's incipience and its floruit, a position that may be supported by the excavated evidence.

In 1964a Porada (19f., 28ff.) presented in a complex work a detailed and skillfully reasoned review of the chronology of the Luristan bronzes based primarily on art historical analysis, not having to hand the evidence subsequently revealed by excavations. She posited four stages of internal development: to the first she assigned the earliest animal finials, which she dated to about 1000 B.C. (in 1965, 82, she also placed the inscribed daggers and axes in this stage). In the second stage, dated to the tenth–ninth centuries, she placed the more developed animal finials (Porada 1964a, pl. III:2,3), and in the next stage, dated to the eighth–seventh centuries, she placed the master-of-animals standards and the elaborate figured horse cheekpieces. In the fourth and final stage, considered to have existed in the late seventh and early sixth centuries, she assigned the naturalistically rendered cheekpieces (Porada 1964a, pl. VI:1), apparently because of their anticipation, so to speak, of Achaemenian forms. According to Porada's scheme, the bronzes were thus manufactured over a period of 350 to 400 years, from about 1000 to 650/600 B.C.

The most comprehensive chronological analysis to date is that of vanden Berghe (1981) who, utilizing the results of his fifteen campaigns in Luristan, was able to break new ground and significantly alter our perceptions and approaches to the problem. The major importance of his work is that for the first time in the complex history of the modern studies of the bronzes, one is able to objectively place certain key objects within an order of sequence, an order based firmly on evidence derived from excavations. While no consecutive stratigraphy exists, because only graves in cemeteries are involved, vanden Berghe has been able to recognize three Luristan Iron Age periods defined by the grave contents. Luristan bronzes occur within the graves of at least two of the three periods, and their relative chronological positioning is thereby determined. In his analysis, vanden Berghe also presented his views concerning the positioning of stray forms not found in his excavations, for example more natural or more baroque executions, but the framework, Iron I, II, and III, and the specific material defining these periods are a reality.

The beginning of the Luristan bronze industry, the time when the canonical types were first manufactured, occurred late in the Iron I period when heraldic animal finials, animal-headed whetstone handles, spiked axes, and flanged-hilted swords appear in graves (vanden

Berghe 1981, 29, 59). The subsequent Iron II period is the least well defined of the three periods with regard to the bronzes, but vanden Berghe suggests on stylistic criteria that the finials continued to be made and that the earliest (to him) horse cheekpieces and master-of-animals standards occur during this time (vanden Berghe 1981, 30, 50, 60). The Iron III graves yielded quantitatively more material than those of the earlier periods. Over four hundred graves from this period were excavated (vanden Berghe 1978, 48, n. 11) and the finds included maces, shields, a quiver, vessels, axes, plain horse bits, and two canonical master-of-animals standards. Figured horse cheekpieces are also placed within this period on the basis of style (vanden Berghe 1981, 30ff., 51, 60). But they may also be placed here on the basis of the Assyrian representations. Although iron objects first occur in the Iron II period, for jewelry, not weapons, they do not become common until Iron III, especially for weapons (for a summary see Pigott 1980, 443ff.; vanden Berghe 1981, 29, 31, 35).

The difficulties one encounters in vanden Berghe's sequence is not the diachronic placement of the bronzes, whether excavated or strays, into the three periods, but rather the absolute dates assigned to the periods themselves. That the dates remain fluid and are not so firm as desired is indicated by vanden Berghe's own presentation, which reflects the core of the problem for the investigator: namely the lack of securely dated comparanda and the lack of an internally secured chronology. In his 1981 summary vanden Berghe in general dates the Luristan Iron I period to about 1300/1250–1000/900 B.C. (pp. 22, 38), but on page 37 the end is dated to about 1100 B.C. The Iron II period is dated to about 1000/900–800/750 B.C. (p. 38), and the Iron III period to about 800/750–600 B.C. (pp. 30, 37, 38) or to about 750/725–650 B.C. (p. 36).

Vanden Berghe concluded that although the incipience or birth of the Luristan bronze industry occurred in Iron I, its *Blütezeit* or florescence was in the Iron II and III periods, in the ninth–seventh centuries B.C. (vanden Berghe 1981, 37, 64). This view is in basic agreement with those previously worked out by Moorey and Porada, and is one I can accept with minor reservations. There can be little doubt that the Luristan bronzes are an Iron Age phenomenon, and that the earliest examples, the first animal finials and the zoomorphic whetstone handles, are indeed late Iron I in date, say about the tenth century B.C. (if vanden Berghe's dating at Bard-i Bal holds up). It is also highly probable that manufacture of these objects did not cease and that they continued to be made for some time, into the Iron II period and later, even though they are absent in vanden Berghe's Iron II and III burials. The *Blütezeit*, the time when there was a quickening in the quantity and variety of types

manufactured, may not have occurred before the Iron III or late Iron II period, i.e., not before the eighth century B.C. It probably continued for some time into the seventh century, but how long into this century is not clear. The ninth century is the least well defined; and which specific types of objects were in use then is a problem still to be resolved. And surely it is to be recognized that, even after much analysis, it is still not possible to state with conviction either how much earlier, if at all, than about 750–650 B.C. the standards, horse cheekpieces, disk- and zoomorphic-headed pins, etc., were manufactured, or how much later, if at all.⁸

In the following catalogue entries for the Luristan bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum collection, the excavated material from Surkh Dum is presented first. Inasmuch as these objects have all been published with commentary about the site, its ancient and modern history, in Muscarella 1981b, nothing more of background information need to be given here. For the sake of consistency and convenience all the Surkh Dum entries are given as in their original publication, except for additional references that have come to my attention in the meantime.

After the Surkh Dum entries, the remainder of the Luristan bronzes in the collection, unexcavated pieces all, are given, beginning with the finials and standards, continuing with the horse cheekpieces, the miscellaneous bronzes, and the sheet-metal work. I have included introductory essays on the finials and standards, and the cheekpieces, because they are canonical and have received much attention.

NOTES

1. It was not revealed by Rostovtzeff whether his claim about Cappadocian discoveries was based on his own assumption or on a dealer's claim. In the case of Heeramanek, a dealer, it is clear that he himself made the claim, the misattribution: a neat example of acceptance of a dealer's statement as a legitimate archaeological source resulting in a fundamental distortion of archaeological reality (see also Heeramanek's advertisements in *Parnassus* 1, 7 [1929], 28, and 2, 5 [1930], 35). The British Museum acquired by purchase its first canonical Luristan bronze in 1854 (Moorey 1974b, pl. x:B). Other isolated examples were acquired by purchase or gift in 1885 (Rostovtzeff 1922b, pl. v:3); in 1900 (unpublished); in 1914 (Moorey 1974b, pl. x:A, two others unpublished); in 1918, the Bombay cheekpieces; in 1920 (Moorey 1974b, pl. vii:B); they include seven finials and two horse cheekpieces. In the British Museum records one piece was said to come from Mesopotamia, another from Lake Van; the remaining seven had no assigned attributions (information from John Curtis). See also Gadd 1931, 109f., and Moorey 1974b, 47f., for a list of the above.

2. Several scholars have either denied the existence of forgeries of Luristan bronzes in the beginning years of their mass appearance and continuing up to World War II, or have suggested that they were rare during this period (viz. Pope 1935, 180, 190; Pope 1968, A3; de Clercq-Fobe 1978, 3, n. 11; vanden Berghe 1981, 9; vanden Berghe in De Waele 1982, v; De Waele 1982, 4). This view (or wish) is not empiri-

cally grounded, and is simply not true. Luristan forgeries, for whatever reasons (the market was demanding more and more bronzes than even the Lurs could supply; some dealers had less material than others and wanted to catch up; forgers automatically follow active markets; and so forth), began to surface by 1930 or 1931, and they continued to be made for decades. A few writers have discussed the early appearance of forgeries of Luristan bronzes. Pope (1932, 667; and pace his later denials) claimed that forgeries (he mentioned horse cheekpieces and harness pieces) were made in Iran and Paris, and elsewhere; in 1935 (178f.), however, he condemned unnamed scholars for considering certain pieces to be forgeries. Stark (1934/1947, 29) also referred to forgeries of Luristan bronzes in 1931, but she gave no references. And the record exists to document without ambiguity that a number of pieces purchased and published in the early 1930s are forgeries.

A number of these early forgeries have been cited by Calmeyer (1969a, 138f., nos. C, D, F, G, K, and L) and by me (1977a, 177, nos. 78, 80; 1979a, 5, 9, no. 14). To these may be added: Moortgat 1932, pl. x:26; Speleers 1932, 117, fig. 15 (see also below, "Animal Finials . . .," note 5). A gold strip, first published by Dussaud (1949, 210f., fig. 10) as coming from Surkh Dum and made of bronze, is to my mind surely a forgery, an opinion firmed after seeing it clearly published by De Waele (1982, 250ff., no. 420, as genuine; see also A. Godard 1962, pl. 32). I cited the strip (mistakenly as bronze) in 1977a, 175, no. 56, and 1981b, 331, with reservations. This strip, I have learned, was purchased in 1939. In 1940 Ackerman (555f.) mentioned (but did not illustrate) photographs of forgeries of Luristan cheekpieces on view at the Persian exhibition. She also published as genuine in the same catalogue some objects that I believe are also suspect or forgeries (see Muscarella 1979a, 8f., nos. 5–7: nos. 6 and 7 are from Ackerman 1940, 1st edition, no. 5 from the 2d edition). It is probable that these objects were made in the 1930s. There are in addition a number of cheekpieces acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1932 that are apparently forgeries (see Nos. 250, 253, 254 for references to them and to other possible problem pieces of the same vintage). It is therefore impossible to maintain that forgeries of Luristan bronzes did not begin to be manufactured until after World War II; and it is as dangerous as it is erroneous to claim that collections acquired in the 1930s are innocent, free of forgeries (see, in addition, note 5 below; and No. 284, note 1). Nor can one claim that if purchased from an "ignorant peasant" (a term used by dealers to dissimulate, and a rarer creature than is realized) the object must be genuine: see Muscarella 1977a, 158; also Ronzevalle 1935, 3, n. 2.

3. Some scholars have treated this material as if it had been excavated, e.g., vanden Berghe 1981, 19; but note that in answer to a query vanden Berghe wrote that the published statement (vanden Berghe 1981) that Stein excavated a beaker is a translator's error: where the text says "entdeckt er," it should have been "entdeckte man."

4. In Muscarella 1981b, 359, I placed Xatunban (Khatunban) in the Pusht-i Kuh, based on a misunderstanding (or lack of clarity) in the Iranian publication Iran Bastan Museum 1977, 40ff.; the site is in the Pish-i Kuh, in the Badaver valley.

5. The literature claiming to be concerned with Iranian archaeology is replete with attributions to a "Luristan provenience" of hundreds of stray objects acquired on the antiquities market, and it would be too laborious a task to cite them all here (see Muscarella 1977d, Muscarella 1978b, as well as a number of object entries in this catalogue). Yet a recently published work deserves special mention in this regard inasmuch as it epitomizes the problems still facing students of Iranian archaeology as late as 1982. In De Waele 1982, a catalogue of the Godard collection, it is stated in the preface (by L. vanden Berghe, p. v) that "à l'encontre de plusieurs autres collections publiques ou privées, la majorité des pièces furent donc récoltées sur place, au début des trouvailles clandestines." This statement is inadvertently contradicted subsequently by De Waele (1982, 3f.), who notes that the collection

continued to be acquired after the Second World War, that the records available to him “ne permettent pas de préciser la date exacte des acquisitions,” and by his further claim that he does not know the derivation of a number of objects, which he himself then ascribes either to Luristan or north Iran (see also p. 160 and *passim*). In short, the records available to vanden Berghe and De Waele (and to any archaeologist) yield neither the information that Godard acquired the objects “sur place,” nor the time when they were acquired. Further, De Waele reports, again from the records, and again inadvertently, that the Godards purchased objects on the art market (1982, 48, 249; and 199, where it is revealed from a manuscript written by Y. Godard that objects eventually published by Godard as coming from Ziwiye were in fact acquired from a dealer in the late 1940s, at a time, the manuscript goes on to say “où Ziwiye était à la mode”!). See Muscarella 1977c, 214, written without knowledge of Y. Godard’s manuscript. And note also De Waele 1982, no. 387, a beaker, which the Godards must have purchased after 1957, when Calmeyer [1973a, 107, no. e, fig. 100] reported it as being on the art market: in Europe?). Moreover, as noted by De Waele himself, a number of objects in the collection are modern assemblages (1982, nos. 37, 45, 106, 109, 123, 125, 128, 364; see also nos. 30, 31, which may have a recently added inscription, and no. 420, a forgery; see above, note 2). Given these facts, together with a close reading of all Godard’s published works, which clearly indicate that he rarely—if ever—saw an object come out of the ground (pace Y. Godard 1971, 25, that Godard made sondages), it is unfortunate that throughout the catalogue objects are assigned by De Waele to Luristan not on the basis of stylistic probability, but on the tacit assumption that Godard acquired them “sur place.”

The Godards may have acquired many (but I do not believe all) of their objects in Iran: but from dealers, not at their place of deposition. Of the 424 objects catalogued, only one (De Waele 1982, 32, no. 25), a halberd axe, has a provenience—of sorts: it was purchased in 1929 at the central market town of Hamadan (and therefore De Waele assigns it mechanically to “Luristan près de Hamadan”!). In short, the Godard collection is but another collection of stray, unprovenienced material, and not one “à l’encontre de plusieurs autres collections. . . .”

6. For archaeologists concerned with the nature of the evidence used for historical interpretation it is of interest to record that of the 56 bronzes with cuneiform inscriptions listed by Moorey 1971a, 29ff., and the 93 listed by Calmeyer 1969a, 161ff., attributed to Iran (in Moorey 1981, no. 417, one of these is now placed in Iraq), not a single one was excavated—in Luristan or elsewhere! All have inscriptions dated to the third, second, or early first millennium B.C. (see also Nos. 385, 386). Moreover, not a single typical, canonical Luristan bronze known bears an inscription. But note that the inscribed “Pusht-i Kuh” bronze statuette (Calmeyer 1969a, fig. 133) could be a Luristan production, as the sword shape indicates (see vanden Berghe 1967, 56, for examples from War Kabud). The inscription in neo-Babylonian is manifestly secondary, having been added after the time of the object’s manufacture. And two stray spiked axes, inscribed with twelfth-century inscriptions (Dossin 1962, pls. xxiii, xxiv), are of Luristan form (see Nos. 304, 305). One, however, records that an Elamite king made (commissioned) it, at a time seemingly earlier than the examples excavated by vanden Berghe. Where the statuette and the axes were found remains unknown.

How many of the inscribed objects actually derive from Luristan will never be known: yet paradoxically they are all accepted as deriving from there (viz. Pope 1934; Dossin 1962; Ghirshman 1960, 210ff.; Ghirshman 1962b, 165ff.; Ghirshman 1964–65, 56f.; Porada 1964a, 10ff.; Porada 1965a, 167; van Loon 1967, 22; Medvedskaya 1977, 97; Medvedskaya 1982, 4, 68, 70; De Waele 1982, 40, 52; see Nos. 385 and 386, note 4; add Salvini, in *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 73, 22 [1980], 315ff.). Eilers (1969, 2, 5, 43) sees some examples coming from Luristan, others from all parts of western Iran. To my mind, it is not impossible that at least some might actually have been found in Iraq in recent

times and carried to Iran by nomads and others (i.e., modern trade) for sale in a less restrictive marketplace (see Stark 1934/1947, 50ff.; A. Godard 1958, 61; Y. Godard 1971, 25; Maleki 1964, 2; Muscarella 1974c, 244, n. 33; Muscarella 1977d, 78; cf. Pope 1932, 667). And see also Merrillies 1981, 49, for Cypriot antiquities brought to Beirut for sale.

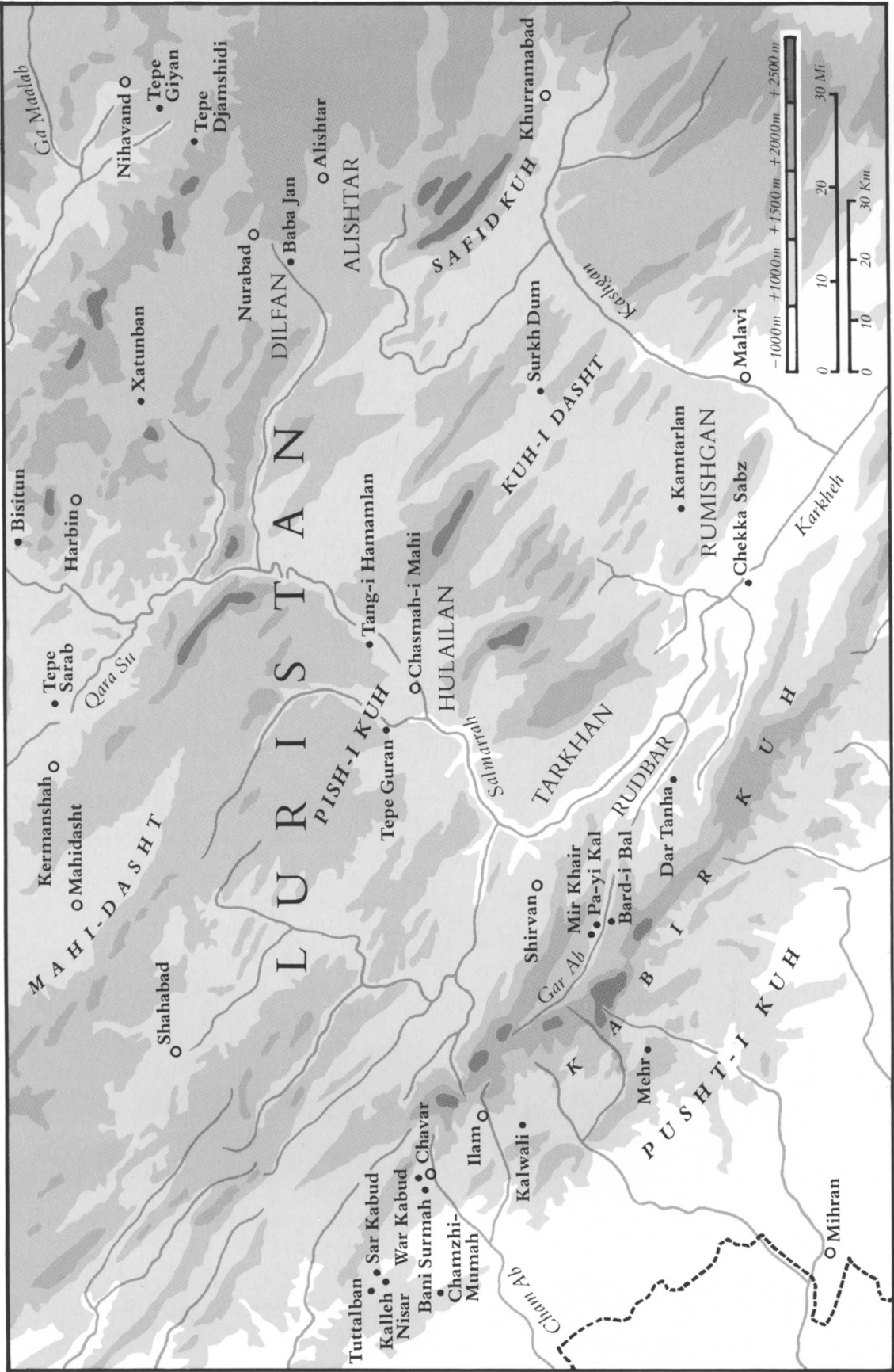
What is certain is that no one knows where the inscribed objects were found, whether some, or all, or none, derive from Luristan (see Potratz 1968, 73f., cf. 77). It is surely of interest that vanden Berghe found not a single inscribed object in fifteen campaigns in western Luristan. Excavated inscribed objects in Iran include a bowl from Hasanlu inscribed with the name Kadashman Enlil (Dyson 1972, 46); and a kudurru inscribed with the name of Merdocachbaladens I was found at Sarpol-i Zahab (R. Borger, *AfO* 23 [1970], 1ff.). I also call attention to a fictional caravan itinerary from Sumer to Luristan constructed by H. Sauren, “Une Caravane sumérienne,” *Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales (et Slaves)* 20 (1968), 389ff. Sauren believes that an unexcavated tablet housed in Switzerland and provided with a dealer’s provenience can instruct us about the direction of ancient trade routes (see also B. Foster, in *Iraq* 39, 1 [1977], 38, n. 85, for a criticism of Sauren).

Levine (1974, 104ff.) presents a conclusion that at least northern (northwestern?) Luristan was ancient Ellipi, a state mentioned in late Assyrian texts throughout the neo-Assyrian period, but in the majority of cases from the time of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), who claimed to have conquered it. Reade (1978, 141) agrees Ellipi was “somewhere in Luristan.” Of some interest is that only one of the inscriptions allegedly from Luristan is late Assyrian (Adad-nirari III, 805–783 B.C., Calmeyer 1969a, 166, no. 89, 167f.). Further, the time of the *Blütezeit* of the Luristan bronze industry, as perceived by me, coincides in part with the Sargon period. Assuming for the sake of argument that Levine is correct in his geographical attribution, at present it is not clear whether Ellipi (or its Assyrian conquerors) would have controlled only the northwestern part of the region archaeologically and culturally recognized as ancient Luristan, or the whole area including the eastern Pish-i Kuh. This is important, because if Ellipi was confined to the west, then another state (between Ellipi and Media, again if we follow Levine) with the very same culture controlled the eastern areas. Note that T. C. Young (1967, 13f.) places Ellipi just north of Luristan in the Kermanshah area, northeast of where it is placed by Levine, which would exclude reference to Ellipi with regard to Luristan.

For suggestions (or assertions) that Luristan, or at least its eastern parts, was the area of ancient Shimashki (part of the Elamite confederation) in the late third and second millennia B.C., see M. Stolper, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 72, 1 (1982), 42ff., fig. 2; P. Steinkeller, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 72, 2 (1982), 265, fig. 2; R. C. Henrickson, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 74, 1 (1984), 98f., 109f. For a divergent view, see Vallat 1980, 8ff., fig. 5, who places Shimashki near Kerman—where Steinkeller (above) had placed Marhashi.

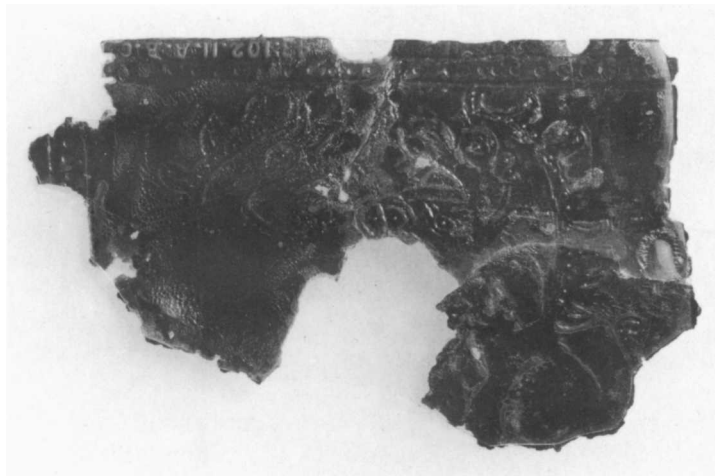
7. Frye (1963, 59f.) believes that the bronzes were manufactured by a sedentary population of workers for nomads. For a discussion of the complexities in describing and classifying pastoralists and nomads, see Clarke 1978, 345ff. Vanden Berghe’s claim that there may have been tin in Luristan (1981, 66) is to date without geological foundation. Moorey (1979, 21) mentions tin in the Zagros, which is also undocumented; for a more cautious view see his comment in 1982a, 82.

8. Further, as will be seen in the Luristan essays and catalogue entry discussions, I consider the form of the typical Luristan stylized, coiled feline/lion (see Nos. 277, 278) and the motif of the lion-mask (see Nos. 270, 271) to be stylistic criteria for dating whole groups of Luristan artifacts to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. [But now see the caveat in brackets at the end of note 1 of “Animal Finials, Master-of-Animals Standards . . .” below.]





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Reverse of No. 191.



FIG. 8. Drawing of No. 191 by Elizabeth Simpson.

SURKH DUM

191. Plaque

43.102.11; Surkh Dum 1721

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze; preserved height 6.2 cm, preserved length 9.5 cm¹

TWO STYLIZED leonine creatures face each other in heraldic position. Their mouths are open and their tongues and fangs protrude; manes are depicted as thick curling tufts. The upward curling tail, the neck, and the thigh on the left figure are accentuated with punched dots. The paws apparently originally touched, and both creatures seem to be rampant, standing on rear legs. The border consists of raised dots framed by narrow bands; the top and part of the right border are extant.

There is at least one other fragment of a similar plaque from Surkh Dum, preserving only the eye and the mane of a creature exactly like these discussed here. I know of only one parallel to these plaques, one more complete that was formerly in the David-Weill collection (Pope 1941, 293, fig. 7; Amiet 1976, no. 196: which may now be attributed to Luristan with security). This example enables us to restore the present fragments as a rectangle; perhaps there was a dead animal under the creatures, indicating that they may be fighting over their prey. The David-Weill plaque has subsidiary motifs around the creatures that are lacking on the one here; further, those lions are winged and their necks and bodies are rendered in a more baroque fashion than ours, indicating a separate workshop. What function the plaques had is not known, but inasmuch as there are no holes along the borders, we may presume that they were not meant to be attached to leather or another backing. Perhaps the final Surkh Dum publication (now in press : the University of Chicago) will clarify the matter.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 333f., no. 1.

NOTE

1. These measurements correct those given in Muscarella 1981b, 333, no. 1.

92. Plaque

43.102.12; Surkh Dum 1269

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze; length 5 cm, height 2.5 cm

THIS SMALL, thin, rectangular plaque has no holes for attachment to another object or material and, except for

some damage, is complete as is. Facing right is a recumbent, horned animal in low relief and with no body decoration. Its legs are tucked under its body and its front and back hooves touch. The animal is framed by raised dots.

Whatever function plaques like this and No. 191 had at Surkh Dum is as yet unknown, pending the publication of the final report. Recumbent animals with their feet and hooves in the same position are to be seen on disk-headed pins and other Iranian objects (for discussion see No. 310). A plaque published by A. Godard (1962, fig. 35) that depicts recumbent birds may have had a similar use and meaning.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 334, no. 2.

193. Disk-Headed Pin

43.102.10; Surkh Dum 858

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze;¹ diameter 5 cm

EXTANT IS a human face, probably female, with only fragments of the surrounding disk; the pin, originally hammered from the same sheet of metal, is missing. The face is round, the mouth thin and lunate; herringbone-decorated brows meet over the flat, broad nose; eyes are almost almond shaped and have no pupils; the hair, parted at the middle, consists of incised ovals each with a punched dot. The disk is hammered in repoussé.

In Schmidt's report (1938, 210f.), no specific information was given about the disk-headed pins except the statement that pins were found sticking in the walls of the temple. However, from the records at the Oriental Institute, Chicago, it is known that a large number of disk-headed pins with a variety of decorative scenes depicting floral, animal, and humanlike figures were excavated at Surkh Dum. Van Loon claimed in 1967 that those pins with human faces occur in the eighth-century level, a date revised in 1972 to the late eighth–early seventh centuries B.C. Two subgroups of this particular pin type occur at Surkh Dum (and among the stray finds, see Nos. 309–312), one in which the face occupies almost the whole disk, like the present example (cf. also Nos. 313, 314), and those that have the face placed at the center and encircled by either geometric or floral motifs, or by animals or humanlike figures (see Nos. 309–312).

These human faces have been assumed by some scholars to represent a deity (viz. Dussaud 1949, 200; Ghirshman 1956, 196; Moorey 1971a, 214f.), while others see some heads as deities, others as human portraits (A. Godard 1962, 63f.; de Clercq-Fobe 1978, 22, 40). The



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former opinion seems more viable and more in context with what we would expect in ancient Near Eastern art. There is also confusion concerning whether all the heads are those of females, or whether some are females, others males.

Aside from the pins from Surkh Dum, a large number with a variety of motifs, many formally matched among the excavated examples, have surfaced on the antiquity market since the first time Luristan bronzes began to appear, about 1930 (pace Ghirshman 1956, 120, n. 1, and de Clercq-Fobe 1978, introduction p. 2: see Pope 1930a, 390, fig. 16; A. Godard 1931, pl. xxxiv; Herzfeld, in *AMI* 8 [1936–37], 156f., fig. 118; Legrain 1934, pl. vi; Potratz 1945–51, 39, n. 5; Wijngaarden 1954, no. 41; Amiet 1976, 75). Parallels for the pin under discussion, in which the human face occupies the whole disk, may be found, in addition to those from Surkh Dum itself, among several stray examples (viz. Ghirshman 1956, pl. xxiv; A. Godard 1962, figs. 68–71, 73, 74; de Clercq-Fobe 1978, nos. 29–32; Moorey 1981, nos. 379, 382). On the basis of the little information published about the site of Surkh Dum, it can be stated with some security that the disk-headed pins do not predate the late eighth century and may actually continue into the seventh century B.C. The Surkh Dum disk also anchors the strays to Luristan, by excavation, not assumption.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 334f., no. 3.

NOTE

1. Cu: 89.1%, Sn: 10.1%, Pb: .245%, Zn: .062% (1986).



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194. Pendant

43.102.5; Surkh Dum 419

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze;¹ diameter 8.8 cm

THIS THIN, fragmented piece of bronze sheet metal has a rolled loop at the top indicating that it is a pendant, not a pin. Depicted in repoussé is a humanlike male figure kneeling on one knee, in the *knielauf* position, right. His head, en face, is bearded, but no mouth is shown; ears are large and pointy; eyes are simple bulges and the nose is broad and flat. The body seems to be nude although no sex is depicted. Each hand holds palm fronds.

I do not know whether there are other repoussé pendants or disk-headed pins with a similar scene in the Surkh Dum repertory, but a number of stray disk-headed pins depict basically the same figure and motif; they have usually been attributed to Surkh Dum, but it is safer simply to accept a general Luristan background. On each example is shown a hybrid humanlike figure, apparently always a male, in the *knielauf* position to the left or right, en face, sometimes horned as a bull or caprid, and sometimes apparently clothed, and always holding objects in each hand. On at least one example the figure holds snakes (A. Godard 1962, fig. 34);² on one pin he holds pomegranates (A. Godard 1962, fig. 35; de Clercq-Fobe 1978, no. 50); on another, where the penis is a pomegranate, he holds an animal and a bird (A. Godard 1962, fig. 36); on two pins he masters animals (Amiet 1963, 16, fig. 8; Amiet 1969, 328, fig. 5); and on another example he holds unidentifiable objects (Pope 1939, 790, fig. 7).³ A problem exists, of course, as to whether one particular deity or demon-genius, or several, were represented, especially given the variety of the held objects, no doubt attributes, and the presence or lack of horns. The usual interpretation is that the figure represents a deity or genius connected with nature, because of the animals, or fertility, especially because of the presence, in one case significantly, of pomegranates and snakes (see de Clercq-Fobe 1978, 31, 120).

A series of cast openwork pins also depicts a central demon figure, en face, here in quasi *knielauf* position, holding lions at bay. One group is a standard master-of-animals scene (Amiet 1976, no. 186; Merhav 1981, no. 78; cf. Bach 1973, fig. 28, and A. Godard 1962, fig. 79; Moorey 1981, no. 362), while on others the lions are positioned over goats (Ghirshman 1962a, 257, fig. 331; De Waele 1982, 145, no. 214). The posture, face, and apparent lack of clothing of the figures on these openwork pins are reminiscent of the figure on our pendant and on the disk-headed pins and may represent the same personage (cf. also A. Godard 1962, fig. 81, a disk-headed



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pin, for a related but human figure mastering two animals, here with his head in profile).

Moorey (1971a, 208) suggested that the origin of the disk-headed pins may have resulted from an adaptation of circular pendants. While this cannot be proven, the existence of this pendant with a motif matched on the pins does not contradict his hypothesis.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 335f., no. 4.

NOTES

1. Cu: 72.3%, Sn: 1.6%, Zn: 2.1%, Fe: 0.18% (an incomplete or inadequate test). Note the presence of zinc here on an excavated piece; see also No. 43 from Hasanlu. Moorey (1971a, 298) notes that the presence of about 2% zinc in a bronze object "may be regarded as natural . . ." whereas a higher percentage, such as that found in his numbers 123 and 126 (Moorey 1971a, 120, 123, 299) should at the least be considered suspicious. Zinc was not uncommon in Urartian and Phrygian bronzes in the first millennium B.C., about the eighth century (R. S. Young 1981, 248 n. 128, 288ff. n. 33; see No. 575).

2. See Muscarella 1981b, 335, n. 54: I still wrestle with the problem of the authenticity of the disk pin in Geneva cited here, and in Muscarella 1977a, 173, no. 25! Cf. also Moorey 1981, no. 392, for a similar figure with snakes. Here, however, the figure, although holding the snakes by the necks, seems to be seated on the coiled body of one, a classic Elamite motif (de Miroshedji 1981b).

3. In Muscarella 1977a, 173, no. 20, I challenged a disk pin published in *Mostra d'arte iranica*, Palazzo Brancaccio, Rome (Milan, 1956), pl. xvi, no. 153 (not no. 157). This pin is published in Moorey 1981, no. 385, where it is noted that "some restoration" exists. Perhaps the restoration (unknown to me) bothered me in my judgment, and Moorey may be correct in his view that the pin may be ancient.

195. Openwork Pin

43.102.1; Surkh Dum 1573

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze; length 14.3 cm

CAST in one piece, this openwork pin depicts a squatting female en face, her legs spread and her feet touching the frame. Small pellet breasts and an exposed pudenda, represented by a slit, identify the figure's sex. The face and head are corroded but one can see features—small eyes, lips, and horns—which identify her as a deity; spiral hair locks are on either side of the face, and a grooved area above the face may represent hair. The figure is nude, but there is a grooved rectangular area above the pudenda that may represent a girdle. Held at bay by her thin, unnaturally curved arms are two horned animals—antelopes?—stylistically represented only by their heads and long, thin necks that join in a continuous curve. Unidentifiable curved units connect the animal heads to the deity; pellet "eyes" and projecting "ears" may indicate that they are also animal heads. The necks and heads of the held animals enclose the deity in a frame.

A nondescript thin unit joins the frame to the pudenda, but it is not clear if it is a strut or whether it had more significance, namely representing the process of giving birth (see also Nos. 197, 286).

Open-cast pins depicting either a mistress or master of animals are one of the most characteristic forms among the Luristan bronzes (Moorey 1971a, 200ff.; see Nos. 285–287). The iconography occurs on many pins but it is not limited to them, for, among other items, it is of course characteristic of the classic Luristan finials (see Nos. 228–237). The specific iconography of the pin here is primarily the squatting position of the female mistress of animals with her sex exposed, and a basic shape in which the necks of creatures curve so that the deity is enclosed within a crescentic frame. The type has been discussed by Moorey (1971a, 204f.) and many stray examples exist (see No. 286): the Surkh Dum pin here is to date the only one excavated. (It is possible that our pin is the very one that is faintly visible in situ in Schmidt 1938, 213, fig. 9; I do not know how many, if any, other examples of the type were found at Surkh Dum. For another form of openwork pin excavated at Surkh Dum, see No. 285, note 2.)

Given the fact that each pin of the type under discussion was cast by the lost-wax process and represents an individual modeling, slight variations exist from one example to the next. Thus, some females have horns and spiral hair curls as well as the grooved girdle, while others may not; the animals may be antelopes or lions and are rendered in the typical Luristan manner (Ghirshman 1964, fig. 54, an elaborate example;¹ Legrain 1934, pl. v:14; Moorey 1971a, no. 348, a variation as there are no animal necks and the frame is square; Amiet 1976, nos. 178, 180, the former with a mouflon's head over the female). Sometimes the female is represented standing, but the horns and spiral hair curls, and sometimes the presence of the grooved girdle, identify her as the same deity, or essence, as the squatting female (Speleers 1932, 102, fig. 27, and a similar piece in Potratz 1968, 101; cf. Moorey 1971a, no. 346); and sometimes the female has no legs (Amiet 1976, no. 179; Moorey 1971a, no. 347; see also No. 287), or merely a head (A. Godard 1931, pl. xxxv:150). The variety is large and pins of the type under discussion are but one type of a large group reported from Luristan that is clearly iconographically related. The relationship is defined by the prime motif, a mistress or master of animals framed by a crescent or within a square or circular unit (see No. 286). Potratz illustrated and discussed a number of these openwork pins, none, however, showing the female squatting in a birth scene: he considered them representations of a putative Luristan moon goddess (1952, 26ff., figs. 21–38, 41).

The squatting female motif is not limited to openwork pins, for at least two examples are known to be depicted in relief on disk-headed pins, in one case where the female is actually giving birth (A. Godard 1958, 56, fig. 1; A. Godard 1962, figs. 77, 78; fig. 78 is in the David-Weill collection, fig. 77 is in the Godard collection—as De Waele 1982, 147f., no. 217, not David-Weill as Moorey 1971a, 204).² The squatting position associated with a female, a birthing position for women, as well as the specific birth scene depicted, surely supports the interpretation that these openwork and repoussé pins had a votive value associated with fertility (Moorey 1971a, 204), rather than with female sexuality. And probably the standing females, including those with animal heads, were likewise involved with fertility matters. As for the standing males, linked iconographically with the females, they may have had a different charged function.

Moorey (1971a, 200; 1974a, 124) has suggested that the openwork pins, some of which are large and heavy, with frames, may have served as icons rather than as garment pins. He has rightly noted their stylistic and iconographical relationship with the finials, which were icons. Perhaps he is right in essentials, especially given their presence in the sanctuary of Surkh Dum, but it need not follow that they were not also worn on the body as a charm or protective amulet.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1981b, 336f., no. 5; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 40, no. 54.

NOTES

1. In Ghirshman 1962a, 256, fig. 330 (Foroughi collection), is an openwork pin that is strange even by Luristan standards. It depicts two squatting females surrounded by animals. I cite the pin here in a footnote because I cannot come to a conclusion regarding its authenticity.

2. Note that in both works Godard claimed the pins derived from Surkh Dum, without explaining that they were in private collections (one his own) or how they got there.

196. Pin

43.102.7; Surkh Dum 1539

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze,¹ iron; preserved height 3.8 cm, width 7 cm

A CENTRAL motif is flanked by the heads and long necks of two stylized, Luristan-type felines. The necks are continuous and they partially enclose the central unit in a frame, similar in form to some openwork pins (see Nos. 195, 285–287). Seen from the front, it is not possible to recognize what the central motif represents; seen from the side it is easily recognized as a duck's head turned back to recline on its wings (cf. the bracelet from Bard-i Bal, vanden Berghe 1971b, 21, fig. 15; and No. 203).

The pin itself, now missing, was separately made of iron, judging from the color at the join. A number of examples of this pin type, some with feline heads and others with antelope heads, occur at Surkh Dum.

I know of only two published parallels to the present pin (Speleers 1932, 102, fig. 28; and sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, no. 273 bis; cf. Speleers 1938, 42, fig. 16: is this a pastiche, the spiral pin and animal heads and necks recently joined?). Surkh Dum also yielded many examples of straight pins with the very same motif as the central unit here but without the flanking heads and necks. Other examples of this type exist in various collections (A. Godard 1931, pls. xxxiii, lvi:119, 125, 205; Basmachi 1963, pl. 6; Moorey 1971a, 194, no. 317; De Waele 1982, 130f., no. 182, called a bird, no. 183, called a duck [De Waele ignores the Surkh Dum examples—which he cites in part—and dates the pins without evidence to the end of the second millennium B.C.]).²

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 337, no. 6.

NOTES

1. Cu: 84.8%, Sn: 14.4%, Pb: .297%, Zn: .003% (1986). A number of Luristan bronzes have a relatively high tin content: see Nos. 201, 226, 230, 247, 249. See also Moorey 1971a, nos. 107, 127, 167, 184, 194, 205, 209, 345, 351; Godard 1938, 253, fig. 172 (De Waele 1982, 105f., no. 125). See also Nos. 428–430 (Sasanian).

2. Note that De Waele's pin number 182 is listed in the Godard collection: it is the same example published by A. Godard, in Dussaud 1930, 267, fig. 33, and in Godard 1931, pls. xxxiii:125 (caption, p. 111, claims that it belonged to the Louvre) and lvi:205.

197. Anthropomorphic Pin

43.102.6; Surkh Dum 1207

Rogers Fund, 1943

Copper;¹ height 6.4 cm

THE SOLID cast head of this pin is rendered in an ingenious, stylized manner, for its prominence at first suggests that only a large head is depicted, when in fact a whole figure is represented. The head is clearly meant to predominate and apparently represents a figure of supremacy. This is suggested by the prominent, sharp nose, thick brows over the eyes, and either a large lantern jaw or a beard, clearly offset from the mouth area; no ears are depicted. A sloping, flat beret-like cap does not cover the hair, for a band of curls or wavy locks runs across the forehead. The head joins a tubular section that functions as both neck and body, albeit without arms. At the base of the “body” are thighs and legs in a squatting position, with the feet grasping the top of the shank on either side. One perceives a figure sitting on a

pinnacle, holding on by its feet. Breasts are not indicated, but between the knees is a raised oval area with a central depression, which suggests that it is a vulva. If, however, the figure has a beard and not a long chin, then we have something else here: but compare the lantern jaw on a terracotta figure from Chekka Sabz, Luristan (Muscarella 1966, 131, fig. 23).

I can find no parallels for this figure, for its position, face, and hat. It is further unique as the only example of a figurine in the round to have been excavated in Luristan. The literature is filled with examples of stray bronze (copper?) figures claimed to derive from Luristan,² but they are all standing figures and none has the armless neck-body arrangement of ours. This feature does seem to exist on the demon figures on the many finials known from Luristan and, in one small but significant detail, presents a parallel to the present piece: on a few examples it seems—one is not certain—that the neck-body has at its base feet that grip the base (e.g., Potratz 1968, pls. xxxvi, xxxvii, nos. 228–31: note that on nos. 232, 234, 235, 238, 242 the feet may belong to the heraldic creatures framing the demon). If this observation is correct, then we have a connection between the figurine here and the typical Luristan finial demons.

The figure was recovered in a sanctuary, so it must have been deposited with a special function or purpose in mind. Since it lacks the attributes of a deity, one might assume it is a representation of a human, although such an interpretation does not fully consider contemporary iconographical canons, which are surely not completely understood. If, however, we have a female with a lantern jaw and an exposed vulva, the squatting position might suggest a woman in a birthing position, a motif attested elsewhere at Surkh Dum (No. 195; see also No. 286). Perhaps, then, the figure is another example of a magic-fertility concept, deposited in a sanctuary in request for conception or for a healthy delivery.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 337f., no. 7.

NOTES

1. Cu: 97.5%, Sn: 0.43%, As: 0.6%, Pb: <0.2%, Fe: 0.03%.
2. For a foolish Luristan attribution see that of Negbi 1976, 181, pl. 42, no. 1563, a "Lebanese" figurine in the Musée Guimet, Paris.

198. Human-Headed Pin

43.102.17; Surkh Dum 44
Rogers Fund, 1943
Bronze; height 3.5 cm

THAT THIS is a pin is indicated both by the shank, now mostly missing, and the existence of another, complete



196

197



198



example from Surkh Dum (Sor 201), now in the University Museum, Philadelphia. The example here is topped by a beardless human head, much corroded, centered on a curved unit that projects on either side; this may represent either arms, otherwise not represented, or more probably wings. On the Philadelphia example the wings are longer and thinner, and curve up in a pronounced manner at the tips. I do not know how many other examples of this type occur at Surkh Dum, but there are at least two examples there like ours except that instead of the head there is a short, scalloped unit.

Outside of Surkh Dum no other examples of this pin type are known. On the other hand, an example exactly like the second type from Surkh Dum mentioned, that with the scalloped unit, exists in Brussels (Speleers 1933a, 89, fig. 26). And clearly related examples, with a plain, short central unit, exist in the Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1971a, 186, no. 289) and among the bronzes claimed—without verification—from Khurvin (vanden Berghe 1964, pl. XLIII, no. 316); a further related type, one with a swelling at the central part of the wings, is also claimed for Khurvin (vanden Berghe 1964, no. 314; see also A. Godard 1931, pl. XXXIII:129; cf. Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 59B, and Nagel 1963, pl. VIII:18). A more developed type, perhaps also related in concept to the present pin, depicts the torso of a male centered on the wings (Herzfeld 1941, fig. 275, center right), or a male torso centered on ram's horns (Moorey 1971a, no. 342).

If the projections on the pin here, and on the others, are indeed wings, it would be right to assume that we have a representation of a deity, unnamed but appropriate for dedication at a sanctuary.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 338f., no. 8.

199. Animal and Demon Headed Pin

43.102.3; Surkh Dum 209

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze; preserved height 3.5 cm

THE HEAD of this pin consists of a stylized head of a demon or deity surmounted by a recumbent animal; it is meant to be viewed from only one side. The face of the demon is made up of pellet eyes encircled by a thick line that forms brows and continues to create the nose; no ears or mouth are depicted. Two loops on top of the head may represent hair curls. An animal, whose head is now missing, rests on the head of the demon, its feet touching the sides. Under the grooved molding beneath the demon head is a hole that once held a separately

made pin; it is no longer possible to know whether that was of bronze or iron.

To my knowledge, no parallels for this specific pin exist, but there are at least two examples that are closely related in form. These pins have what Porada has called "two profile lion heads (which also combine to form a single frontal mask)" (Porada 1979b, 142f., n. 17, fig. 9; Pope 1930b, color pl., lower left). On both these pins the masks, if that is what they actually are, are surmounted by a mouflon with large, majestic horns (cf. sale catalogue, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 24 September 1981, no. 53). However, while the legs on the example here are placed on either side of the central head, on the other pins they rest directly on top. It may be that our animal also originally had a head with the same majestic horns.

An exact parallel for the stylized head with top loops on our pin exists in relief on a disk pin in Brussels (de Clercq-Fobe 1978, 208, no. 19, pl. 19), and in the round on a handle (?) in the Erlenmeyer collection (Erlenmeyer 1965, 8, pls. v:24, xi:68c; cf. similar heads, Potratz 1955a, pl. 1:4; for other mouflon-headed pins, see No. 284).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 339, no. 9.

200. Animal-Headed Pin

43.102.8; Surkh Dum 1078

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze;¹ preserved height 5.7 cm

CAST in the round, the head is in the form of a standing goat whose feet are drawn together to rest on a plinth. Beneath the plinth is a tubular molding into which a separately made pin, of unknown material, was originally inserted.

Goats and mouflons in the round were very commonly depicted in the art of Luristan, on finials, horse harness, pins, and so forth. With regard to goats on pins, there is a group of objects that represents the animal either standing or recumbent with the head turned toward the viewer, as on horse cheekpieces (Moorey 1971a, 119); the example here is distinct in that the goat faces forward. Characteristic to most examples is the position of the feet, which are drawn together as if balanced on a point, a mountain peak (cf. A. Godard 1931, pl. XXXV:147; Legrain 1934, pl. v:17; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 60F; Calmeyer 1964a, no. 127; cf. no. 128 for posture; also for posture, cf. the goats on plinths of coiled rings and which may be finials: Jantzen 1972, pl. 58; Terrace 1966, no. 48; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 59E; Amiet 1976, no. 198).

Pins of this type may have been icons rather than, or in addition to, being used as clothing fasteners and charms.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1981b, 339f., no. 10; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 62.

NOTE

1. Cu: 93.2%, Sn: 4.53%, Pb: 1.79%, Zn: .000 (1986).

201. Frog-Headed Pin

43.102.4; Surkh Dum 400

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze;¹ length 4.8 cm, width 2.5 cm

THE STRANGE creature seems to be a frog depicted in the round and as seen from the top. Its eyes bulge and all four legs project outward from its body, then bend forward toward the head; the body is simply rendered except for the back ridge which connects with the legs. The frog is clearly the head of a pin, the shank of which was cast with it and part of which is extant.

A similar pin, complete, ending in a frog's body was at one time in the David-Weill collection (Amiet 1976, 73, no. 173); it is made by a different hand from the one that made ours, and it has a loop at the shank's base for a chain or cord to help secure the pin to a garment. In addition, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has an amulet in the form of a frog (Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 59c) that was purchased in 1930 (Muscarella 1979a, 12, n. 10; see Pope 1930b, 444, fig. 4); a frog amulet is also in Baghdad (Basmachi 1963, pl. 11, bottom right), and another exists in the Godard collection (De Waele 1982, 170, no. 260). Aside from the example here (I do not know if others were found at Surkh Dum), no others in bronze, either as amulets or pins, have been reported from excavations. A terracotta example, however, part of a necklace, was excavated by vanden Berghe (1973a, 73) at Sar Tang, dated to Luristan late Iron I (see also De Waele 1982, 181, n. 36); and Pope (1932, 667, fig. 6) published a small terracotta frog as from Luristan. Thus, although apparently not a common motif, the frog is attested as a decorative element in the art of Luristan. For frogs in the West, see Jacobsthal 1956, 57ff.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Jacobsthal 1956, 61, no. 257; Muscarella 1979a, 12; Muscarella 1981b, 340, no. 11.

NOTE

1. Cu: 79.3%, Sn: 15.3%, As: 0.7%, Pb: 0.4%, Fe: 0.18%, Zn: not detected. Note that a high tin content occurs in other Luristan bronzes: see No. 196.



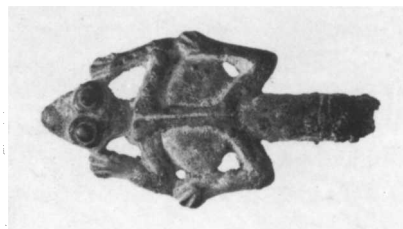
199



Reverse of No. 199.



200



201

202. Animal-Headed Pin

43.102.20; Surkh Dum 1432
 Rogers Fund, 1943
 Bronze;¹ length 6.6 cm

THE HEAD is formed of two individual units: a rounded band decorated in low relief with studs framed by beaded moldings which is joined to part of an animal, whose head, horns, and ears are rendered naturally on the same plane as the shank. A groove runs below the head for its whole length, split just below the nose by a cross cut. This feature, seen in front and side view, could indicate the animal's forelegs and paws, and the swelling behind the eyes could be the shoulders. Thus, we have the forepart of an animal, not just its head, which distinguishes this pin from the antelope-headed pins, Nos. 204–207. Formally, it is reminiscent of the straight pin allegedly from Baba Jan (Goff Meade 1968, 128f., fig. 12; see Nos. 277, 278), in which the whole body of a typical Luristan feline creature forms the head.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION
 Muscarella 1981b, 34of., no. 12.

NOTE

1. Cu: 82.4%, Sn: 16.1%, Pb: .718%, Zn: .018% (1986).

203. Duck-Headed Pin

43.102.19; Surkh Dum 423
 Rogers Fund, 1943
 Bronze; length 20.6 cm

THE HEAD of the pin is in the form of a reclining duck, which is cast in one piece with the shank and separated from it by a series of grooves. The only site besides Surkh Dum that has yielded duck-headed pins is Kutal-i Gulgul, also in Luristan (vanden Berghe 1973c, 19, 21), where two were found in Tomb 4. Many stray examples exist, all the same as those from Surkh Dum and Kutal-i Gulgul (viz. A. Godard 1931, pl. XXXIII:137; Moortgat 1932, pl. VII:19; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. XII:75, 76; Nagel 1963, pl. LVI:124; Basmachi 1963, pl. 5; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 60K; Potratz 1968, 36, n. 4, pl. XXIV:140; Moorey 1971a, 193f., nos. 314, 315), which now have a confirmed Luristan provenience.

The presence of the same type of object both at Surkh Dum and at an excavated cemetery site in Iran is archaeologically significant. First of all, aside from gaining knowledge about site-activity distribution, it demonstrates that the pins could have a votive and perhaps also a secular function. And second, it serves as a warning

that all stray objects of a type usually related to Surkh Dum may not in fact have derived from there; some of the pins cited above have been known since 1930.

The latest date of the Kutal-i Gulgul tomb containing the pins was dated by vanden Berghe (1973f, 4) to a time around 1000–900 B.C. (cf. De Waele 1982, 81, 153): this is earlier by at least a century than the time I suggest the Surkh Dum sanctuary flourished, and it creates a paradox. Either the Kutal-i Gulgul tomb is later than suggested, or the Surkh Dum sanctuary begins earlier than I perceive, or, a third possibility, the pins at the Surkh Dum site are heirlooms, or long lived. In any event, all that can be stated now is that there seems to be a considerable time difference between the occurrence of the pins at two excavated sites.

Perhaps shedding light on the date of the pins—or perhaps further complicating it—is a bracelet with terminals cast in the form of recumbent ducks that was excavated at Bard-i Bal (vanden Berghe 1971b, 21, fig. 15). Except for the position of the heads, which are turned back on the body (cf. No. 196), the ducks are the same in style, size, and function as those on the pins (cf. Moorey 1974a, no. 106, and Moorey 1971a, 222, for references to other examples, and nos. 376, 378, 380; no. 374 has ducks with their heads forward, as on the pins [see No. 269]). The tomb (64) in which the bracelet was recovered was dated to the very same time as Tomb 4 at Kutal-i Gulgul, and if these dates hold up, then there is additional evidence for an early first-millennium B.C. date for duck-headed pins and bracelets, at least for their incipience.

The form of the recumbent-duck terminal seems, on excavated evidence, to be confined to Luristan (pace Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 267f., pl. 255, and Calmeyer 1972a, no. 59a).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION
 Muscarella 1981b, 34I, no. 13.

204. Animal-Headed Pin

43.102.18; Surkh Dum 1203
 Rogers Fund, 1943
 Bronze; length 14.5 cm

205. Animal-Headed Pin

43.102.21; Surkh Dum 197
 Rogers Fund, 1943
 Bronze; length 13.9 cm

206. Animal-Headed Pin

43.102.22; Surkh Dum 279
 Rogers Fund, 1943
 Bronze; length 8.3 cm

207. Animal-Headed Pin

43.102.23; Surkh Dum 1685
 Rogers Fund, 1943
 Bronze; length 9.2 cm

THESE FOUR pins are the same in all details, differing only in their size and the position of the horns (indicating that they were made in individual molds). All terminate with the head of a horned animal—an antelope? The horns are free from the head and pass between the upright ears. The pin shanks vary in length and thickness; No. 207 is bent and No. 206 is broken.

A very large number of antelope-headed pins were excavated at Surkh Dum (see also No. 202), and an equally large number of strays have been recorded from the time of the earliest appearance of Luristan bronzes on the antiquities market (see Nos. 279, 280; Moorey 1971a, 193, for references, and nos. 312, 313; also A. Godard 1931, pl. xxxiii:123, 132, 133; Herzfeld 1941, fig. 275; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. xii:77–80; Calmeyer 1964a, no. 67; Barbier 1970, no. 41; Moorey 1981, nos. 302, 304; Orthmann 1982, 9f., nos. 24, 25). On the basis of the probable Surkh Dum chronology, we can state that these pins were in use during the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (but inexplicably dated centuries earlier by De Waele 1982, 129f., 153, nos. 175–79: even though he cites the Surkh Dum reference!).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

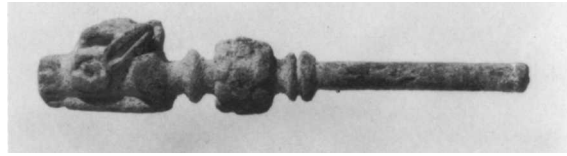
Muscarella 1981b, 341f., nos. 14–17. N.B. that for nos. 15 and 16 I interchanged the Surkh Dum field numbers; they are correct here.

208. Pin

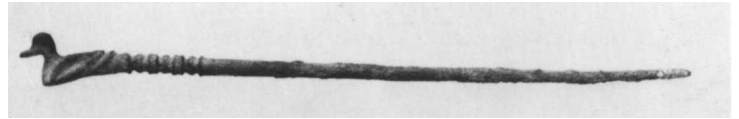
43.102.24; Surkh Dum 578
 Rogers Fund, 1943
 Bronze;¹ length 12 cm

THE HEAD consists of a double row of small projecting knobs, apparently meant to form rosettes, set on a grooved base. Laboratory tests have indicated that the pin is made of tin bronze.

Van Loon (1967, 24) mentions pins at Surkh Dum from the earliest levels; he referred to “studded” pin heads in the eighth-century level (eighth–seventh?, van Loon 1972, 69, n. 22), which may describe the pin under



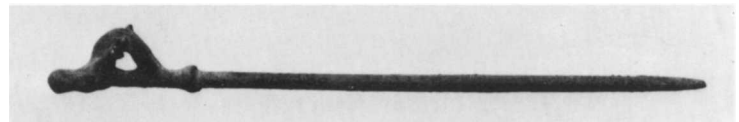
202



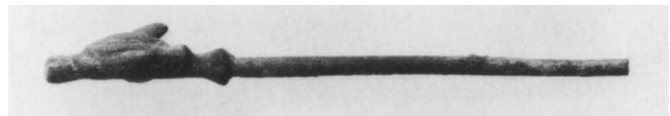
203



204



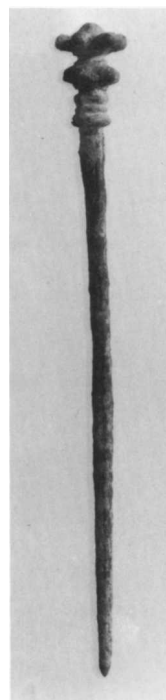
205



206



207



208

discussion here. Although the publication of pins is extensive, I could find no exact parallels to the example here (cf. the "grape" bunch on the head of Moorey 1971a, no. 311), but compare the rosette-like motif on a silver pin claimed for Ziwiye (Wilkinson 1960a, pl. xxx:5).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 343, no. 18.

NOTE

1. Cu: 84.9%, Sn: 10.0%, As: 0.8%, Pb: <0.2%, Zn: not detected.

209. Animal-Terminal Bracelet

43.102.2; Surkh Dum 1632

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze; diameter 8.2 cm

THE TERMINALS on this cast penannular bracelet are in the form of the forepart of a stylized animal of indistinct species (lion?); on each back is a loop, probably used to hold a cord or chain to keep the bracelet from slipping off the wrist; the arms are round in section and plain.

One of the most characteristic and numerous of the objects reported from the plundered tombs of Luristan is the bracelet with zoomorphic terminals, hundreds of which have surfaced through the antiquities market (see Nos. 266–269). Bracelets of this type are rare from excavations in Luristan, but it is known that they exist at Surkh Dum, i.e., the present example and others reported (van Loon 1967, 25), and also at Bard-i Bal (vanden Berghe 1971b, 21, fig. 15; vanden Berghe 1973a, pl. XXI:1, 2), so the Luristan provenience for the class in general is documented. Moorey (1971a, 218ff.) has discussed the importance of these objects, both with respect to their earlier occurrence in Iran at Hasanlu (see

Nos. 23–25) and, equally significant, their flourishing continuity in Achaemenian times. Concerning the latter occurrence, animal-terminal bracelets are one of the most clearly documented examples of earlier Iranian art taken over and developed by the Achaemenians.

Aside from the Surkh Dum examples, no other bracelets with terminals in the form of the whole or forepart of an animal—as opposed to the many with only the animal head—have been excavated, but strays exist (viz. No. 267; A. Godard 1931, pl. xxviii:94, which is Amiet 1976, no. 147, and see also no. 146; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 57c; Ghirshman 1964, fig. 94; vanden Berghe 1973c, pl. xxxvi, center [the ibex may be later—?]).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 343, no. 19.

210. Lobed Ring

43.102.13; Surkh Dum 1601

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze; diameter 2.5 cm

211. Lobed Ring

43.102.14; Surkh Dum 102

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze; diameter 2.3 cm

THE FIRST RING (No. 210) was made from a sheet of bronze; it is wider in front than at the back where the slightly narrower ends touch. The design, which may have been cast with the sheet, consists of two different horned animals: one with a curved horn is shown in profile, the other with two horns is shown frontally, and they flank a stylized tree. A multi-petaled rosette or star is behind each animal. In the field is an inscription in cuneiform which reads *Dinger. mesh*, part of a prayer invoking the gods (Porada 1964a, 17, n. 26). The second ring (No. 211) is similar in shape to the first, although it was cast closed and has a more pronounced lobed front. The design, while neat, is executed in uneven lines and seems to have been added after casting. A bird facing right is placed above a horned animal striding with its head down; on the sealing the positions are reversed. Along the outside borders is an incised line. Both rings may have been used as seals.

Edith Porada (1964a, 16ff.; 1965, 75ff.) has made a study of these rings, seeing them as stylistic indicators for establishing a chronology for certain Luristan bronzes. She has categorized rings of the first type, No. 210, as sheet rings, those of the second type, No. 211, as lobed rings. She has also perceived a chronological distinction between the two types, exhibited by the fact that the



engravings on the sheet examples are usually carefully rendered, and often show heraldic animals flanking a stylized tree. To Porada, the scenes on the lobed rings are usually cruder in execution and were added after casting. While she does not say so explicitly, she may consider those rings that are cast complete (not penannular) to be lobed and the penannular ones to be sheet rings.

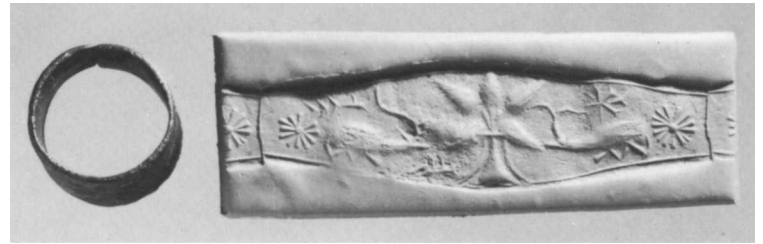
Inasmuch as some lobed rings have penannular ends and finely executed scenes (e.g., Porada 1964a, pl. II:2;¹ Erlenmeyer 1965, pls. I:4, III:16b) and all the sheet rings are lobed in shape, the division is not so clear, however. It may be that the type and style of the scenes themselves should be the criteria for the division among the lobed seals: the neatly rendered heraldic animals and tree, all of which rings seem to have penannular ends, and the others—some crude, others neatly rendered—with animals or demons not in a heraldic position, and usually in a different style than the first grouping.

The scenes on the “sheet” rings have been compared by Porada to Elamite and Babylonian art and dated accordingly to a time period from 1200 to 1000 B.C. (cf. Erlenmeyer 1965, 2ff., for a different arrangement and dating, but based on gratuitous comparisons, and to my mind, without value); the lobed rings are dated to about 1000–800 B.C. Although van Loon (1967, 24) noted that the relative sequence of Porada, with sheet rings preceding lobed rings, is supported by the Surkh Dum stratigraphy, he has nevertheless claimed that the former occur there in the eighth-century level (that is, eighth–seventh century: van Loon 1972, 69, n. 22), the latter in the seventh-century level. Given the fact that third and second millennium B.C. seals occur at Surkh Dum in the presumed later levels (Schmidt 1938, 210; Williams-Forte in Muscarella 1981b, 351ff.), it is not impossible that Porada’s dating of the sheet rings to the late second millennium B.C. is correct: yet one has to accept a four-hundred-year differential between the two ring types, which in shape at least are not so different as such a time span might suggest. How many lobed rings were excavated at Surkh Dum is still not revealed, but it would be of value to know whether in fact sheet rings occur in one level, lobed rings in another, i.e., that they are stratigraphically discrete.

The issue of dating remains, to my mind, still unresolved, especially with regard to the so-called sheet examples. We have a situation where style points in one direction, stratigraphy in another. Porada (1964a, 16) has pointed out that penannular rings of sheet metal and with lobed faces, some of gold, occur in other areas of the Near East in the late second millennium B.C. Very distinctly lobed rings of iron and bronze have also been excavated at Hasanlu of ninth-century B.C. date (Stein



210



Impression of No. 210.



211



Impression of No. 211.

1940, 398, pl. xxv:2; No. 28 here); they were worn on toes and fingers, and the iron ones have ends that seem to be joined but not fused (Stein 1940; cf. similar, but less lobed, iron rings from Dinkha Tepe, Muscarella 1974b, figs. 43:133, 52:342, 620). Also note that a lobed gold ring with a design of heraldic animals in an upper frieze and a lower one with a row (?) of animals was excavated in Tomb 36 at Marlik (Negahban 1964, fig. 81; see No. 52, notes 1, 3). This tomb was certainly deposited in the late eighth or seventh century B.C., and indicates a late date for lobed rings in Iran, albeit with a different design carved on the face.

For stray examples of lobed rings, see A. Godard 1931, pl. LXV:238; Speleers 1933a, 90, figs. 30, 31; Porada 1964a, pls. I, II; Porada 1965, 76, figs. 47, 48; Erlenmeyer 1965, figs. 1, 4, 8, 13, 14, 16; Amiet 1976, no. 30; Moorey 1981, nos. 505–12.²

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1981b, 344f., nos. 20, 21; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 61.

NOTES

1. I wonder if this ring, which has a penannular terminal and a neatly, apparently cast, rendered scene design, might not be closer in time to the sheet rings and not be, as defined by Porada's terminology, a lobed example.

2. I came across D. Beyer, "Du Moyen-Euphrate au Luristan: Bagues-Cachets de la fin du deuxième millénaire," in *Mari Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires* (Paris, 1982), 169–89, too late to incorporate into this entry (reference from E. Williams-Forte). Beyer accepts a late second millennium B.C. date for the Luristan rings (pp. 182ff.) but notes the difficulties involved in dating all examples (but accepting a late-second-millennium B.C. date for iron examples, p. 187, n. 1). She also suggests that perhaps some examples may be modern (pp. 184ff., figs. 24–27).

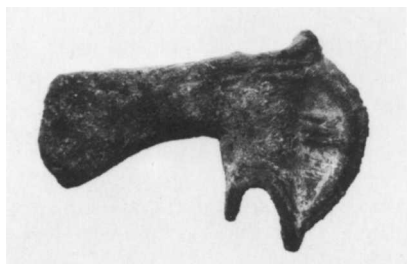
212



213



214



212. Pendant

43.102.15; Surkh Dum 617

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze; length 2.9 cm, height 2.2 cm

THIS SMALL cast pendant seems to represent a dog. Its raised tail curves up and forward above a flat rear end; eyes are small raised pellets and the ears are small; a suspension loop connects the neck and back.

The number and variety of pendants at Surkh Dum (see also No. 213) is still not known (van Loon 1967, 24, mentions ibex pendants; see No. 293), but few are known from excavations elsewhere. Aside from a bird pendant from Bard-i Bal (see No. 213), pendants in the form of animals, one perhaps that of a pair of dogs, were excavated at Hasanlu (Hakemi and Rad 1950, fig. facing p. 72). Dog figurines were fairly common in Mesopotamia (see Nos. 437, 444, 474), where they seem to have been associated in many instances with certain deities. Whether this dog pendant was associated with a deity or had a votive or apotropaic function is not known: except that it does come from a sanctuary.¹

While few pendants have been excavated, a large variety of stray examples are said to have derived from western Iran, especially Luristan. They are in the form of humans, vessels, different types of birds and animals, and so forth (see Moorey 1971a, 230ff., for discussion and examples); dogs do not seem to be rare (see Speleers 1932, 115, fig. 10; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 59J, second from right; A. Godard 1931, pl. xxx:1). Their use remains uncertain: we do not know how they were worn—on the wrist, neck, or belt—and whether they were simple decorative elements of secular jewelry or they had a more charged, apotropaic value.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 345, no. 22.

NOTE

1. Now see a terracotta example of a small dog that was excavated in the plaster of a mud-brick house in the squatters' level at Nush-i Jan (Curtis 1984, 36, fig. 8, no. 316). Did it protect the house?

213. Pendant

43.102.16; Surkh Dum 1013

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze; length 3.6 cm, height 1.9 cm

THE PENDANT seems to represent a sitting bird, apparently a duck. It is rendered very simply, with no details articulated. The base is flat and is incised with a cross-hatch design; a suspension loop connects the neck and back.

Only one other bird pendant has, to my knowledge, been excavated to date; it was recovered outside a tomb at Bard-i Bal in Luristan (vanden Berghe 1973a, 48, pl. xxiii:3). Other examples exist in private collections (Moorey 1971a, 231f., nos. 416–18; A. Godard 1931, pl. xxx:D, C, A; Basmachi 1963, pl. II, center; cf. No. 203).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 345, no. 23.

214. Miniature Axe

43.102.9; Surkh Dum 1500

Rogers Fund, 1943

Bronze;¹ length 4.8 cm

IN MINIATURE size, this axe duplicates full-sized examples known both from excavations and from the antiquities market. Characteristic of this particular type is both the cutaway, slanted lower part of the socket, and the flange butt with a horizontal ridge; the socket and flange have a thick outline. Examples of this type have different blade shapes (see No. 513) that define them as chisels, picks, or axes, but the slanting socket and the flange define these pieces as belonging to the same group or type. The example here is an axe: the upper edge is horizontal, the lower curves up to the socket.

The type was studied by Maxwell-Hyslop (1949, 99f., Type 9), Deshayes (1960, I, 166; II, 70, Type A5c), and Calmeyer (1969a, 32ff., Groups 14, 15), all of whom isolate the characteristics as well as give evidence for geographical distribution in the Near East. Full-sized examples have been excavated at Til Barsip in north Syria (Yadin 1963, I, 148; Calmeyer 1969a, fig. 32), and in Iran at Susa (Amiet 1976, 9, fig. 5) and Kalleh Nisar in Luristan (vanden Berghe 1970a, 72). Other examples have been attributed to Nimrud and Tepe Giyan (Herzfeld 1941, 126, fig. 243c, pl. xxvii; Calmeyer 1969a, 34f.) but without verification; and Calmeyer mentions two from Mari (Calmeyer 1969a, 34). Counting the present example, three axes of this type have thus been excavated in Iran. All these examples are dated to the last centuries of the third millennium B.C. For strays, all of which have been assigned a Luristan provenience, see: A. Godard 1931, pl. xv:47; Speleers 1932, 63, fig. 12; Legrain 1934, pl. xii; Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, pl. xxxviii:5; Potratz 1955a, 192f., no. 1; Calmeyer 1964a,

7, no. 5; Calmeyer 1969a, fig. 34; Moorey 1971a, 44f., no. 9; Moorey 1974a, no. 11; Evrard-Derriks 1977–78, 16, no. 3; see also No. 513.

There is no evidence at Surkh Dum that the site predates the first millennium B.C. so that the presence of a third-millennium axe type is an anomaly. One might assume that it is a curated heirloom, or a stray found perhaps somewhere in Iran and dedicated at the sanctuary, or an indication that some examples of the type were still being made at a later date: we do not know which possibility obtained.

Following are examples of miniature weapons, including daggers and axes: Sialk, Necropole B: Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xciii, lapis and stone; Susa, dagger from third-millennium B.C. tomb (*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* 25 [1934], 189f., fig. 21:10; axe, fig. 41:2); Tchoga Zanbil, thirteenth century B.C. (Ghirshman 1966, 100, pl. lxxxiii:G.T.Z. 167); Tepe Gawra, axe of third-millennium B.C. date (E. A. Speiser 1935, pl. xlix:3); Beycesultan, daggers from a third-millennium B.C. sanctuary (Stronach in Lloyd and Mellaart 1962, 285, fig. 9:3–5, pl. xxxv b); Elmali, silver axe from third-millennium B.C. level (M. Mellink, in *AJA* 71 [1967], 265, pl. 84, fig. 50); “Bactria,” axe (Amiet 1977b, 106f., fig. 14:2, 3); Assur, axe, ninth century B.C. (Bonnet 1926, 21, fig. 9); “Khurvin,” axes attributed to tombs (vanden Berghe 1964, pls. XLIV, XLV:332, 335–37). Note also the miniature weapons carried by male statuettes (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960, figs. 240–42, pl. 56c; Negbi 1976, passim; Seeden 1980, passim); and see the stray axes of Nagel 1963, nos. 41, 42, 100; Moorey 1981, nos. 7, 24; De Waele 1982, no. 38; Calmeyer 1969a, 27, Group II D, fig. 26, an axe, which is twice the size of the present example from Surkh Dum and is surely not a miniature as claimed. The occurrence of a miniature axe at the Surkh Dum sanctuary (like the daggers from Beycesultan) suggests that it was dedicated as a votive model.²

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1981b, 346, no. 24.

NOTES

1. Cu: 89.3%, Sn: 8.6%, As: 1.37%, Pb: .338%, Zn: .000 (1986).

2. For a discussion of miniature weapons and tools, now see E. Haerinck and B. J. Overlaet, “Armes et outils miniatures en Afghanistan et en Iran à l’Age Bronze et à l’Age du Fer,” in *De l’Indus aux Balkans: Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes* (Paris, 1985), 389ff. The authors suggest several possible functions for the miniature objects: amulets, weapons for statuettes, temple offerings, currency, and practical miniature tools.

Animal Finials, Master-of-Animals Standards, and Decorated Tubes

THREE BASIC GROUPS of objects are discussed here, all of which may technically be called finials in the sense that they are vertical objects used as terminals and are joined to a support. The groups are formally distinct from one another, however, and following current usage may be referred to as animal finials (or finials), master-of-animals standards (or standards), and decorated anthropomorphic or zoomorphic tubes (or just tubes). Objects classed in the first group consist of two, more rarely three, heraldic rampant animals, usually goats, ibex, or lions; those in the second consist of a hollow male or female subhuman figure, apparently a deity, flanked by leonine animals; and objects of the third group are formed either of a hollow, tubular full-figured human or subhuman, or of a tube surmounted by a Janus head. There are also examples of overlapping forms, in which characteristics of two groups are combined; these objects may be of a developmental or transitional nature (e.g., "idol standards"; see below Nos. 225–227). The Metropolitan Museum has examples of most of the known forms.

Practically all the scholars who have studied the finials and standards in depth have attempted to arrange them chronologically on the basis of a development perceived through stylistic features. Inasmuch as no example of any of the types had been excavated until quite recently, this stylistic arrangement was the only one that allowed some control over the large and disparate corpus of material. The first scholar to study the finials and standards with the view to arranging them in their natural, historical sequence was Rostovtzeff (1931a, 51ff.). To Rostovtzeff it was obvious that the master-of-animals standards were "older and more primitive" than the "younger and more developed" animal finials, in which the central deity depicted earlier was eliminated in a tendency toward a more abstract view. So clear was this development to Rostovtzeff that he regarded the reverse of his placement, the finials coming first and the standards later, as "hardly acceptable. . . ." In the same year, A. Godard (1931, 84f., and pls. I–LIII) presented basically the same sequence, but without elaboration. However "hardly acceptable" Rostovtzeff considered a conclusion contrary to his own, subsequent writers on the subject took just that position, and recently excavated evidence, such as it is, seems generally to support them.

In a series of important and often cogent publications Potratz (1955a, 208ff.; 1955b, 20ff.; 1968, 40ff.), first

making clear the hypothetical nature of his proposed sequential arrangement, suggested that the series began with the naturalistically executed heraldic ibex and feline finials. These finials developed over time into the master-of-animals standards and still later into the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic tubes. Within each of the three stages or separate forms of this perceived progression, Potratz recognized a chronological sequence based on a development in style and form from the naturalistic and relatively simple execution to the highly stylized, and within each stage the addition of subsidiary embellishments also of chronological significance. Thus, in the case of the animal finials, the movement toward stylization and the addition of wings, spirals, and subsidiary creatures to the animals indicates a chronological progression. With regard to the master-of-animals standards, Potratz believed that the form developed naturally from the finials first by the addition between the animals of just the head of a deity and later by also depicting his neck and body, with the structural and visual emphasis now on the central figure. Here, too, Potratz saw a progression from the simple forms toward the baroque and the embellished. First arms were added to the central figure, then faces and cocks' heads, and finally animals and cocks' heads were added to the animals' haunches. What is not clear in this scheme, of course, even if one tentatively accepts it in general as a viable approach, is whether the various forms coexisted in time, whether they were manufactured simultaneously in different parts of Luristan, or whether the proposed linear development was indeed as rigid as implied (see Moorey 1971a, 144f.). Potratz, who saw the floruit of the typical Luristan bronzes (weapons excluded) as coinciding with the neo-Assyrian period, beginning in the ninth century and continuing to the Achaemenian period, placed the finials and standards within this period of approximately four hundred years.

The same basic development was later presented by Porada (1964a, 20ff., 28; 1965, 84ff.), i.e., a movement from the naturalistic to the stylized for the animal finials, and a development from these to the master-of-animals standards. She dated the earliest stage of the finials to about 1000 B.C., continuing into the ninth century; these were followed by the standards, which were made in the eighth or early seventh centuries (1964a), later modified (1965, pl. 19, right) to the late ninth–eighth century B.C. Thus both the beginning and the termination of the series are earlier than those proposed by

Potratz, with the entire sequence lasting almost three hundred years. Calmeyer (1969a, 58f.), while not attempting to discuss either the finials as a class or their development, dated the naturalistically executed animal finials to the thirteenth century B.C. based on parallels with the second-millennium B.C. Kassite seal representations (and a misinterpretation of Porada: see Moorey 1971b, 115ff.).

Both Moorey (1971a, 144f., 154) and Amiet (1976, 88ff.; and recently De Waele 1982, 109ff., 113f., 115f.) have in general also accepted Potratz's original stylistic ordering (tracing their position back to Porada). Although in 1971a, Moorey was not fully convinced that the stylized examples must necessarily be late in the series, in 1981 (p. 17) he did consider them to be late. However, whereas in 1971a Moorey placed the full range of the finials and standards between the ninth and the seventh centuries, about 850–650 B.C., in 1981 (52ff., nos. 209–61) he dated this range to about 1350–800 B.C. for the finials, 1000–650 B.C. for the standards; and in 1979 (p. 28) he dated the earliest finials to about 1000 B.C., the elaborate standards to about 700 B.C. Amiet (1976, 30f., 89) basically accepts Moorey's 1971 dates, placing the animal finials in the ninth–eighth centuries, the master-of-animals standards in the eighth–seventh centuries B.C. Akurgal (1968, 34, 66f., 69f., figs. 34, 36) dated both finials and standards to the eighth–seventh centuries B.C., but on extraneous evidence, on an alleged relationship between the art of Luristan and Urartu.

To date, excavations in Luristan have yielded a pathetically small number of objects of the types under discussion here: three animal finials, two master-of-animals standards, and a single anthropomorphic Janus-headed tube.

From two tombs at Bard-i Bal, in western Luristan, two goat finials were excavated by vanden Berghe (1971b, 20, fig. 14; 1973a, 24f., 34f., figs. 11, 20, pl. xxiii:1). Both finials have bottle-shaped supports. One finial was connected to its support by a hollow tube; it is not known whether the other finial had a tube or whether that disintegrated. The goats' heads and horns are naturalistically executed, their bodies are joined together, and spirals decorate their backs. Although they are clearly animal finials, they are not typical of the class as known from many published unexcavated examples, especially with regard to the closely joined bodies, a feature more common on the feline finials. These two Bard-i Bal tombs were both used first in the late Iron I period and later in the Iron II period, and it is not clear to which period the finials belong. A clue exists, however, for in one tomb (Tomb 17) the finial was found with other bronzes on the wall of the chamber, perhaps indicating that they belonged to the earlier burial and had been

displaced and moved to make room for the subsequent interment. To vanden Berghe, the evidence suggested a date close to about 1000–900 B.C. for the finials (1981, 29, 59, dated to Luristan late Iron I).

A finial in the form of two confronted felines was found along with its support in a tomb at Xatunban in eastern Luristan, but as it remains unpublished we do not know its form or date.

The Bard-i Bal finials appear to be fairly naturalistic except for the spiral curls, which might indicate a tendency to stylization and embellishment. However, inasmuch as they are isolated with no chronological pegs to guide us, it is not possible to determine whether they belong to the very first stage of finial construction or to a slightly later one. (Cf. the developed forms, with back spirals, in Rexroth 1932, pl. 42:11, and De Waele 1982, no. 106.) Nor do they by themselves prove or disprove the theory of linear development, from naturalistic to stylized, because the latter form is not independently dated. Yet they are early in date, earlier than the excavated master-of-animals standards, and on this basis, vanden Berghe (1981, 29, 59) accepted the ordering of Potratz, Porada, and Moorey. What is not clear is whether Nos. 215 and 216 in this catalogue may be placed as early as the Bard-i Bal group; although they are naturalistically rendered, in the execution of the heads and in posture and body separation, they are different from the excavated pieces. These features may signify a later date (cf. Porada 1964a, 28), but how much later cannot be determined: I would guess they date to the eighth century B.C.

Turning to the master-of-animals standards, a complete example with its support was excavated in a tomb at Tuttalban, and a fragment (only the head) of another was found in a tomb at Bard-i Bal (vanden Berghe 1968a, 52, 62f.; 1971a, 265, 267; 1973a, 48, pl. xxiii:2); both are from Luristan Iron III contexts, dated by the excavator to the second half of the eighth century B.C. (vanden Berghe 1981, 60: "um 750 v. Chr."). The Tuttalban example is close to Nos. 233 and 234 in this catalogue, but it has two cock's heads projecting from the figure's body, and if we follow Potratz, is neither of the earliest nor of the latest form. A simple (i.e., "early") fragmentary example from the Heraion sanctuary on Samos (Jantzen 1972, pl. 74:B896) was deposited not earlier than the late eighth century and not later than the late seventh.

Finally, a single anthropomorphic tube with a Janus head was excavated by C. Goff (*Iran* 8 [1970], 176; 1978, 38, fig. 14:26) at Baba Jan, in northeastern Luristan, dated to the seventh century B.C.

Other alleged finds of master-of-animals standards, a finial, and a tube have been discussed as representing material excavated from Luristan tombs. Two of these

are claimed for Luristan, and two from outside that area. Maleki (1964, 8ff., pl. III:1) claimed to have witnessed the clandestine excavation by local peasants at Chesmeh Mahi, near Tepe Guran, of a tomb in which a master-of-animals standard with its support was found along with second-millennium B.C. pottery. She also claimed to have seen an anthropomorphic tube excavated nearby (Maleki 1964, pl. II:2). The alleged finds with the chronological implications of the juxtaposed pottery have not received universal support as bona fide, unadulterated discoveries (Muscarella 1977a, 158, n. 26; 1979a, 3, no. 1) and need not be further discussed.

Przeworski (1938/1964, 250f., fig. 52) presented as fact that a group of stray objects, including a master-of-animals standard, was found (clandestinely) at Maku, in the very northwest part of Iranian Azerbaijan. The information came to Przeworski from a collector: which means that the alleged discovery cannot be verified (cf. Moorey 1971a, 16, 143f.), and thus has no archaeological significance. Finally, Herzfeld (1941, fig. 282) incorrectly assigned a feline finial to the Tomb of the Seven Brothers, probably from a misreading of his notes.

Vanden Berghe's and Goff's excavated finds [see below, note 1] are the crucial data to be used in an attempt to obtain a viable, if not absolute, chronological range for the finials, standards, and anthropomorphic tubes. They establish that the animal finials were in use in the late Iron I period, about 1000–900 B.C., that the master-of-animals standards were in use in the early Iron III period, about 750–700 B.C. (independently affirmed by the Samos find), and that the tubes were in use sometime in the seventh century B.C., also Iron III. Further, another excavated find of Goff at Baba Jan may play a most important role in the chronology of the objects under review here, namely the pin with a coiled-style lion or feline terminal (see Nos. 277 and 278), dated to the eighth century B.C. or later. The stylistic unity of the Baba Jan lion with those on a large number of finials and standards (see Nos. 221–224, 226, 227, 229) is obvious and needs no elaboration—except to note the significance of the chronological implications.¹

The excavated data do not tell us anything about the internal development of specific groups, the overlapping of forms within the types, or the chronological range or floruit of each group, but they do furnish the chronological pegs for future study and discussion. Thus it may be stated that the suggestions of certain early writers on the subject who posited either a third- or a second-millennium B.C. date for the floruit of the finials and standards (e.g., Herzfeld 1941, 108, 124, 128, 165; Schaeffer 1948, 486ff., fig. 266; Lancaster 1952, 95, 97, fig. 2; Arne 1962, 17; Calmeyer 1969a, 59, 159), or a late, low chronology, seventh–sixth century and later

(e.g., Rostovtzeff 1931a, 46; Legrain 1934, 91; Moortgat 1932, 6) are obviated. And the more recent chronological conclusions of Potratz, Porada, and Moorey (1971a) are in general supported; Moorey's 1979 and certainly his 1981 suggested dates (also De Waele 1982, 116) for the earliest finials, as well as Moorey's 1981 dates for the earliest standards, are surely too early (see above). Further, the development from the finials to the standards and tubes suggested by these writers, particularly Potratz and Porada, is also tentatively supported, with the proviso that the data are incomplete. The finials are correctly grouped as a defined entity, with subtypes, each subsuming a great variety of attributes. Future research (primarily on data from excavation contexts) will presumably furnish the necessary information required to determine whether this polythetic group developed simultaneously or unilinearly, whether the natural and stylized features we perceive were chronologically co-existent, or distinct, possessing a time trajectory.

Each of the five finials and standards excavated in Luristan derives from a tomb. The only bona fide sanctuary site known to date, Surkh Dum (see Nos. 191–214), and the only occupation site presently known, Baba Jan, did not yield finials or standards. Thus, pending future excavated evidence to the contrary, we may tentatively conclude (based on incomplete information) that finials and standards were deposited in tombs, but not necessarily in shrines (see "The Luristan Bronzes" above).

H. Thrane (1964, 156ff., 159) reported, on the basis of hearsay information from local inhabitants, that a "stone building" was clandestinely dug in the upper end of the valley of Tang-i Hamamlan, an apparent settlement site, just northwest of Surkh Dum. Within the building, Thrane was informed, was found a box containing typical Luristan bronzes, including horse bits and "Gilgamesh," that is master-of-animals, standards. To Thrane, the building was "some sort of temple building," which he compared to Surkh Dum, and consequently we are to assume that horse bits and master-of-animals standards, inter alia, were deposited in temples as well as tombs (a position accepted by Moorey 1971a, 15, n. 4, 21, 142; 1979, 27; 1981, 51). But the evidence for such claims is in fact nonexistent and cannot be accepted as an empirically obtained archaeological observation, because it derives from unqualified individuals who cannot be expected to correctly describe a "temple" building.² Moreover, the archaeologists did not themselves examine, let alone excavate, the building or the alleged finds, a situation that undermines the conclusions presented.³

It may be suggested that an isolated finial/standard support actually excavated in trenches in the western end of the canyon at Tang-i Hamamlan along with other

bronzes, a number of which were broken in antiquity (Thrane 1964, 158f., fig. 5), indicates that finials and/or standards, which were originally associated with these supports, were indeed a functioning artifact at settlement sites. However, the nature of the find suggested to the excavators that the bronzes recovered were scrap metal, and I would therefore argue that conclusions concerning their original utilization at the site are precluded.

There is no claim presented here that standards and finials were made solely for funerary functions (for it is possible that without our knowledge they may indeed have been recovered on settlement sites), but the evidence for grave use is the only evidence that exists at present and we do not yet know how the finials were "functionally specific" with regard to tomb/home/shrine deposition (see Speth and Johnson 1976, 35, 38, 45, 51). The deposition of the standard on Samos cannot inform us about customs in Luristan.

The finials and standards have been interpreted in almost as many ways as the number of scholars who have written about them. They have been called deity standards (Rostovtzeff 1931a, 49), protectors of troops (A. Godard 1931, 82ff., 100; 1962, 37), household cult idols (Potratz 1955b, 28, *passim*; Potratz 1968, 39; Moorey 1971a, 142), totem symbols (Nagel 1963, 56; De Waele 1982, 114), apotropaic talismans (Dussaud 1930, 263; Lancaster 1952, 97), and *Totenkult* objects (vanden Berghe 1981, 60). They have also been considered to be pole tops (Frankfort 1955, 211) or chariot fittings (Przeworski 1940, 259; Carless 1965, 31; see also Rostovtzeff 1931a, 49f., and a negative opinion expressed in Dussaud 1930, 258, and 1938/1964, 263). While it would be safe to state that the finials and standards may have served one or more of these charged functions, the specific cultural ideology or ideologies that they expressed ultimately eludes us.⁴ The many examples and varieties known suggest that male and female deities are represented, that many individuals or homes possessed them, and that they were not manifestly the property of a select few although we may not claim that every household contained them. They also were self-sufficient, not part of a larger unit, and were meant to be viewed from both sides. Finally, at least some of them were placed in tombs, but by no means was this a standard practice.

For some time it has been assumed, correctly as we now know from excavations, that the original components of complete finials and standards consisted of the object itself, a separate bottle-shaped support (see Nos. 243–246), and in some but apparently not all cases, a thin joining tube. It has also been assumed by some scholars that the units were held together by a long straight pin that was inserted into the tube, which was itself placed within the rings of the finials or inserted

into the hollow of the standards, and then into the support. The first scholar to challenge this apparent use of pins was Potratz (1955b, 19; 1968, 39f.), who claimed that when pins are exhibited in such a position, the object is a pastiche constructed in modern times by dealers. Nagel (1963, 24f., 56) disagreed with Potratz, although he posited that only disk-headed pins were used for this purpose (see Nos. 309–312). To support his conclusion, Nagel quoted Pope (in Schmidt 1938, 210, n. 5), who claimed to have seen pins corroded in place within tubes. Moorey (1971a, 141; see also Moorey 1974a, 104, and 1979, 27) also quoted Pope and accepted Nagel's position, at the same time agreeing that modern pastiches do exist (see also Moorey 1981, no. 211); he thought that figured-top pins as well as disk-headed pins were used to make the join. Porada (1965, 81, 86) agreed that a pin was inserted in the tube of the finials, but she argued that they were those with fruit or pomegranate heads (see also Lancaster 1952, 95; vanden Berghe 1981, 59, 60; Merhav 1981, 102).

There is no evidence available to support the view that a long bronze pin, whatever the form of its head, held the finial and standard components together. In the one instance where a master-of-animals standard was excavated together with its bottle-shaped support, at Tuttalban (discussed above), no joining pin or even a tube exists (nor do they exist on the alleged Chesmeh Mahi standard seen by Maleki, see above). At Bard-i Bal where finials were excavated with their bottle-shaped supports, in only one instance with a tube in situ, no pins were recovered. It is also of some importance to note that at the one site in Luristan where many pins of various head types were excavated, at Surkh Dum, no finials or standards occur; here, at least, the pins had a value and function independent of finials and standards. Finally, among all the stray finials and standards known to me in publications and from personal examination, not a single example furnished with a pin in the joining position is demonstrably ancient; all we have on this issue are unverified claims.⁵

All the above suggests, as Potratz argued, that there is as yet no objective evidence to support the view that the components were held together by a straight pin. To be sure, there is no doubt that some object was originally placed in the tube used with the standards and finials to hold the components together and probably also to function as a central feature. It would seem that this object was of perishable material, since it has never been recovered. Perhaps, as Porada (1965, 86) has suggested for the finials, the central object may have been "a flower or a slender branch," in addition to pins. A flower or branch would conform to the iconography of animals flanking a sacred tree, one of the most com-

mon motifs in the art of the ancient Near East. Whether the standards may also have had a flower or branch is not of course known, but it seems less likely on the basis of what is known of the iconography of the Luristan bronzes.⁶

NOTES

1. The determination of the precise chronology of Periods III and II at Baba Jan is crucial for dating a large group of Luristan bronzes—pace Goff (1978, 38) that the finds from that site “throw little light on the vexed chronology of the Luristan bronzes.” Indeed, the site as published in a series of preliminary reports presents many difficulties and problems of interpreting the author’s meanings and conclusions. Not the least of these problems are caused by the exasperating use and interchange of upper and lower case letters and Roman numerals to define the levels, the changing of period terminology, and the imposition of the northwest Iranian Iron Age sequence, Iron I, II, and III, on that of Luristan. To my mind, the dates assigned by the excavator (Goff 1978, 35ff.) for the incipency and duration of the Baba Jan III period, about 900 to seventh century B.C., are not independently obtained and are based primarily on historical speculation and an unverified connection of the site’s destructions and reoccupations with Assyrian penetration into the Zagros (Goff 1978, 40f.). In this reconstruction Goff suggests that the settlement of Period III was destroyed in the seventh century B.C. in the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), a date which may not be far from reality. To arrive at beginning and occupation dates for this period, she discusses pottery parallels, noting first (Goff 1978, 35) that III begins later than Hasanlu level IV–Dinkha II (Iron II in northwestern Iran, about mid-twelfth century to 800 B.C.). It is apparent that Goff is speaking here about the incipency of these levels. However, the pottery known at present from these sites cannot be dated before the late ninth century, and as one must assume that this is the pottery she has in mind for her chronological comparison, then Period III must begin post-ninth century B.C. Parallels are also cited from Nush-i Jan, but this pottery in fact had its incipency no earlier than the late eighth century B.C. and continued into the seventh century. And the Baba Jan pottery occurring in Period III also occurs in some quantity in the later Period II levels (Goff 1978, 36f.), another indication that Period III is post-ninth century in date. Goff also compares Period III wares to those from the excavated tombs at Khurvin. But this evidence is difficult to evaluate, for it is not clear how pertinent the comparisons are or whether the tombs are in fact ninth century in date or later (Dyson 1965, 206, 211; Muscarella 1974b, 50, n. 7). Collectively, then, the pottery evidence of Baba Jan III does not convince me that the level existed as a site as early as the ninth century B.C., but that it in fact seems to be eighth (late?) century. Finally, to obtain a beginning date for Period III, Goff (1978, 41f.) not only assumes that Baba Jan is a bona fide Median site—a claim not supported by evidence—but further assumes, without any evidence, that the site must date to a time before the earliest Assyrian reference to the Medes in the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). This leads her to conclude that “the Baba Jan III culture *may*, therefore, have begun by 900 B.C. and *may* overlap with the Iron II cultures further north” (italics added). To her, then, Period III begins in 900 B.C. and terminates about 220 or more years later! To accept this chronology, along with the impossibly long life of the level, against the excavated evidence at Baba Jan and elsewhere is not archaeologically acceptable, and it must be rejected. Baba Jan III, whether Median or not, came into existence not before the eighth century B.C., and II not before the seventh (I am also confused about the chronological relationship of the Fort and Painted Chamber of the East Mound to that of levels 3–1 of the

Central Mound, which were equated in Goff 1970, 142, fig. 1, but in 1978, 41f., are separated by a century).

The anthropomorphic tube comes from “a II A level,” from “the latest phase of II, stratigraphically just above an earlier level which had produced mixed *genre Luristan* and Nush-i-Jan pottery, and two elbow fibulae” (*Iran* 8 [1970], 176); and the lion pin comes from Period III (Goff 1978, 38). Goff dates these objects respectively to the seventh and the ninth centuries B.C. (1978, 38, 41f.), but inasmuch as Period III is post-ninth century, probably eighth, in inception, the lion pin must be considered as eighth century at the earliest, and possibly eighth–seventh; and the tube cannot be earlier than the seventh century, as Goff recognizes. Not recognizing this “late” chronology for Baba Jan has led a number of scholars to date a large number of Luristan bronzes a century or more earlier than possible.

[Note that T. Cuyler Young, Jr., in “Early Iron Age Iran Revisited . . .,” in *De l’Indus aux Balkans: Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes* (Paris, 1985), 375f., posits an important historical-archaeological thesis: that the Western Buff Ware pottery characteristic of Iron III may have had its incipency in the central Zagros in the ninth century B.C. and thence moved north to Azerbaijan (Hasanlu). He then connects this ware with the first mention of the Iranians in the Assyrian texts and suggests that it is archaeological “evidence” for the “first appearance of the Iranians on the west of the plateau.” However, to my knowledge there is no pottery in the central Zagros sites that can be dated to the ninth century B.C.—certainly not, as I argue in this note, from Baba Jan, a site mentioned by Young as a ninth-century candidate. And if I am right, Young’s thesis is not viable.]

On 8 December 1984, after I had completed all my work on Luristan for this catalogue, I read Clare Goff’s *An Archaeologist in the Making* (London, 1980); it was neither published nor advertised in the United States and was lent to me by a colleague. I was astonished to read on pages 127f. Goff’s report on the specific activity concerning the surfacing of the coiled lion pin: namely that neither she nor any staff member had seen it excavated, and that it was brought to her by workmen who subsequently took her to the place they said it was unearthed (but with no context given). This revelation is all the more unsettling when the author further informs us that these very same workmen feared that if no Luristan bronzes were recovered at Baba Jan they would lose their employment; and, on page 130, Goff records that the man who claimed to have found the pin was not reliable. In the context of this situation Goff raises, only to reject, the issue of salting: but, alas, it nevertheless remains an issue. None of this crucial information was vouchsafed by Goff in her 1968 and 1978 reports in *Iran* in which the pin is cited, information that is expected in a professional archaeological report.

Following Goff’s original reports, I reached significant chronological conclusions in my discussions of Luristan, expressed above here in note 1 and elsewhere in this catalogue. I am now forced to conclude, to be fair to the facts, that it is indeed possible that the pin was salted, although I cannot categorically exclude the possibility that the pin was excavated at Baba Jan. But archaeological decency mandates that my chronological conclusions must be conditioned by the first part of this statement. I cannot avoid stating with force that it was a dissimulation not to have given all the details of the alleged find in the reports in *Iran*; it is also unprofessional to give it anecdotally, and solely, in a popular book written years later.

2. From my own field experience, I recall that well-meaning local inhabitants in Iran and Turkey have perceived tombs to be fountains or houses, a shrine with steps to be a stairway to an underground tomb, fortification walls to be a road, natural rock weathering to be writing, and so forth.

3. The fragmented standard from the Heraion on Samos (Jantzen

1972, 74, pl. 74:B986) cannot be brought into the discussion of specific provenience patterns or function within Iran. It would seem that the piece was indeed dedicated, but we do not know by whom or why.

4. Still another function of the heraldic-animals finials, in particular their tectonic form, has been defended by Moorey (1971a, 144, 218, 264, 280, no. 522; 1971b, 114, n. 4; but cf. Moorey 1974a, 146f., and 1981, no. 416). A number of vessels exist with double handles of felines or goats of the same type and in the same heraldic position as on the finials. Inasmuch as none of these vessels has been excavated and, as seems certain (Moorey agrees on this point), at least some have had their handles recently added as pastiches, I believe that caution should prevail with regard to the integrity of such combinations. To my mind it is difficult to accept without reservations all of these finial-type handles as ancient constructions (Muscarella 1979a, 8, no. 5), and the matter should be considered as still under review. The handles could easily derive from recently divided finials: on this issue see De Waele 1982, 98, n. 5 and no. 114.

In July of 1982, P. R. S. Moorey allowed me to examine at the Ashmolean Museum the vessel with handles he published in 1971a, no. 522, which I questioned (but did not categorically condemn) in 1977a, no. 82, and 1979a, 8, no. 5. Macroscopically, the leonine finial-type handle does seem to have been placed on the vessel in antiquity: the upper paws are riveted to the lip and the lower ones to a plaque. I requested that the patina at the rivets be scientifically examined to confirm or deny the antiquity of the construction. Note that there are genuine (to my mind) spouted vessels with Iranian-style (not Luristan) lions in the form of a single handle (D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* [New York, 1961], no. 47; *Sept Mille Ans* 1961–62, no. 372, pl. xxxii).

5. De Waele (1982, 93, 109, 120f., nos. 106, 141) claims that a bronze straight pin in the Godard collection is corroded in place within a tube that joins a support (also corroded in place?). However, it is not clear to me whether De Waele (and equally Pope) means that the pin is tightly inserted into the tube and therefore cannot now be removed, or whether the ancient corrosion product is visible. Note also that the ensemble, which includes a finial of confronting goats, is not necessarily an ancient one (De Waele 1982, 93, n. 1). Only if the so-called corrosion is demonstrated by examination to be ancient may this example be introduced as proof of the use of the pin as a connecting element. It is of some interest, perhaps, that another ensemble published by De Waele (1982, 106, n. 9, no. 126), for which it is claimed that the finial, the support, and a connecting tube are corroded in place, has no pin extant (see also Amiet 1976, 88f., fig. 48). On pages 95, 104, 109, De Waele (1982) discusses the problem of modern assemblages for finials and standards in general: but in another instance ignores his own caveat by accepting the integrity of the ensemble of his number 128—two addorsed ibex with a conical headed pin inserted in a space between them. De Waele is unwilling to accept the possibility that this ensemble may be a modern pastiche (1982, 108 and n. 12 [where it is noted that there is no corrosion evident], 115), which I suggest it is, and therefore calls it a standard, creating thereby a new form, a new motif (his apparent and equivocal caveat on p. 151 is negated both by the thrust of his note on

p. 115 that the “standard” was supported by means of a pin, and the fact that he chose to illustrate the ensemble as a unit, as a “standard”).

A comment about forgeries of finials and standards in general is appropriate. When dealing with a corpus of material consisting of hundreds of unexcavated/unverified objects among which are great varieties of forms, it is most difficult to sort out the genuine from the false; and mistakes are easily made in attributions either way. Confusion remains even after detailed study of individual pieces against the corpus (cf. Potratz and Calmeyer: Muscarella 1977a, 169, n. 68). In 1977a, numbers 28 and 29, I challenged a standard and finial, and Potratz (1968) previously challenged others (although not always correct in his condemnations). Number 28 (Muscarella 1977a), now in Los Angeles, seemed to me to be correct stylistically in its parts, but unusual in its entirety, and perhaps being aftercasts joined together; Moorey (1981, no. 257), however, accepts the whole as ancient (along with his no. 250, another mirror-image finial). It is possible that Moorey is correct here, but we both agree that the piece is untypical, and here is the paradox. The Los Angeles standard is a mirror-image form, the first example of which was published by A. Godard (1931, pl. LVII:214), which was challenged—but not condemned—by Potratz (1968, 58f., no. 237); Calmeyer (1969a, 138, nos. A, B) indicted two other examples, the former also challenged by me (Muscarella 1979a, 9, no. 13; see also no. 14, which is Amiet 1976, no. 212). The mirror-image form is a difficult group to discuss with concern for ancient versus modern manufacture, and laboratory analysis would be welcome [N.B. P. Meyers informed me after this was written that Moorey 1981, no. 250, is genuine]; two recently published examples from the art market surely warrant laboratory testing: Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, nos. 303 and 304, especially the latter.

My number 29 (Muscarella 1977a) could be genuine or not, which statement itself illustrates the problem. Some pieces I believe may be more easily categorized as modern are: two examples indicted by Potratz 1968, nos. 223 and 240; Waldbaum 1973, 13, nos. 10 and 11—both with crude heads and bodies, and note the arm position of no. 11; Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 15–16 December 1981, no. 14; Moorey (1981, nos. 246, 259) has noted two others; is Lancaster 1952, fig. 2, a pastiche?; and four I cited in Muscarella 1979a, 9, no. 13 (nos. 7, 8, 12, 16 from the Eisenberg sale catalogue cited there; Muscarella 1979a, no. 14, also called attention to still others that warrant reservations: as stated above, it is often difficult to sort out the good from the bad). That there are still others, forgeries and aftercasts, may be accepted as very probable. For example, is Orthmann 1982, no. 13, a genuine ensemble or is it a pastiche, the lower part, with the fourth head, added to the upper part by someone in a modern shop? Orthmann (1982, 7), aware of its uniqueness, says that there “besteht kein Grund, an seiner Echtheit zu zweifeln.” But is there an objective “Grund” to accept it as genuine? And is it worth the time and expense of an X ray to decide the issue?

6. In a publication seen by me after the completion of this catalogue, Ruth Mayer-Opificius (1983, 338f.) claims that Iranian features occur in the art of Urartu in the form of *Mischwesen*. To document this claim she cites the Luristan finials under review here as evidence. Indeed, the only relationship I see is that both cultures created *Mischwesen* figures—of different style, form, and iconography.

FINIALS, STANDARDS, AND TUBES

215. Heraldic Animal Finial

32.161.11; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 11.1 cm

216. Heraldic Animal Finial

1977.187.2; Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1977
Bronze; height 9 cm

217. Heraldic Animal Finial

32.161.8; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 15 cm (without tube)

ONE OF the most characteristic of the Luristan corpus of bronzes is the animal finials, consisting of two heraldically placed rampant animals holding a ring by their front feet and standing on another ring directly below the first. The animals represented are usually ibex, goats, or, less commonly, moufflons and gazelles. The three examples here seem to be ibex, judging from their ridged or knobbed curved horns. The ibex of Nos. 215 and 216 are bearded males, their long thin bodies slightly arched, as are their necks, and they are executed in a fairly naturalistic manner. The front legs of No. 216 are depicted in relief hanging down rather than grasping the ring, which is joined to each animal by a strut.

The ibex pair of No. 217 has the same form and posture as the others but the animals are executed in a more stylized manner, especially evident in the heads and the grooved necks; each also has resting on its rump a four-footed, open-mouthed animal facing upward. A hollow tube through the rings is held securely in place (corroded?) at the lower ring but is loose at the upper.

As noted in the introductory discussion on finials and standards above, attempts have been made on the basis of internal and art historical analysis to recognize a relative chronology, a developmental sequence, for the animal finials. This scheme would suggest that naturalism preceded stylization, and thus that Nos. 215 and 216 are earlier than No. 217. It has also been noted that vanden Berghe's excavations have supported this position, at least to the extent that naturalistic examples do occur early. Nevertheless, I believe that Nos. 215 and 216 are definitely later than the excavated examples of about the tenth century.

Scores of examples of animal finials exist without provenience; only two have been excavated (see above, in the introduction "Luristan Bronzes"). Since each was



215



216

made in a separate mold, differences among individual pieces are more common than are close parallels, a feature of all the finials and standards to be discussed. For general parallels, see Moorey 1971a, 146ff. For close parallels to Nos. 215 and 216, see A. Godard 1931, pl. LIV:202 (the pin is a modern addition); Rostovtzeff 1931a, pl. 2, no. 5; Legrain 1934, pl. 1, no. 6; Potratz 1955b, nos. 1–3, 5; Potratz 1968, nos. 162–67; Amiet 1976, 199; Orthmann 1982, 5, no. 8; De Waele 1982, 93f., no. 105. For close parallels to No. 217, see Godard 1931, pl. LV; Moorey 1974a, no. 78.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 215: D. Carter 1957, pl. 27d; *Treasures* 1970, no. 20; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 65. No. 217: D. Carter 1957, pl. 28e.

218. Horned-Demon Finial

66.104.1; purchase; Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1966
Bronze;¹ height 15.3 cm

TWO DEMONS face each other in classic heraldic fashion, and as with the animal finials, their rear feet rest on a ring while their hands hold another above. The demons are human in all features except their gracefully curving ibex horns and animal ears. Their bodies are quite thin, sticklike, although their buttocks and thighs and their arms are executed naturalistically. The figure on the right in the photograph is prominently distinguished as a male by an erect penis, while his companion has a vulva outlined in relief but no breasts.

In form, this finial fits within the more typical animal-finial group (Nos. 215–217), but to my knowledge no other finial example of male and female ibex-horned demons is known and the piece is unique. The ibex-man depicted in art has been studied by R. D. Barnett (1966) who has brought forth a large number of representations in the round or depicted on stamp seals from Iran, dating to a time around 3000 B.C. Usually the demon is male and is associated with snakes or animals, but no heraldic association exists, nor is a female represented. It is assumed that the demon probably represents a protector of game and/or hunters (Barnett 1966, 267ff.; Porada 1964a, 23f., n. 56). Barnett further noted that horned demons did not cease to be represented in art and that the figures with rams' horns so common in the art of Luristan are a continuity of the motif and concept. The piece here adds support to his suggestion, for although no parallel exists as such in Luristan, by the nature of its form it must be considered as deriving from that area. And while it is not easy to assign a date to this pair of horned demons, the finial must have been made at the same time as the animal



217



218

finials: but whether close to the first stage or to a more developed one is arguable. I would tentatively place it later than the tenth–ninth centuries.²

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975 (New York, 1975), 37; Moorey 1979a, 26, fig. 10.

NOTES

1. Cu: 93.5%, Sn: 10.8%, As: 0.5%, Pb: 0.4%, Fe: 0.2%, Zn: not detected. Examination also revealed “extensive penetrations of intergranular corrosion,” and a cuprite layer over the whole surface of the object.

2. Calmeyer 1973a, 66f., n8, is a vessel decorated with, among other things, two human-faced striding ibex flanking a tree: for problems with this vessel see Nos. 342, 343, note 4.

219. Heraldic Animal Finial

32.161.21; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 5.7 cm

220. Heraldic Animal Finial

30.97.9; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 9.9 cm

221. Heraldic Animal Finial

49.78.1; Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1949
Bronze; height 11.6 cm

222. Heraldic Animal Finial

30.97.8; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 13 cm

223. Heraldic Animal Finial

32.161.9; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 15.3 cm

224. Heraldic Animal Finial

32.161.10; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 12.1 cm

RELATED FORMALLY and iconographically to the previously discussed ibex finials, these six examples depict heraldic felines. Potratz (1955b, 23ff.) saw the creatures as panthers, an identification accepted by Nagel (1963, 56); Moorey (1971a, 148f.) recognized the difficulty involved in exact identification and preferred to call them felines, probably lions. The present group is distinguished from the other finials, aside from the species of animal, by the fact that the felines’ bodies are usually placed close together, sometimes touching, and their front legs are held vertically to grip the upper ring, rather than

horizontally. The upper ring is thus in a higher position than on the other finials.

This class of finials is, like the ibex finials, quite common and is also known in both naturalistic and stylized forms. The stylized finials (No. 221 is a classic example) are aesthetically pleasing to the modern eye. Sometimes they are embellished with such additional features as animals and heads, and the felines’ bodies and necks are attenuated and curved in a pronounced manner. The stylized group is also one of the canonically characteristic forms of the Luristan-style bronzes, especially in the representation of the eyes and jaws, which have been described as “giving the impression of raised coils” by Porada (1964a, 21). Porada further notes that this technique is a characteristic of Mitannian art of the second millennium B.C., which she believes is not fortuitous.

No. 219 is the most naturalistically executed finial in the Museum’s collection. Both mouths are open wide, and while no sex is explicitly shown the figure on the right in the photograph has a solid and outlined oval area in the pubic zone while the other has a cavity. No. 220 has a naturalistically executed body from the neck down but the head approaches stylization. The muzzles touch and are concave in the interior to hold the tube that originally was set into the rings. The bodies of Nos. 221 and 222 are naturalistically executed from the waist down, but the arched necks and heads are stylized; the muzzles of No. 222 also touch. No. 223 is similar to Nos. 221 and 222 but is clearly more stylized in all parts except the rear legs. The necks are thin, their curves are stressed, and the outer borders are notched; the tube seems to be solidly corroded in place. In addition, a stylized animal rests on each of the felines’ backs, head up, touching the necks and haunches. The most embellished of the group is No. 224: two addorsed horned-animal protomes project from the upper ring, and two stylized heads (one is missing) form the ends of the felines’ tails.

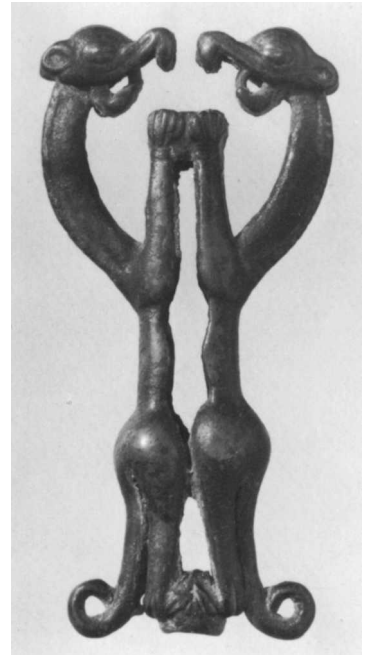
Presumably the feline finials had a function similar to or the same as that of the ibex finials, although they may have been symbolically associated with a different deity or specific activity. However, it is not known whether the feline finials were first made at the same time as the first appearance of the others, about 1000–900 B.C., but there can be little doubt that they were contemporary for part, if not all, of the subsequent lifetime of the ibex finials. The one example of a feline finial excavated, at Xatunban in eastern Luristan, has yet to be published, so we do not know its date or whether its execution is naturalistic or stylized (cited in Iran Bastan Museum 1977, 42, no. 385). If the posited development from naturalistic to stylized obtains, then No. 219 would



219



220



221

222

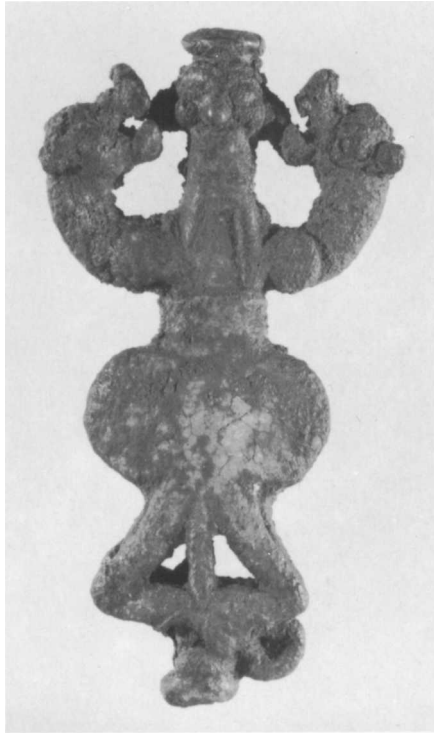


223



224





225



226



227

be the earliest of the present group, the others somewhat later. Nos. 220–224 parallel in style that of the master-of-animals standards, suggesting that they, too, are to be dated to the eighth–seventh centuries B.C.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 220: Dimand 1931, 49, fig. 6; *Treasures* 1970, no. 18. No. 221: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 69. No. 223: D. Carter 1957, pl. 28c; Crawford et al. 1966, 28, fig. 43; H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), 60, no. 117. No. 224: A. Bowlin, B. Farwell, *Small Sculptures in Bronze* (MMA, New York, 1950), 6, lower left; D. Carter 1957, pl. 26d.

NOTE

1. Cu: 91.2%, Sn: 8.15%, Pb: .290%, Zn: .015% (1986).

225. Idol Standard

57.51.45; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956
Bronze; height 12 cm

226. Idol Standard

32.161.20; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze;¹ height 8.5 cm

227. Idol Standard

32.161.12; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 11.1 cm

THESE THREE objects are formally the same: a detached human head is held by the front paws of two heraldic felines. Their close relationship to the animal finials is clear, and they are considered by some scholars to be a diachronic development from them (Potratz 1955b, 25; Moorey 1971a, 154; cf. Rostovtzeff 1931a, 48, 51f.). The addition of the head distinguishes these forms from the finials, and the essentially neckless, isolated head and its close connection to the heraldic animals that support it are the characteristic features that distinguish them from the master-of-animals standards (for varieties, where the animals' bodies are separated, see Potratz 1955b, pl. viii, nos. 25, 26; Moorey 1971a, no. 173).

I use the term idol standards for these objects in order to distinguish them from the animal finials and the master-of-animals standards, to which they are related, and not to imply a separate function, for we do not know whether this is the case. Whether in fact these idol standards are a development from the animal finials, or a parallel, contemporarily generated form sym-

bologically reflecting a distinct idea, the presence of the head surely distinguishes them from the latter. The animal finials were cast to allow for the presumed addition of a separate central unit, whatever that may have been. Thus, the emphasis there seems to focus on the animals. In the present examples the head is cast together with the animals and the viewers' eyes are directed to it. Surely the combination of the three reflects a conscious idea, but whether a new, separate concept is involved than that expressed by the animal finials, or whether there is now represented the development of an ideology that the central figure, only implied on the animal finials, should be physically represented, eludes us. A further problem exists. The head is held by the felines, not the reverse, and therefore it may be incorrect to consider the scene as representing a master-of-animals motif (cf. below, Nos. 228–237, and also Moorey 1971a, 154); we do not know the religious thoughts that informed the creation of these standards.

The human head of No. 226 is more naturalistically executed than the others, which are more stylized and typical of the Luristan style. At the same time, the felines of No. 225 seem more natural than those of No. 226. This should warn us about arriving at firm conclusions concerning relative chronology based on natural or stylized forms. All the human heads have horizontally projecting ears that abut onto the felines' muzzles. The nose on the human head of No. 227 is very prominent, the others less so, especially that of No. 226, which is flat. The eyes of Nos. 226 and 227 are mere slits, those of No. 225 simple bulges; none seem to have beards. The top part or rim of No. 226 is flat, those of Nos. 225 and 227 are moldings and may be hats. The buttocks of all the animals are large and the legs of Nos. 225 and 227 bend at an awkward angle.

Isolated, detached heads also occur in Luristan art on disk pins and quivers (see No. 308) and on the skirts of human figures (No. 308), as well as on the master-of-animals standards, and must have had one or more charged values.

For general discussion and parallels see Potratz 1955b, 25f., pl. ix, nos. 25, 26; Potratz 1968, figs. 207–II; Moorey 1971a, 153, nos. 172–74; Moorey 1981, nos. 227–39,² Amiet 1976, nos. 209, 210.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 226: D. Carter 1957, pl. 26c; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 40, no. 53.
No. 227: D. Carter 1957, pl. 26a.

NOTES

1. Cu: 80.2%, Sn: 19.3%, Pb: .057%, Zn: .000% (1986).
2. Surely Moorey 1981, no. 231, must be a pastiche, the center spool connecting the upper and lower units; and the heads of the flanking animals are strange.

228. Master-of-Animals Standard

30.97.5; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 20.2 cm

229. Master-of-Animals Standard

30.97.7; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 15.5 cm

230. Master-of-Animals Standard

1980.324.5; Gift of Louise Crane, 1980
Bronze;¹ height 17 cm

231. Master-of-Animals Standard

30.97.4; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 20.9 cm

232. Master-of-Animals Standard

30.97.6; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 19 cm

233. Master-of-Animals Standard

32.161.7; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 20 cm

234. Master-of-Animals Standard

57.51.41; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956
Bronze; height 19.6 cm

235. Master-of-Animals Standard

32.161.5; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 21.2 cm

236. Master-of-Animals Standard

1980.324.4; Gift of Louise Crane, 1980
Bronze; height 17 cm

237. Master-of-Animals Standard

32.161.6; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze;² height 20.3 cm

THIS PARTICULAR group of finials/standards is perhaps the best known of all the objects in the Luristan repertory and is considered to be a canonical Luristan type. These standards appear to be a development, or at least a refinement, ultimately of the animal finials and more immediately of the idol standards discussed in Nos. 225–227, and they have been considered as such in scholarly discussions by Potratz, Porada, and Moorey. The



228



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form of an isolated, detached head held by the flanking felines has been significantly altered by iconographical and technical modifications. What is immediately noted about the iconography is that the central figure is not more prominent even though its upper body is represented, usually in tubular form. The figure's body is also distinctly separated from the animals, and its head is higher than those of the animals; in fact, the animals now spring from the central figure and are not distinct forms. The central figure's body below the waist merges with the haunches and legs of the animals, which are seen in side view, as if representing a symbiosis. On some examples, considered by several scholars to be the earliest form of the whole class, the central figure is connected to the animals only where they merge, while on many other examples the central figure is supplied with arms that grasp the animals by their necks, in classic master-of-animals fashion. Thus, in these last examples there is no longer an ambiguity—to modern eyes—as to which group predominates (if that was the intent of the makers), the head or the animals: the central figure holds the animals at bay, mastering them, and is the dominating force. Striking and significant is the extraordinary variety of forms within the corpus (a full catalogue of which deserves a special study).

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From the technical side, the standard is now cast as one unit, incorporating all the features together. The vertical part, essentially the body of the central figure and the animal haunches, is hollow, like the idol standards, and whatever device was used to join the standard to its support passed through the hollow. Inasmuch as each piece was separately cast, sizes vary, but there is no reason to assume that size determined function.

The standards as a group have been much discussed since 1931 (see Moorey 1971a, 156ff. for references and a summary). In many instances it is not clear whether the central figure is a male or female. However, the presence on some standards of a beard (viz. No. 229) or breasts (not in the Museum's collection, but see Nos. 238 and 239) indicates that both males and females are depicted (for a possible penis, see De Waele 1982, 100, 114, no. 116). For the most part, the bodies seem to be unclothed, but girdles or belts seem to be represented as a ridged molding, and occasionally one may recognize what seems to be a garment (viz. No. 231: sleeves?; and No. 235: is the V at the neck a necklace or a hem?; see also Potratz 1955b, pl. x:31, 34, and Moorey 1971a, no. 180: an odd piece). Large ears projecting horizontally from the head are characteristic, a feature noted also for the idol standards; Nos. 236 and 237, however, have curved horns. Finally, it may be noted that presumably the central figure is a deity or powerful demon, but despite speculation, the identity eludes us, especially since both males and females are represented.

A number of examples are plain and relatively simple, like No. 228, consisting only of the central figure flanked by the heads and necks of animals and with no arms. This specific form seems to continue to represent the motif of the idol standards, the isolated head held by the animals. It is the length of the neck-body that distinguishes No. 228 from the idol standards, and it is primarily this feature that suggests that it be included with the master-of-animals standards. On No. 228 we also see paws attached to the animals grasping the central figure; paws in a similar position occur on other examples of the same type (viz. Potratz 1955b, pl. ix; Moorey 1971a, no. 175). If this observation is correct, and if indeed the master-of-animals standards developed from the idol standards, then the type exhibited by No. 228 would be a transition form connecting the two types of standards.

Other standards were cast with additional elements, the most important being the addition of hands on the central figure that now unequivocally grasps the animals in a true master-of-animals gesture. Other embellishments include the addition of a human head or mask on both sides of the central figure's body, as seen on most of our examples. Very common are cocks' heads

that were placed facing down at the back of the animals' necks (viz. Nos. 231–237; see Nos. 349, 350, note 1). Examples exist in which the number of human heads on the central figure's body is increased to two, three, or four, each placed one above the other. Nos. 231 and 232 have small bumps below their waists, the former within an incised triangle. Although the central figure of No. 230 is bearded, it has a triangle incised below the waist; whether this is a pubic attribute or an indication of the division of the animal haunches is not clear.

A further embellishment was the addition of cocks' heads or whole animals placed along the haunches of the animals (Nos. 235–237). No. 237 is elaborately decorated with a thick banded waist and a vertical herringbone pattern in relief above the legs. In the great majority of examples, all the heads and animals are stylistically executed, and in some cases it is not possible to define the animals as felines or some other creature; the animal heads of Nos. 232 and 235 seem, in fact, to be those of cocks. As with the finials and the idol standards, the master-of-animals standards have the same features on both sides, indicating that there is no front and back and that they were meant to be viewed from either side.

An indeterminate number of master-of-animals standards exist in many collections, and, as already noted, in many varieties. Because of the variety of forms in existence, it is surely neither a casual nor a gratuitous suggestion that an unknown number of standards may be outright modern forgeries, or modern pastiches made up from several broken parts and skillfully joined, or even aftercasts made from genuine (or modern) pieces. To decide correctly in all instances whether or not a given standard is ancient is therefore a difficult process, all the more so for those unique and odd pieces within the already odd (to modern eyes) corpus. Inasmuch as only three examples have to date been excavated, there is no significant corpus of material to serve as a guide; short of laboratory analyses, subjective decisions usually determine one's conclusions (see above, "Animal Finials, Master-of-Animals Standards, and Decorated Tubes," note 5).

Although one may state with conviction that the standards played a major role in the religious life of the Luristan culture and that they were placed in tombs (and possibly elsewhere), their function and meaning ultimately remain unknown. With regard to chronology, I believe that one can only suggest that the Museum's pieces are all to be dated to the eighth–seventh centuries B.C.; if any are earlier, we do not know with certainty.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 232: Dimand 1931, 48, fig. 1. No. 233: *Treasures* 1970, no. 17. No. 234: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 75. No. 237: D. Carter 1957, pl. 27b.

NOTES

1. Cu: 84.0%, Sn: 14.7%, Pb: .700%, Zn: .009% (1986).
2. Cu: 92.3%, Sn: 6.93%, Pb: .245%, Zn: .036% (1986).

238. Anthropomorphic "Fertility" Tube

32.161.14; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 16.8 cm

239. Anthropomorphic "Fertility" Tube

57.51.47; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian
Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of
Cora Timken Burnett, 1956
Bronze; height 12.2 cm

THE DISTINCT relationship of No. 238 to the master-of-animals standards is immediately observable. Here there has occurred an attenuation (not necessarily chronological), for the emphasis is primarily on the central figure; the flanking animals have been minimized so that only the cocks' heads—normally placed on the animals' necks—project as protomes from the figure's shoulders. In style and details (viz. the head on the stomach) the figure is the same as the more completely furnished standards; in form it has become basically a tube, an anthropomorphic tube. Furthermore, while the sex of the figures of the master-of-animals standards is either often not clear or only sometimes a female, most of the examples of the present type are distinctly female, depicted in the long-existing Near Eastern fashion of the nude female clasping her breasts (cf. Moorey 1981, no. 262). This motif is usually assumed to represent an essence associated with fertility, hence the term fertility tube used to define these objects.

Potratz (1955b, 30f.) saw these (and other similar tube figures) as the penultimate stage of the whole finial-standard series, produced at a time when the designer-craftsmen no longer needed to depict subsidiary features, which would be understood without the physical representation. Whether his analysis is correct is by no means certain, in spite of its attractiveness and even logic, and Moorey (1971a, 144f., 162) considers them to be contemporary, parallel examples of the master-of-animals standards.

No. 239 is another example of the anthropomorphic fertility tube standard, one simpler in form than No. 238. This figure holds her hands seemingly to her throat, but surely it is her breasts that are clasped, for a certain pubic triangle is visible lest any doubt exists about gender. At the same time, there are examples of this type where beards and penises are depicted, demonstrating



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that both females and males, deities or demons, were considered appropriate to represent. A projection at the base must represent feet.

For references to both types see Moorey 1971a, 163; Moorey 1974a, 113ff.; Amiet 1976, 90, nos. 222–24.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 238: D. Carter 1957, pl. 26b.

240. Anthropomorphic Tube

32.161.17; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 11.1 cm

241. Anthropomorphic Tube

32.161.18; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 9.8 cm

242. Anthropomorphic Tube

30.97.10; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 8.2 cm

THESE THREE tubular objects are the most simplified, or abstract, depending on one's point of view, of all the finial-standard types discussed so far. That they are related to the anthropomorphic "fertility" tubes is clear; here only the Janus heads are represented on the tube, the body and animals are excluded. To Potratz (1955b,

33) they are the culminating stage of the process that began with the animal finials, obtaining an abstraction where only the head need be shown, the full scene implied. Again, however, it must be stated that there is no independent verification of this suggestion, i.e., whether the tubes are indeed a culmination of the series or a parallel, contemporary form.

C. Goff (1978, 38, fig. 14:26; *Iran* 8 [1970], 176) found a tube with a Janus head and a "screw" base in a seventh-century level at Baba Jan;¹ the object is exactly like those under review here and is to date the only example excavated. Note that the lion-masks at the base of the tube of No. 242 (cf. also Porada 1958, no. 39) may indicate a late date for the type (see Nos. 270, 271).

For parallels and references to other stray examples see Moorey 1971a, 164f. A unique example, where the whole body of the figure forms the tube, exists in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Potratz 1968, pl. XLVIII, fig. 289; cf. also No. 247).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 242: Rostovtzeff 1931a, pl. 5:2.

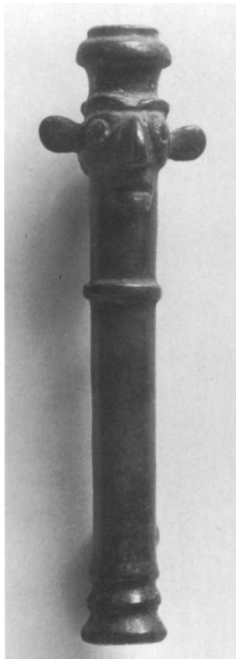
NOTE

1. Even from Goff's brief mention of the findspot of this object, deposited in the "latest phase of II" above a level that contained Nush-i Jan wares and fibulae, it seems certain that the tube comes from a level to be dated not pre-seventh century B.C. (see above, "Animal Finials . . .," note 1). Cf. De Waele 1982, 104, 114, no. 122, who mis-dates the Baba Jan tube find by a century, and then, ignoring his own eighth-century chronology, dates tube no. 122 to the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

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243. Finial or Standard Support

32.161.15; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 17.8 cm

244. Finial or Standard Support

32.161.16; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 13.3 cm

245. Finial or Standard Support

32.161.19; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 8.8 cm

246. Finial or Standard Support

49.78.2; Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1949
Bronze; height 9 cm

THESE OBJECTS are shaped more or less like a bottle with a long neck that is sometimes grooved and has a flat rim at the top and a grooved base. They are mounts



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or supports for both the heraldic animal finials and the master-of-animals standards, which were placed above them and connected by a thin tube that passed through the hollow (Amiet 1976, 88f.; De Waele 1982, 120f.). Although the overall size and respective length of the neck and bulging body may vary from piece to piece, the shape of all is basically the same.

Aside from examples excavated with their finials and standards at Bard-i Bal and Tuttalban (see above, in "Animal Finials . . ."), isolated examples have also been excavated in Luristan in the debris at Tang-i Hamamlan (Thrane 1964, 158, fig. 5), and in a tomb at Gul Khanan Murdah (vanden Berghe 1980, 46f., figs. 20:8, 21). In the latter case, the support has two caprid protomes on the neck; surprisingly, no finial or standard was found with it.¹

Many strays exist in numerous collections, some with protomes and human heads in relief (Moorey 1971a, 166ff.; Moorey 1981, nos. 277–92; Legrain 1934, no. 8; De Waele 1982, 117ff., nos. 129–40).

NOTE

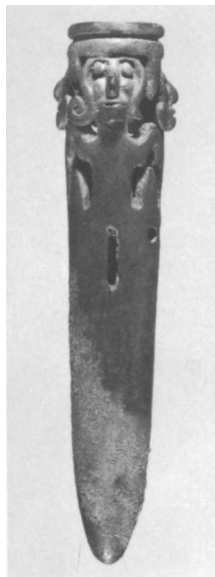
1. Note that in Muscarella 1979a, 9, no. 13, I challenged the authenticity of the support of no. 18 in the 1960 sale catalogue by J. Eisenberg (*A Catalog of Luristan Bronzes and Early Islamic Pottery*, Royal Athena Galleries, New York): it may indeed be ancient and I retract the charge.

247. Peg (?)

64.139; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1964
Bronze;¹ height: 15.6 cm

THIS PEGLIKE object is conical in shape with a rounded base and is hollow cast. The top has a design consisting of three humans depicted from the waist up holding hands; arms and torsos are flat and plain. The areas below the arms are openwork as are narrow rectangular sections centered one below each torso; the latter may indicate female genitalia. The three identical faces have small, closely spaced round eyes, prominent noses, and thin, pouting mouths; hair consists of a flat section at top and spiral curls falling to cheek level. A molding over the heads forms the rim; a single round hole exists about one-third down from the top.

This piece is unique, for no parallels are known to me. Yet the faces are at home in the art of Luristan (viz. Nagel 1963, pl. XLV:89; Potratz 1968, pl. xx, figs. 101–02), as are equally the multiple faces (viz. Moorey 1971a, no. 190A). At least two significant items of information are unknown: the function of the object and the meaning of the figures. The non-freestanding rounded base suggests that the unit was set into something for support, and its hollowness and the round hole (for a pin or rivet?) suggest that something was set into it. Whether the



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figures are simply holding hands or dancing may in either case suggest a cultic value, but beyond this suggestion we cannot go.

In a formal manner the peg reminds us of the hollow Janus-headed tubes (Nos. 240–242), although there is a functional difference between the two types of objects. In any event, the concept of an isolated head on a peg or tube is probably not unrelated either in iconography or in ideology.

NOTE

1. Cu: 75.5%, Sn: 18.7%, As: 0.2%, Pb: 1.2%, Fe: 0.8%, Zn: not detected. The corrosion buildup consists of a green patina, malachite, lying over a very hard, thin black layer that lies directly over the metal, with no noticeable cuprite layer in between. The corrosion pattern is consistent with that of high-tin bronzes and reflects a long age. For other high-tin Luristan bronzes, see No. 196, note 1.

248. Zoomorphic Tube

1980.324.6; Gift of Louise Crane, 1980
Bronze; height 9.9 cm

249. Zoomorphic Tube

1970.182; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1970
Bronze;¹ height 8.6 cm

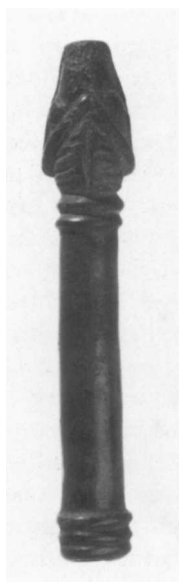
THESE TWO zoomorphic tubes are clearly artifacts from the same tradition as the anthropomorphic tubes discussed above. Their function, as with the latter, remains unknown (cf. De Waele 1982, 114, 214f., who inexplicably calls them “manches de chalumeaux”).

No. 248 terminates in a moderately stylized animal's head, probably a ram, cast on the same plane as the tube (cf. the frontal position of the anthropomorphic tubes). This tube is plain except for a screwlike molding at the base. The tube of No. 249 is decorated with the screwlike moldings at both ends and at the midpoint; in the upper zone thus formed are, in relief, two typical Luristan stylized rampant felines facing each other and in the lower are two similarly stylized squatting horned animals who also face each other; the horned creatures are separated at front and rear by double spirals.

For parallels to No. 248, see Moorey 1971a, no. 194; for No. 249, see Moorey 1971a, no. 192; for No. 248, see also De Waele 1982, 214f., nos. 352–54. No. 249, at least, may not predate the seventh century B.C.

NOTE

1. Cu: 86.0%, Sn: 13.5%, Pb: .083%, Zn: .029% (1986).



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Side view of
No. 248.

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Horse Cheekpieces

IN ADDITION to animal finials, master-of-animals standards, and the disk-headed and openwork pins, one of the most characteristic and prevalent types of objects associated with the corpus of Luristan bronzes are the figured horse cheekpieces. While it is impossible to know even approximately how many are in existence in so many collections and shops (leaving aside the issue of forgeries and aftercasts), it may be stated without reservation that more examples of these objects are known from Luristan than from any other area in the Near East, or any other area or culture within Iran itself (Potratz 1966, 124, 133f.; see also Nos. 147 and 148 above). Figured horse cheekpieces are unequivocally indigenous Iranian creations. Paralleling their quantity is the great variety of forms that distinguishes the Luristan examples, the majority of which are in the shape of animals, real and otherworldly.

The great quantity of cheekpieces puzzled Potratz, one of the leading scholars on the subject, who, in spite of their prevalence and their existence along with other forms of horse trappings in Luristan, believed that the area was not suitable for rearing horses. He therefore suggested that the people of Luristan manufactured cheekpieces for areas immediately outside the region, that they maintained strictly an export industry (Potratz 1966, 133; Potratz 1968, 75f.; see also A. Godard 1962, 77, and Ghirshman 1974, 38, for comments about exporting Luristan bronzes west). To document the hypothesis, Potratz referred to alleged finds of Luristan bronzes in Cappadocia (see the above discussion "Luristan Bronzes") and archaeological finds from Samos. He also cited representations of figured horse cheekpieces depicted in use on Assyrian reliefs of the seventh century as evidence that Luristan exported the objects to Assyria. However, these Assyrian examples are local Assyrian copies, not imports. Significantly, aside from a few Luristan objects found on Samos, not a single Luristan object, including horse cheekpieces and trappings, has ever been excavated anywhere in the Near East or, also significantly, in areas of Iran outside of Luristan.¹ These facts surely preclude Potratz's suggestions (as well as those of Godard and Ghirshman) about the western export of Luristan bronzes.

Given the quantity of material to hand and its undoubted provenience, notwithstanding the paucity of excavated pieces, it is an ineluctable conclusion that the horse was a major element in the culture of Luristan.

However, as Amiet (1976, 55) correctly noted, we need not infer that every individual Lur had a horse—or a chariot. Nor must we assume from the quantity of the cheekpieces that the ancient Lurs were nomads like the Scythians, a position taken by many scholars. It is more plausible to posit that the cheekpieces were the property of an aristocratic, or state-supported, class of cavalry (or chariot) warriors.

Horse bits and cheekpieces have been excavated from first-millennium contexts in Iran outside of Luristan at Hasanlu (see Nos. 92–94 above), Dinkha Tepe (Muscarella 1974b, 65ff., 78, fig. 36:69, 1026), Giyan (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pl. v:6), Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xxv:1; Potratz 1966, 52f., fig. 53a, b), and at Marlik with horse teeth (Negahban 1964, 15f.: date?; see also fig. 134; Negahban 1983, 90). These examples are all of the simple bar type, and the mouthpiece is broken, or jointed, not rigid. The quantity recorded from these sites—at Hasanlu over forty, at Dinkha Tepe and Giyan, two and one respectively—cannot be meaningfully compared to that from Luristan, however. The characteristic Luristan horse bits, on the other hand, are distinguished both by the figured cast cheekpieces and by the connecting rigid mouthpiece.² The cheekpieces have an opening in the center for the mouthpiece canons and loops on the top or the rear to receive straps for the horse's head. Many cheekpieces, probably all, have spikes on the reverse side. Potratz (1966, 104f., 110, 138) suggested that the spikes were used in one of two ways, either as "Schärfungen des Zaumes," i.e., as a method of controlling the horses, or to secure a leather backing (also A. Godard 1931, 80; Hančar 1956, 508, n. 431; Nagel 1963, 49). Littauer (1969, 289f., mentioning only Potratz's second possibility) and Moorey (1971a, 106) have correctly observed that the spikes could only have been used as goads, for efficient, albeit brutal, control (see also Dussaud 1938/1964, 258). Most of the cheekpieces are in relief only on the obverse side, with the heads usually cast in the round; this, together with the presence of spikes on the reverse and loops on the top or rear, suggest that a closed mold or lost-wax process was used (cf. Potratz 1966, 144). In probably all instances, the ends of the mouthpiece are curled in opposite directions, a feature characteristic of Luristan horse bits.³

Cheekpieces have been excavated in Luristan at only four sites. A fragmented iron example from Baba Jan (Goff 1969, 123f., fig. 7) is a bar type with a twisted

broken mouthpiece (a similar pair of mouthpieces, but with no cheekpieces, derives from Gul Khanan Murdah: vanden Berghe 1980, 46f., fig. 20:11). Vanden Berghe (1967, 57; 1968c, 108) records horse bits from War Kabud, but no descriptions are given (apparently not figured types, see vanden Berghe 1981, 65; but now see De Waele 1982, 69, no. 73). A complete horse bit of trapezoidal, or X shape, was excavated in an undated and isolated context at Tang-i Hamamlan (Thrane 1964, 158, fig. 5); the cheekpieces have spikes, and the mouthpiece is rigid with the ends curled in opposite directions. And Ali Safaraz records horse bits from Xatunban in eastern Luristan, at least one of which has winged-goat (mouflon?) cheekpieces (Iran Bastan Museum 1977, 41f., nos. 384, 386);⁴ if actually from the site, this cheekpiece represents the first excavated example of a figured type; its date remains unknown.

The sorry state of affairs within Iranian archaeology and the lack of solid information about the characteristic Luristan cheekpieces are both illustrated by the fact that up to the present the only evidence for the chronological range of the cheekpieces is the representations of figured cheekpieces on early seventh-century Assyrian reliefs. These depict chariot horses wearing bits that relate specifically to those Luristan cheekpieces cast in the form of a horse (see Nos. 253, 254), and scholars who have studied the horse bits have by necessity used the Assyrian representations to establish a chronology for the Luristan examples. However, both Porada (1965, 87) and Moorey (1971a, 115) have noted that we do not know whether the Assyrian examples, which are fairly naturalistically rendered, reflect the beginning stage or a later development (as Amiet 1976, 60) of the parallel Luristan pieces, or whether both the Assyrian and Luristan bits were manufactured contemporaneously over a short period of time, with variations merely reflecting different workshops. Nevertheless, all recent scholarship argues that the Assyrian evidence supplies a late-eighth–seventh-century date for at least the horse-figured cheekpieces.⁵

The Assyrian cheekpieces, all probably from the time of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.; see Calmeyer 1969a, 113f., Group 52d'–g', for a convenient listing), exhibit important stylistic differences when compared to the Luristan types. The Assyrian examples depict a galloping horse, rather than a walking one, and lack the groundline that is always present on the Luristan examples. The Assyrian cheekpieces are not imports from Luristan, but rather adaptations of Luristan types (see Herrmann 1968, 13, n. 53; Calmeyer 1969a, 114; Moorey 1971a, 115; but cf. Potratz 1966, 134, 163, and Amiet 1963, 13, who believe them to be representations of imported pieces from Luristan). In addition to the relief representations, actual examples of the same Assyrian type have been exca-

vated at Nimrud, Lindos, and Samos (Herrmann 1968, 23, figs. 17, 19; Calmeyer 1969a, 114; Jantzen 1972, 64f., pl. 61). These were either imported from Assyria itself, or adapted from the Assyrian form (see Moorey 1971a, 115; Moorey 1971b, 123f.; Muscarella 1977b, 40). Calmeyer (1969a, 114) accepts the Lindos and Samos examples as Assyrian but believes the Nimrud one is not: it is provincial; and Herrmann (1968, 27ff.) thinks the Lindos example alone was adapted from a Luristan, not an Assyrian model. Aside from their chronological value, the Assyrian cheekpieces are significant because they attest to a certain and rare example of Luristan influence outside its borders.

Much has been written about the function of the horse bits concerning whether they were manufactured to be used in daily affairs or only for funerary purposes. When Godard published the first major work on the Luristan bronzes, he recorded the opinion of some local informants who claimed the horse bits were found in graves placed under the heads of the deceased (A. Godard 1931, 78; see also Y. Godard 1971, 26; Stark 1934/1947, 37). Ghirshman (1962b, 168; 1964, 60) reinforced Godard's assumption by noting that the locals called the horse bits *zir-sar*, "under the head." Moorey (1971a, 107) agreed, claiming the positioning under the head was a "well established fact" (see also Carless 1965, 27; Belloni 1969, 18; De Waele 1982, 80). Notwithstanding these claims, no archaeologist has yet reported witnessing the excavation of a bit in situ (we await the report on War Kabud and Xatunban), and the question must ultimately remain open with regard to Luristan. The only example known to me of a recorded excavation of a bit under a head occurred at a site adjacent to Luristan, at Tepe Giyan in an Iron III tomb context, i.e., contemporary with the time of the Luristan cheekpiece floruit (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, 18, pl. 8:3). While the Giyan evidence allows us to recognize that the practice existed in Iran, the hearsay evidence for Luristan only allows us to accept as tentative its existence there.

A. U. Pope (1930a, 388f.) maintained, on the basis of a dealer's claim, that horses with bits in their mouths were buried with the dead in Luristan, an assumption accepted by Legrain (1934, 5f.). However, in his review of A. Godard 1931, Pope (1932a, 381) reversed himself and accepted Godard's rejection of horse burials (see also Pope, in *ILN*, 22 October 1932, 613, and Speleers 1932, 93), now candidly stating that the dealer he cited did not himself actually see horses in graves. Pope here went even further, also disputing the claim that bits were placed under the head of the deceased, because no one had actually seen them in that position! Stark (1932, 498ff.) noted that horse burials were commonly reported locally, but she found no evidence for the claim (cf.

Strommenger, "Grabbeigabe," *RLA* III [1957–71], 607; Burney and Lang 1972, 119; horse-teeth burials occur at Marlik, see above).

Indeed, to date I know of but one horse burial recorded from a cemetery excavation in Luristan. Vanden Berghe (1968b, 120, Dutch text) notes that in the neighborhood of Grave 53 at War Kabud, Iron III date, he discovered a horse skeleton. He gives no details to indicate whether the burial was separate or associated with Grave 53. Nevertheless, it seems that we have a bona fide horse burial from a Luristan cemetery.⁶

Accepting the horse bits as deriving solely from graves, scholars have been divided on the issue of whether they were made specifically for the use of the dead, as a symbol of a horse or chariot that would convey them on their journey into the hereafter, or whether they were the personal property of the grave's occupant, deposited with him like any other item used in daily affairs. Conclusions have usually been based either on subjective arguments or on observations to determine if wear is evident in the central opening of the cheekpiece, implying use. Rostovtzeff (1931a, 49) and Hančar (1956, 509) believed that because of their weight and size the cheekpieces were made solely for the dead and were not practical objects; Ghirshman (1962b, 168; 1964, 60) supported this position, claiming that no example examined by him showed signs of wear (cited by Porada 1965, 87). A larger number of scholars have disagreed with this interpretation, some indeed finding evidence of wear (see Read 1918, 3) or pointing to the existence of functional spikes and to the use of figured horse cheekpieces evidenced on the Assyrian reliefs, albeit there apparently confined to royal horses (A. Godard 1931, 79f., although he accepted the ornate examples as possibly made for funerary use; see also vanden Berghe 1981, 51; Pope 1932a, 382; Dussaud 1938/1964, 257f.; Potratz 1955a, 196; Potratz 1966, 144; Littauer 1969, 289f.; Moorey 1971a, 107; Moorey 1971b, 124; Moorey 1974a, 66; Amiet 1976, 56; De Waele 1982, 80). To my mind, the bits were used practically and, obviously, were also placed in graves for reasons not clear to us. Moorey (1971b, 124f.; 1979, 23, 25) and Dussaud (1938/1964, 258) expressed the belief that the heavy examples were used for chariot horses. Later Moorey (1981, 15) suggested

that the horse bits were primarily used on cavalry horses and "much more rarely" with chariot horses. All the representations of figured horse bits on the Assyrian reliefs occur on chariot horses, which might be a clue to their use in Iran. However, if this is the case, there must have been a great many chariots in ancient Luristan, a situation for which there is little supporting evidence.

Of some interest is the fact that many of the stray examples exist as single pieces without mate or mouthpiece. Whether they were found in this way or whether broken up for sale by the plunderers is not known.

NOTES

1. See above, "The Luristan Bronzes" and "Animal Finials, Master-of-Animals Standards . . .," for references to alleged finds of these Luristan objects outside of Iran. Note the bronze bicorporal pendants (Amiet 1976, fig. 43, and here Nos. 361, 362), which, if they are Luristan productions, would be rare examples of Luristan objects excavated in Iran outside of Luristan.

2. It is not clear if all the bar cheekpieces with a broken mouthpiece terminating in a hand are in fact also from Luristan, as the only excavated examples come from a non-Luristan site, Sialk (Potratz 1966, pls. LIV:128, LV:129, 130, 132; Moorey 1971a, 111f., with references, nos. 112–14; see also pp. 126f.). However, an example in the Louvre with animal-head terminals on the canon (A. Godard 1931, pl. XL:166; Potratz 1966, fig. 59a, b) is, on the basis of style, surely from Luristan and documents the presence of the type there. A. Godard (1931, pl. XL:165) claimed (without verification) that examples of the Sialk type came from Luristan.

3. One encounters, from time to time, bits with mouthpieces in place but with the ends bent in the same direction, an indication of a modern mounting; but see Nagel 1963, 50, no. 75, for a possible ancient exception. Dussaud (1938/1964, 258) argued that the mouthpieces with loops in opposite directions indicate they served chariot horses.

4. Iran Bastan Museum 1977, no. 386, records four bits but without description. On page 41, it is revealed that the find of the figured bit was fortuitous, and it is not clear from the little information given whether controls existed.

5. See, however, Hančar 1956, 509, for an earlier dating; note also that Moorey in 1971b, 124, and 1974a, 73, modifying his position in his 1971a, 115, suggested that the Luristan examples were probably in existence a century before their use in Assyria, a position impossible to defend or argue against: except that the Luristan examples would have had to be in use for some time before attracting attention in Assyria.

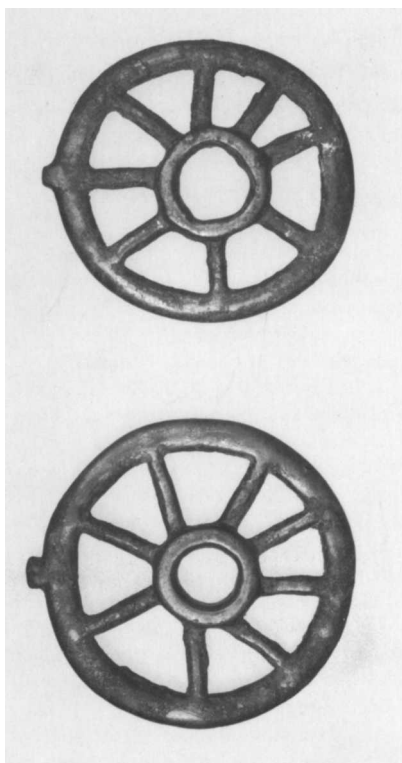
6. For horse burials in Iran and elsewhere, see Muscarella 1974b, 78f., n. 16; Hauptmann 1983, 260ff., 268. Add also the isolated horse burial from Baba Jan (Goff 1969, 123f.).

CHEEKPIECES AND HORSE-HARNESS TRAPPINGS

250. Wheel-Shaped Cheekpieces

32.161.25d, e; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932

Bronze; diameter 6.8 cm



250

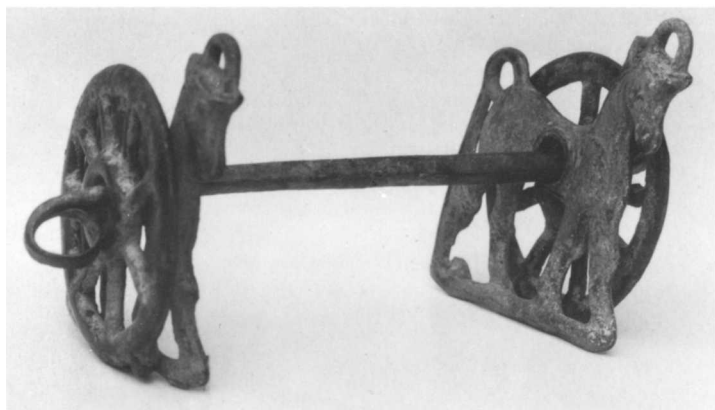


FIG. 9. Pastiche of No. 250 and MMA 32.161.25a-c (see Fig. 10).

THESE TWO openwork, wheel-shaped objects with eight spokes and a central opening are probably horse cheekpieces. Both are the same except for the position of a small projection, in one case a continuation of a spoke, in the other not; whether this difference suggests they are not a true pair is not clear. There is no loop for suspension on either wheel, which further supports the interpretation that they are cheekpieces.

Wheel-shaped cheekpieces are first attested in the second half of the second millennium B.C. in Egypt and Palestine, as well as in the Aegean, and are among the earliest metal examples of cheekpieces known (Potratz 1966, 110ff.; Herrmann 1968, 9f., n. 33; Moorey 1971a, 109ff.; Littauer and Crouwel 1979, 87, fig. 48). Spoked, openwork examples like these have been reported in small quantities from Luristan. Although none has been excavated, the type itself is objectively attested for that region inasmuch as there are examples embellished with typical Luristan creatures (viz. Moortgat 1932, no. 8; Nagel 1963, 22f., 50ff., pls. xxxvi-xxxvii, no. 69: with its mouthpiece, challenged as not original by Moorey 1971a, 131; Potratz 1966, pl. fig. 117d; Moorey 1971a, no. 136; Moorey 1974a, 69, no. 36, with its mouthpiece). Parenthetically it may be noted here that two stray wheel-shaped cheekpieces of second-millennium type that have been attributed to Luristan (Potratz 1966, 112, pl. figs. 118, 119; Moorey 1971b, 121, 124; Littauer 1969, 299) have in fact no objective verification for such a provenience.¹ One, however, has the ends of the mouthpiece curled in opposite directions, a characteristic of Luristan bits.

When acquired the two wheels were in place, free-swinging, between two horse/onager-shaped cheekpieces and the ends of a mouthpiece (see Fig. 9). Upon renewed examination in 1957 it was recognized that the composition was a modern construction, a pastiche, and the units were taken apart (in Fig. 9 note also the evidence of the tampered mouthpiece ends). It is further to be observed that the animals are cast fully in the round, an unusual feature for ancient Luristan cheekpieces, and which suggests that they are not ancient (see Nos. 253, 254 and Fig. 10); and the animals' tails depend from the rein ring on their haunches, not from their rear ends.²

Two very similar animal cheekpieces are known to me (from photographs): Speleers 1931, 86, fig. 21, and Wijngaarden 1954, pl. VIII, acquired in 1932 (both cast in the round?), but these animals have their tails in the appropriate position.

Although Moorey (1971a, 110f.) seems to have accepted the mounting of our pastiche, he challenges a similar one, i.e., wheels together with figured cheekpieces, in Brussels (Potratz 1966, 111, fig. 46c; cf. Amiet 1976, 64, and vanden Berghe 1981, 51, no. 1c, who accept the combination; vanden Berghe's fig. 14 is a horse bit of the same form as the Brussels example but it has no wheels). There is clearly confusion on the issue but it seems highly uncertain that wheel-shaped cheekpieces were ever used together with figured ones.

For other wheel-shaped cheekpieces reported from Luristan, some with a projecting stub (see also No. 257), see A. Godard 1931, pl. XXXI:113; Moorey 1971a, nos. 110, 111 (note that in Moorey 1971b, 122, he seems to take a negative position with regard to these objects being cheekpieces, a position apparently reversed from 1971a). Dating is not secured, but there is no special reason for accepting Potratz's suggestion that they are ninth century B.C.

NOTES

1. Moorey (1971a, 110) attributed these same bits to the Caucasus, but on the same page he attributed the similar Brussels cheekpiece (see text) both to the Caucasus and to Luristan.

2. In December 1985, Pieter Meyers examined these pieces with a microscope and believed them to be modern.

251. Trapezoidal Cheekpiece

58.30.7; Gift of Walter Hauser, 1958
Bronze; length 15.1 cm

A STYLIZED horse's head and a long neck adorned with five hair tufts is cast in the round together with a flat, openwork X-shaped bar that is concavely curved on its upper and lower edges; on the reverse are four spikes, one at each corner. The apparent mate to this piece exists in a New York collection.

Bits of this shape are fairly common and two basic forms exist. One is plain, consisting of the X-shaped bar only; the other has an animal head protome cast to one corner of the bar, i.e., our example; the animal head is usually that of a horse or a goat. Where the animal is a horse it usually faces forward, whereas a goat may face forward or sideways toward the viewer.

Only one example of this type has been excavated. It is a complete plain pair together with its mouthpiece that was excavated at Tang-i Hamamlan in Luristan

(Thrane 1964, 158, fig. 5), thus objectively establishing a Luristan provenience for the type, although furnishing no chronological information. Potratz (1966, 103ff.) catalogued the type as part of a general Near Eastern–Egyptian group that first appeared in the mid-second millennium B.C. He and others (viz. Herrmann 1968, 13, n. 50; Moorey 1971a, 108; Moorey 1974a, 68; Moorey 1981, 16; Amiet 1976, 55; vanden Berghe 1981, 50) believe that the Luristan examples are similar to Assyrian bits represented on ninth-century B.C. Assyrian reliefs (Hrouda 1965, pl. 29:3), and thereby dated the Luristan examples to the same period. Calmeyer (1969a, 28) alone originally dated them earlier, to the late second millennium B.C., based on his interpretation of the date of the Tang-i Hamamlan finds; in 1972 he redated them to the early first millennium (Calmeyer 1972a, 51). I do not share the view that the Assyrian representations are necessarily the same as those from Luristan, except that both are flat, and therefore the former do not help date the latter.

While it is possible that the plain examples may be earlier than the zoomorphic ones, it is not certain that the latter are necessarily earlier (or much earlier) than the other Luristan figured cheekpieces which seem to belong to the eighth–seventh centuries B.C.

For discussion and references to parallel pieces see Potratz 1966, 107, nos. 16–22; Calmeyer 1969a, 76f.; Moorey 1971a, 108f.; Calmeyer 1972a, 51f., no. 51; sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, no. 355; and Merhav 1981, no. 58 for a superb, late example (unique but seemingly ancient).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Treasures 1970, 34, no. 19.

251





252

252. V-Shaped Cheekpiece

56.42.2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1956
Bronze;¹ width 10.8 cm, height 6 cm

THIS CHEEKPIECE is distinguished by its V shape, formed by the juncture of two addorsed birds' heads and necks. The birds could be cocks, to judge from the head comb (cf. Nos. 231–238), but note the ears that suggest they are griffins (cf. Moorey 1971a, 123f., no. 127). The eyes are hollow but may not have contained inlays. A loop to hold reins is on each neck and the flat reverse has five spikes.

A number of stray examples with addorsed birds' heads, cocks or others, similar to this in V shape are known from various collections (Potratz 1952, pl. XIII:47, 51; Potratz 1966, 138f., fig. 60, pl. fig. 133; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. IX:39; Speleers 1932, 93, fig. 13; Moorey 1981, no. 134; De Waele 1982, 73, no. 81); others have two different heads addorsed, a horse and a cock (Potratz 1952, pl. XIV:52; Moorey 1971a, 113, no. 116; Moorey 1981, no. 133); others have a human figure at the juncture (Potratz 1952, 29f., pl. XIII:47; Amiet 1976, no. 108). On the basis of style, it is probable that all these examples are from Luristan, where the cock was a commonly depicted creature.

It has been argued, correctly I believe, that cheekpieces of this V shape were the source for the similarly shaped examples with addorsed horses' heads excavated at Delphi and Olympia in Greece (Herrmann 1968, 3ff., 6ff., figs. 1, 9–11; Moorey 1971a, 113; Moorey 1971b, 123; Muscarella 1977b, 35, figs. 8, 9). Potratz considered these addorsed-head cheekpieces as examples of Luristan art that continued into the Achaemenian period (see also Ghirshman 1964, 59); the idea, however, was not unique to Luristan, and direct continuity from that area cannot be proven.²

No firm evidence exists for dating these types, other than in the range for Luristan bits in general. Herrmann

(1968, 24ff.) believes that the Greek examples are seventh century B.C. in date (see also Calmeyer 1969a, 115) which, if copied from the Luristan type, means the latter are earlier; but how much we do not know. Surely Nagel's (1963, 45, n. 23) late dating of these bits to the Achaemenian period is wrong; they are probably eighth–seventh century in date.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1977b, fig. 9; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 72.

NOTES

1. Cu: 87.8%, Sn: 11.6%, Pb: .221%, Zn: .001% (1986).

2. Note that other forms of the addorsed-animals cheekpiece were made in Iran outside of Luristan itself: see No. 354.

253. Horse-Figured Cheekpieces

56.131.1, 2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1956
Bronze; length of each 8.9 cm

254. Horse-Figured Cheekpieces

57.51.40a, b; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956
Bronze; length of each 13 cm

THESE TWO pairs of cheekpieces are cast in the form of walking horses. Their obverses are in relief, in particular the rumps and shoulders, while the reverses are hollow except for the hooves of No. 254 and the heads, which are almost fully in the round; goad spikes are on the backs of each pair. No. 253 has no preserved mouthpiece, but the two horses are apparently a pair and they face appropriately in opposite directions. No. 254 was acquired with a typical rigid mouthpiece with its ends curled in opposite directions, one of which is crushed; whether it is original is uncertain. The horses of No. 253 have a broad mane, while those of No. 254 have curls on the forehead and on the back and side of the neck; the latter also have prominent ears.

Horse-figured cheekpieces are fairly common among the cheekpiece repertory. There is a variety in detailing and quality of execution and casting, and sometimes there is confusion in recognizing the animals as horses or onagers, or even as another creature (Potratz 1966, 160ff.; Moorey 1971a, 118; see Amiet 1976, 61, 63, no. 119, where a horse is called a bull). Dussaud (1938/1964, 258) and Moorey (1971a, 116; 1974a, 74f.) believe that the variety of horses reflects the representation of different breeds. While the majority of the heads of other animal-figured cheekpieces face the viewer, the horse almost invariably faces forward. That domesticated

horses are represented is indicated by the collars and in some cases apparently bells placed on the neck (Potratz 1966, 68f.).

As noted in the introduction above, horse-figured cheekpieces both are represented on seventh-century B.C. Assyrian reliefs and have been excavated at Nimrud, Samos, and Lindos, also of seventh-century B.C. date. To date they are the only examples of figured horse bits found outside of Iran, from whence they all ultimately derive. It is primarily these finds that furnish a late eighth–seventh-century date, specifically for those of the present type, but in general for the whole class of horse bits (the date of the figured example reported from Xatunban is still unknown: see above, “Horse Cheekpieces”). Different forms of execution could indicate either differences in time and/or different local workshops (Porada 1965, 87; Moorey 1971a, 116): as with so many Luristan bronze artifacts we have no objective controls on this issue.

The Metropolitan Museum also has in its collection a pair of horse-figured cheekpieces (32.161.25a–c; Fig. 10) and two single examples (32.161.26, 27; Figs. 11, 12). The pair was discussed in connection with No. 250, where it was suggested it was a forgery. MMA 32.161.27 (D. Carter 1957, 11, 25c; listed in Moorey 1971a, 118) is also cast in the round, and it is poorly executed (cf. Potratz 1966, fig. 70a, for an apparent ancient parallel piece). MMA 32.161.26, although not cast fully in the round, is not hollow at the rear and is also a poorly executed piece.¹ The problem of aftercasts or outright forgeries may exist for more cheekpieces than is realized (see Potratz 1963, 136ff.; Muscarella 1982a, 6ff.).²

It has been assumed that all cheekpieces in the form of horses are from Luristan. To my mind this assumption is not an established fact, and it must be realized



253a



253b





FIG. 10. MMA 32.161.25a-c; possible forgery.

that to date not a single example has been excavated anywhere in Iran. There are a number of cheekpieces cast fully in the round where a rider is placed on the horse, and although the horse may not be foreign to what we expect in Luristan art—they also have ground-lines—the riders do not readily fit into a Luristan background (see the discussion for No. 148). It thus would seem that certain forms of horse-figured cheekpieces may have had a distribution in Iran outside of Luristan (see also No. 147).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 254: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 74; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 40f., no. 56.

NOTES

1. In December 1985, Pieter Meyers, at my request, examined 32.161.25, 26, 27 (see also No. 250, note 2) with a microscope and believes them to be modern. For the existence of Luristan forgeries in the 1930s see the introduction above, "The Luristan Bronzes."

2. In Muscarella 1982a, 6ff., I published information concerning nine or ten examples of a horse cheekpiece in the form of an archer mounted in a chariot drawn by a lion, a number of which (in addition to one in the Metropolitan Museum) I suggested might be aftercasts. We now learn from De Waele (1982, 75, no. 83) that an example, one not recorded by me, exists in the Godard collection. I



FIG. 11. MMA 32.161.26; possible forgery.

FIG. 12. MMA 32.161.27; possible forgery.



knew of this example from its previous publications but assumed that it was an illustration of one already recorded by me. The unfortunate confusion occurred because the Godards did not previously reveal that they owned the object (not an uncommon practice on their part). Now see an example, complete and facing right, published in *L'Animal...* (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Fribourg, 1982), no. 1 (information from E. De Waele): wheel intact, horizontal spokes missing. We do not know whether it is a newly surfaced piece or one of the known but hitherto unpublished examples (Landesmuseum, Zurich?). [Now add Kevorkian (ex) collection: sale catalogue,

Sotheby's, New York, 24 November 1986, no. 164, one of thirteen objects, none illustrated: wheel and spokes intact, moves right.)

Potratz condemned two cheekpieces (1963, 139f., pls. xxxviii and xxxix): I am not sure either way if he is correct (it would be important to see their backs). For other strange-looking, horse-shaped cheekpieces, equally difficult to define chronologically, see Speleers 1931, 65, fig. 1, and Speleers 1932, 95, fig. 15A, B. See also Muscarella 1977a, 174, nos. 32–38; I am still puzzled by no. 30 there, a cheekpiece in Cincinnati, which I listed as warranting reservation because of its uniqueness, even by Luristan standards, and wondered whether it is a pastiche. I understand that laboratory analysis is being considered, which may resolve the problem of authenticity one way or the other. Surely the cheekpieces illustrated in the *Nouveau Drouot*, Paris, sale catalogue of 26–27 May 1983 ("Mors," p. 1 top, p. 2 top and bottom left), should not be accepted as ancient. Nor should the silver example formerly in the Brummer collection (sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet, New York, 20–23 April 1949, no. 52; it was acquired by Heeramanek but its present location is unknown). It is stylistically and formally wrong: in the thin bar (wire) terminating at each end in a coiled feline which is unconvincing, and in its overall construction.

255. Mouflon Cheekpieces

32.161.28,29; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932

Bronze; lengths 8.4, 7.8 cm, height of both 8 cm

THESE TWO cheekpieces facing in opposite directions appear to be a pair, although their mouthpiece is no longer extant. Judging from the form of the horns the animals are mouflons, represented in a realistic and natural manner. The obverse is smooth and plain, and there is a slight rise at the haunch; the hollow reverse has two loops and two goad spikes. The curve of the neck and the head, which faces the viewer, are subtly modeled, and the naturalistic rendition is one of the best examples of mouflon representations in Luristan art, whether on cheekpieces or other objects.

A fairly good number of mouflon cheekpieces is known to exist, sometimes everyday creatures, other times otherworldly, with wings (Potratz 1966, 153ff., figs. 64, 66; Potratz 1968, nos. 78, 79; Barbier 1970, no. 56; Waldbaum 1973, no. 7; sale catalogue, *Nouveau Drouot*, Paris, 26 June 1980, no. 85; Moorey 1971a, 118ff., nos. 121–23, the last piece surely modern; P. T. Craddock, in *MASCA Journal* 1, 5 [1980], 133). Porada (1964a, 27, 28) first dated examples like ours later than the horse-figured cheekpieces, to the late seventh–early sixth century B.C., but reversed herself in 1965 (87, pl. 20), when she considered them to be contemporary, a position with which one can be comfortable.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

D. Carter 1957, pl. 25d.

255a



255b





256

256. Winged-Sphinxes Cheekpieces

32.161.24; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; length 11.1 cm, height 11.5 cm

THE CHEEKPIECES are in the form of otherworldly creatures, striding winged sphinxes—or human-headed bulls. The mounting seems to be ancient, as there seems to be no tampering with the mouthpiece.¹ The wings are decorated with incised lines; they curve up toward the head, abutting the uplifted tail. The head, facing the viewer, has a prominent nose in a straight line from the forehead, large round eyes that appear to stare, horizontally positioned ears set below bulls' horns, Hathor curls, and a projection (a cap?) between the horns. The neck is elongated and is decorated with an incised collar. The obverse is fairly flat except for a raised shoulder; the reverse is hollow and has two loops and two goad spikes. There is an incised star on each creature's rump.

While not so common for cheekpieces as the horse, a natural animal, winged sphinxes are fairly abundant, some close to these in form and details (Potratz 1966, fig. 63a, c, d, pl. fig. 140a, b; Buhl 1974, no. 84; Waldbaum 1973, no. 8; cf. Moorey 1971a, no. 125; Moorey 1981, nos. 150–52). Other examples have a creature in zoomorphic juncture at the rump and they sometimes trample hares (Potratz 1966, fig. 63e, f, g; Amiet 1963, 12, fig. 2; cf. Canby 1974, no. 44; *Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin* 1, 3 [1951], 4); a related group has a winged sphinx with scallop decoration trampling hares separated by another scallop. At least one of this latter group is a forgery, probably an aftercast from a genuine example (cf. Muscarella 1982a): although stylistically correct, it both lacks corrosion and has a high percentage of zinc and lead (Moorey 1971a, 123, no. 126, and P. T. Craddock, in *MASCA Journal* 1, 5 [1980], 133). For others of this group (at least one of which is

genuine) see Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 33A; *Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin* 5, 2 (1957), 5, fig. 2; Moorey mentions one in the Schmidt collection; and there is another in a private collection in New York (which may in fact be the one published by Dussaud).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

D. Carter 1957, pl. 25b.

NOTE

1. The surfaces of the stylistically “correct” sphinxes are cloudy and puzzle me. I thought of the possibility that the pair is an aftercast—but presently remain unconvinced that this is indeed the case.

257. Horse-Harness Trapping

30.97.13; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 5.7 cm

258. Horse-Harness Trapping

32.161.30; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 9.5 cm

259. Horse-Harness Trapping

57.51.42; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956
Bronze; height 8.3 cm

260. Horse-Harness Trapping

30.97.11; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 7.9 cm

261. Horse-Harness Trapping

30.97.12; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; height 6.7 cm

262. Horse-Harness Trapping

32.161.31; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 5.7 cm

263. Horse-Harness Trapping

57.51.44; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956
Bronze; height 9.4 cm

THESE OBJECTS are considered by most scholars to have been associated with horse-harness equipment, although no one is certain concerning their specific function or position (Potratz 1968, 23; Moorey 1971a, 131f.; Amiet 1976, 64; A. Godard 1931, 68, believed them to be pendants). Moorey distinguished them from cheekpieces,



257



258



259



260



261



262



263

noting that the opening was too large to hold a mouthpiece; he suggested that they were harness rings placed on the shoulders of chariot horses. He further distinguished them from the wheel-shaped spoked rings with smaller openings (cf. No. 250), which apparently were used as cheekpieces (see also Nagel 1963, 23, nos. 70, 71; De Waele 1982, 77, n. 5). None has been scientifically excavated, nor are they represented in art. Although single examples seem to predominate in collections, it is certain that, as in the case of cheekpieces, the rings were made and used in pairs, one for each shoulder, and a number of apparent pairs exist (viz. Moorey 1971a, 128f., no. 135; Moorey 1974a, nos. 53—but not symmetrical, 56; Amiet 1976, 66, no. 130; Merhav 1981, 94, no. 61).

The mouflon, either the full figure, or more commonly just the head, in both instances with prominent gracefully curving horns, forms the major decorative element of these rings; most are naturalistically rendered. Rarely do we encounter birds, such as on No. 257 (e.g., A. Godard 1931, pl. xxxi:III; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 59D; De Waele 1982, 82f., no. 86; cf. Amiet 1976, no. 126: note also the stub on No. 257, which is a detail also found on No. 250), or other creatures (such as Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 39D; Orthmann 1982, 25f., no. 84). While some art historians might be tempted to see a chronological progression from the simple ring with a mouflon figure alone (No. 258), to one with an added subsidiary creature (No. 259), and to those with two

subsidiary creatures (Nos. 260–263), this approach could be highly misleading (as De Waele 1982, 82, 86, with too early dating), for there is no stylistic difference within the corpus. Put another way, the addition or lack of creatures might reflect specific polythetic meaning, not chronology. Some rings, not represented among our examples, are still more elaborate, having demon heads rather than mouflons, or demon heads added to the mouflon head (vanden Berghe 1973e, pl. xxx; Moorey 1974a, no. 56; Amiet 1963, 14, fig. 4; Potratz 1968, figs. 98, 99: note that those rings, like fig. 100, with a figure in the place of the central opening, most probably had a different function), and still others had double rings (Moorey 1974a, 91f., no. 56A).

All the examples here (except No. 257) have a small loop behind the mouflon, and all have parallels in many collections: For No. 258, see Moorey 1974a, no. 53. For No. 259, see Moorey 1971a, 129 for references and no. 135; Moorey 1974a, no. 54; Amiet 1976, no. 127. For Nos. 260–263, see Barbier 1970, no. 50; Moorey 1971a, 130 for references and nos. 137–39; Moorey 1974a, no. 55; Moorey 1981, nos. 163–66; Calmeyer 1972a, no. 45; Amiet 1976, nos. 128–30; cf. no. 131; Merhav 1981, 94, no. 61. These rings are surely to be dated to the same period as the cheekpieces, eighth–seventh century B.C. (for the coiled felines, see Nos. 277, 278).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 260: D. Carter 1957, pl. 28d. No. 261: Dimand 1931, 49, fig. 4; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 63.

OTHER CAST OBJECTS

264. Bracelet

63.126; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1963
Bronze; diameter 8.7 cm, height 4.3 cm

ALTHOUGH this bracelet (or anklet?) is hollow cast, it is quite heavy and may not have been worn for everyday affairs. It consists of two separate units of uneven size held together by hinges: a tongue at each end of the smaller unit fits into sockets of the larger, where it is secured by pins. The larger unit is decorated at its ends in thick relief with two human faces flanking a third. The faces all look like masks and have prominent noses and round, bulging eyes; a curved band around the flanking faces is incised and may represent a beard. The central face is outlined by a thick U-shaped unit, and two vertical, incised projections descend from the eyes; its nose is more prominent than the flanking ones. Two

faces, one on either side of the thick part of the bracelet, are just like the flanking ones; they are separated from each other and from the end faces by geometric forms (Figs. 13, 14). The smaller unit, the underside of the bracelet, is plain except for incised bands at the borders.

A fairly large number of heavy bracelets of this type, made either of iron or of bronze, have been known for some time. All are reported to derive from Luristan, and, although none has yet been excavated, given the quite distinct Luristan features of the motifs, there can be no doubt that they do derive from that area. Moorey (1971a, 218, nos. 372, 373) has given the inventory of the examples in private collections and museums (add



264



264



FIG. 13. Drawing of No. 264 by Elizabeth Simpson.

FIG. 14. Drawing of No. 264 by Elizabeth Simpson.





265



265



266

Moorey 1981, nos. 483, 486–96; De Waele 1982, 195, no. 329; Orthmann 1982, 15, no. 47). Some examples are further distinguished by three concentric projections between the motifs (see No. 272).

The use of iron by itself would suggest a late or post-ninth-century B.C. date for these bracelets in general. The human faces are very close to those on the iron swords (No. 303) and the lion masks there are close to those on bracelets (see Nos. 270, 271), both types of objects dating to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., dates that probably suggest the time range within which this bracelet was made.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

MMA Selections 1983, no. 76.

265. Bracelet

1980.225.5; Gift of Ben-Zion, 1980

Iron; diameter 8.8 cm

FLAT on the interior, rounded on the outside, this solid penannular iron bracelet has at each terminal an animal head, probably a lion. Behind each head may be seen ears and there is a 2.5-centimeter section of parallel grooved decoration, probably representing the mane.

It is very probable that this bracelet is yet another example of the large corpus with zoomorphic terminals known from western Iran, probably Luristan (see also Nos. 274 and 275).

266. Bracelet with Boar Terminals

32.161.23; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932

Bronze; diameter 5.2 cm

267. Bracelet with Boar Terminals

55.65.2; Gift of Walter Hauser, 1955

Bronze; diameter 5.8 cm

THESE two bracelets, round in section, are decorated at the terminals, in one case with the heads of boars, in the other with recumbent boars. Both belong to the same class of Luristan bracelets as No. 209 from Surkh Dum, and are probably contemporary, early first millennium B.C. in date, perhaps eighth or seventh century.

Boars and boar heads may be seen on a number of bracelet terminals, one of which, with just the heads, was excavated at Bard-i Bal (vanden Berghe 1973a, 45f., pl. XXI:1);¹ others, strays, are published by A. Godard 1931, pl. XXVIII:89; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. XI:62; Basmachi 1963, pl. 12, lower left; Arne 1962, fig. 12; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 57E; Amandry 1965, pl. XXX:1, 2; Moorey 1971a, no. 389. It is clear that this animal was

a popular creature in the art of Luristan, as well as later, in the Achaemenian period.²

NOTES

1. It is not certain that the animal heads on this bracelet are actually boars. In any event, they are more simply rendered than those on the present examples and therefore do not furnish a chronological reference. The Bard-i Bal bracelet derives from the same tomb (Tomb 17) of Iron I–II date that yielded an animal finial with its support.

2. A pair of gold bracelets of the Achaemenian period was excavated at Vani, in Soviet Georgia, along with at least four other gold bracelets. Their terminals have full-body boars, and heads of gazelles, lions, and calves: O. D. Lordkipanidze, *Ancient Colchis* (in Russian) (Tbilisi, 1979), pls. 13, 34, 35. They all should be added to Muscarella 1977a, 195, with other excavated Achaemenian bracelets.



267

268. Bracelet with Lion-Head Terminals

30.97.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930

Bronze; diameter 7.3 cm

ONE OF several types of penannular bracelets with animal heads at the terminals, this example has what appear to be stylized lion heads, fully modeled in the round (cf. Nos. 270, 271). The ring is flat and incised cross-hatching decorates the areas just below the heads.

Stray examples, with flattened or rounded rings, and with lion heads in the round, may be seen in A. Godard 1931, pl. xxviii:90; Moortgat 1932, pl. xi:56; Nagel 1963, pl. xxviii:55; Moorey 1971a, no. 387; Moorey 1974a, 129, no. 107; Amiet 1976, nos. 148, 149; Orthmann 1982, 15, no. 52. It is probable all derive from Luristan although none has yet been excavated there, or elsewhere. I would doubt whether they predate the eighth century B.C.

268



269

269. Duck-Terminal Bracelet

30.97.2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930

Bronze; diameter 7.3 cm

THE TERMINALS of this cast penannular bracelet are in the form of two recumbent or resting ducks. Their beaks are small, perhaps indicating that they are young birds; eyes are simple indentations; tails are indicated. The bracelet's arms are flat in cross section and decorated on the outside with incised cross-hatching. Although many bracelets terminating either in sleeping or resting ducks are known from the art market (Moorey 1971a, 222, for references; see also Moorey 1981, nos. 474–75; Orthmann 1982, 15, no. 48), to my knowledge only one derives from an excavation. This example was recovered at Bard-i Bal in Luristan and depicts sleeping ducks (vanden Berghe 1971b, 21, fig. 15); I do not know if any derive from Surkh Dum.



In position and style, the resting ducks on the pin here are exactly matched by the ducks cast on the heads of straight pins, a number of which derive from Surkh Dum (see No. 203), and belong to the same cultural background. For stray examples of bracelets with resting-duck terminals, see Moorey 1971a, 219, 221f., no. 374; Speleers 1932, 99, fig. 23, bottom center; Arne 1962, fig. 14.

The Bard-i Bal bracelet is dated by vanden Berghe to a time around 1000–900 B.C., the Surkh Dum pins presumably to around the late eighth–seventh centuries B.C.; our bracelet will have been made sometime within this time. A bronze bracelet in Munich with reclining ducks covered with gold leaf at the terminals is dated to the seventh–sixth centuries and called Median (Trümpelmann in Calmeyer 1972a, no. 59a); both the date and attribution seem to be mere guesses.

270. Lion-Mask Bracelet

30.97.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze;¹ diameter 6.6 cm

271. Lion-Mask Bracelet

32.161.22; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; diameter 7.6 cm

BOTH CAST bracelets have terminals in the form of flat, stylized lions' faces or masks. Thick lines encircle round eyes, emphasizing them and creating the impression that they are bulging and large; these encircling lines continue to form the nose. The muzzle is plastically rendered, no mouth is evident, and ears are upright and in the round. The loop of No. 270 is round in section, that of No. 271 is flattened and simulates a double ring. Characterizing this class of bracelet (cf. No. 268) are the linear plastic patterning and the highly stylized form of the lions' faces.

In a technical sense only one similar bracelet of this class has been excavated, an example depicted in relief on the wrist of Adda-Hamiti-Inshushinak, king of Elam (ca. 653–648 B.C.), represented on a stela fragment from Susa (Amiet 1966, fig. 431; 1976, 38, 69, fig. 29). Its presence on this stela neatly and significantly indicates that both the class and the lion-mask were in use in the seventh century B.C.

Stray examples of lion-mask bracelets, made either of bronze or of iron, and either with thick or thin rings, exist in many collections and were among the earliest of the Luristan bronzes to surface. Different dates have been

assigned to them, most too early by a century or more (A. Godard 1931, pl. xxvii:83; Herzfeld 1941, fig. 271 right; Potratz 1955a, pl. 2:1–3; Dussaud 1938/1964, pls. 56D, 57D; Calmeyer 1969a, fig. 147; Moorey 1971a, 222ff., nos. 381–85; Waldbaum 1971, 196; vanden Berghe 1973e, pl. xxxvi, top; Musée Borély 1975, no. 166; Amiet 1976, no. 152; Merhav 1981, 124, no. 92; De Waele 1982, 192, no. 322, see also 194, no. 328.²

As with certain pins and bracelets that share the motif of a duck terminal (see Nos. 203, 269), a number of pins are topped with lion-masks (A. Godard 1931, pls. xxxiii:138, lii:195, 195 bis; Moortgat 1932, pl. vii:21; Herzfeld 1941, fig. 275 top right; Moorey 1971a, 194f., 224, no. 320; Moorey 1974b, pl. xiii c; Amiet 1976, nos. 174, 175; De Waele 1982, 134, nos. 193, 194, cf. 196). Other objects were also embellished with lion-masks (Legrain 1934, pl. vii:27, 29; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 53E; see No. 285); it also appears as a motif on the Museum's quiver (No. 308). The lion-mask also appears prominently as the zoomorphic juncture of the blade and socket on crescent-shaped halberd axes, the beginning dates for which are usually considered to be several centuries before the period considered here for the bracelets.³ I suggest that until proven otherwise, the lion-mask should be considered to be a late motif, one not antedating the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., and therefore the halberd axes and any other artifact bearing this motif should be assumed to date not earlier than this time period. The lion-mask terminal and juncture is a classic Iranian motif, primarily, but not exclusively, a Luristan motif.⁴ And it is a bona fide example of an object/motif found both in Elam and Luristan.⁵

NOTES

1. Cu: 93.8%, Sn: 5.61%, Pb: .137%, Zn: .028% (1986).

2. The early dating persists up to the most recent publications. De Waele (1982, 198) actually calls attention to the Adda-Hamiti-Inshushinak bracelet in his discussion of his number 322, an exact parallel to the Museum's bracelets, but ignores its chronological implications and casually dates his bracelet to the ninth–eighth centuries B.C. Still another example of the very same class, his number 328, he dates to the end of the second–beginning of the first millennium B.C. (but cf. his dating of a subtype of the same class, no. 332, to the eighth–seventh centuries B.C.). Compare Orthmann 1982, 14f., no. 50, who correctly dates these bracelets.

3. Calmeyer 1969a, 73, twelfth century B.C. for the class; Porada 1965, 81, tenth–ninth century B.C.; Moorey 1971a, 58f., no. 27, eleventh–ninth centuries B.C.; Moorey 1974a, 43f., 1000–800 B.C.; Moorey 1971b, 119, post-ninth century, and apparently suggesting a seventh-century B.C. date; Amiet 1976, 38 (following Moorey 1971b), seventh century B.C.; De Waele 1982, 30ff., 38, ninth–seventh centuries B.C. Only Moorey (and only in 1971b) and Amiet used the lion-mask of the bracelet as a dating criterion for the halberds. Calmeyer attempted to isolate specific elements for chronology: lion-mask seen from the side or top front, cast or engraved palmette design, size of blade (could his 1969a, fig. 71, Group 34K be a pastiche?),

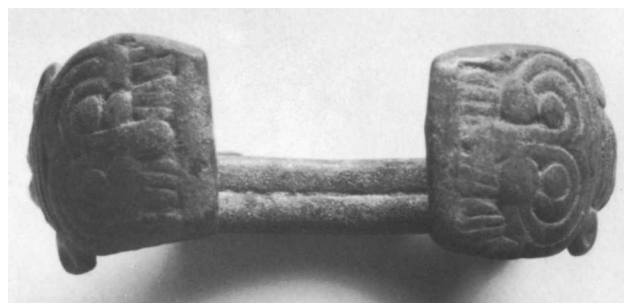
but he arrives at confusing conclusions (i.e., the lion-mask seen from the side being early, from the front later: but he dates some front-facing examples earlier than the side-facing ones); he also dates the occurrence of iron in Iran too early. De Waele (1982, 38) offers a subjective attempt to arrange crude pieces as chronologically later than finer ones, and triangles engraved with dots as later than those without dots, and he sees lion-masks in side view as a later feature. He also, I suggest, misdates by a century a pin presumably from Baba Jan, which he otherwise correctly notes should be used to date his number 23 (Calmeyer's Group 341): he dates the pin (and the halberd, no. 23) to the ninth–eighth century B.C., when it is probably not earlier than the eighth (see below Nos. 277, 278, and note 1 there). In fact, my dating of the Baba Jan pin (if accepted) supplies an important clue to the dating of some of the halberds (including De Waele's no. 23) and, along with the suggested seventh-century B.C. date for the lion-mask motif, allows us to date them—accepting both Moorey's and Calmeyer's claim that they did not have a long life and were made close to one another in time—to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (see also Merhav 1981, 128). The presence of iron blades on some examples supports this chronology.

4. The lion-mask occurs also in the zoomorphic juncture position on the hilt of the so-called T. E. Lawrence silver dagger with an iron blade in the British Museum (Calmeyer 1969a, 126, 157, Group 56G, fig. 130, dated too early). See also De Waele 1982, 44f., no. 40, for a similar lion-mask on a dagger hilt (also dated too early). Whereas the latter hilt fits into a Luristan background, the former remains unique (I have not seen Calmeyer 1969a, 126, Group 56H, which seems to be a related example) and is not readily assigned from the style of the lions in relief on the hilt to Luristan. Thus, it is not certain that the lion-mask is exclusively a Luristan motif: further indicated, of course, by its appearance on the Susa stela. Waldbaum (1971, 199) suggests that the T. E. Lawrence hilt is “a product of somewhere in northwest Iran,” but this is not certain (see Nos. 385, 386, and 387).

5. For excavated examples of the types of objects that legitimately may be cited as deriving both from Elam and Luristan, see Nos. 214, 270, 271, 304, 305, 334, 349, 350. See also comments by Porada 1964a, 28ff., n. 73; Porada 1965, 70; Moorey 1971a, 303ff.; Muscarella 1981b, 350f.



270



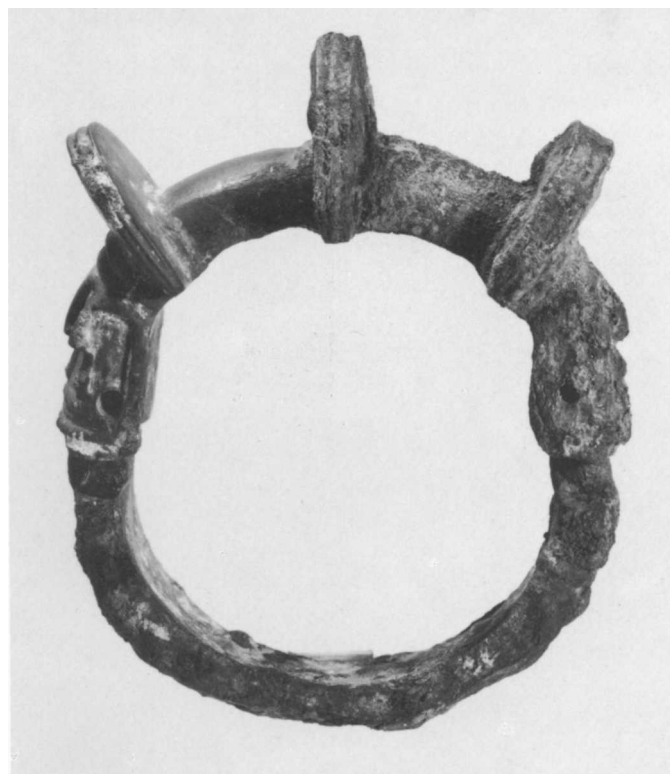
271

272. Anklet/Armlet (?)

1980.225.3a, b; Gift of Ben-Zion, 1980
Iron; diameter 17 cm

THIS anklet/armlet (it is too large to have been a bracelet) is clearly similar in form to No. 264 but is decorated in a different manner. It too consists of two units joined by hinges; the larger unit ends in lion-masks. No relief decoration is present, but three grooved concentric projections are between the masks, a feature, aside from its size, that distinguishes this ornament from bracelets like No. 264.

Legrain (1934, 16) and vanden Berghe (1968b, 9, 151) considered objects of this particular type to be a pugilist's weapon for obvious reasons, but Moorey (1971a, 218) disagrees, seeing them (at least the smaller ones) as bracelets. Parallels, all strays as none has been excavated, may be seen in Legrain 1934, pl. x:40; Herzfeld 1941,



272



273

fig. 271, left; Maleki 1964, pl. vii:3; Moorey 1975b, pl. xx; Moorey 1981, no. 484; Amiet 1976, 153–55; Merhav 1981, nos. 89, 90.

Moorey (1971a, 227) noted the difficulty in deciding whether ornaments of this type are to be considered bracelets, anklets, or armlets. He accepts as a general rule that those with a diameter over about 7.5 centimeters are probably either anklets or armlets, a decision accepted here and for the next few objects. The chronological range of the present object probably parallels that of No. 264, eighth–seventh century B.C.

273. Anklet/Armlet (?)

57.51.49; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956

Bronze and iron; diameter 11.7 cm

THE PLAIN loop is of iron that is cast on to two typical, stylized cast-bronze Luristan lion heads, whose mouths touch.

While it is not easy to find parallels in both form and combination of metals, the use of iron cast on to bronze is not foreign to Iran, or to Luristan, as for example with bronze pinheads and iron shanks (e.g., Nos. 42–50, 276, 281–283, 285, 286). And to the extent that the lion heads suggest a juncture, there is a direct parallel to No. 272. Moreover, seen from the top view, the lion heads look like the lion-masks of Nos. 270, 271. Both the lions and the use of iron suggest that the object was not made before the eighth century B.C.



274



275

274. Anklet/Armlet (?)

56.85; Gift of Khalil Rabenou, 1956

Bronze; diameter 16 cm, thickness 3.2 cm

THIS PENANNULAR object is solid cast and very heavy. The ring itself is plain, but the terminals are made in the form of stylized lions' heads, the flat ends of the ring depicting the muzzle and teeth. Other examples of very heavy rings, but plain, were excavated in situ on the ankles of skeletons (de Morgan 1927, 285, fig. 276, southern Caucasus; Stein 1940, 295, pl. xviii:39, Luristan: Stein thought them too heavy to be anklets, although found in the appropriate position; Moorey 1971a, 228). Still others, some plain, others with geometric decoration, are reported from clandestine finds from Luristan and western Iran (viz. Moorey 1971a, 228f., nos. 397–406;

Moorey 1974a, 128, no. 105; Moorey 1981, no. 611; Stein 1940, 209, pl. xv:6; Calmeyer 1964a, pl. 64, no. 131; Maleki 1964, pl. vii:2).

Moorey (1971a, 228f.) has discussed the possibility that these heavy objects may have been used as currency, following suggestions of de Morgan (1927, 300f.) and Stein (1940, 295). The suggestion arises because of the unnatural weight, apparently considered unsuitable for anklets, even though found *in situ*. However, the suggestion remains a theory, one not readily proven.

Inasmuch as no examples have been reported from any area in the Near East outside of western Iran, we may conclude that these heavy anklets indeed do derive from there, possibly from Luristan (but not necessarily exclusively; see also Nos. 265 and 275).

275. Anklet/Armlet (?)

1980.225.4; Gift of Ben-Zion, 1980
Iron; diameter 18 cm

DISTINGUISHED from No. 265 by the lack of decoration behind the head and the plain roundness of the arc, this ornament is otherwise the same in style and form. And like the former, it too probably derived from the same area in western Iran, probably Luristan.

276. Animal Pinhead

48.154.6; Gift of Alastair B. Martin, 1948
Bronze,¹ iron; preserved length 12.6 cm

CAST IN the round, this elaborately stylized pinhead consists of a winged, horned animal with open mouth, prominent ears and horns, the horns depicted as from a front view, and a long neck that curves without interruption to form the front feet. Its wings curve out and back to the level of the horns and are spiked on the outer edge. A small horned animal rests on the lower front area of the neck, and a spiral is set between the neck and wings, perhaps representing a hair curl. The body itself is not elaborated, consisting only of a thin section terminating in a curled tail that touches the wing; male sex is apparently indicated below the tail. The pin was made separately of iron and was cast on to the protome.

Moorey (1971a, 197f.) placed this pin type with those like No. 356 below, but a number of differences suggest that another type or subtype is involved. Pins of the present type are larger and have a characteristic large

wing; they also often have an open mouth, a spiral curl, a small animal at the neck, a more elaborate molding on the upper pin shank, and a separately made pin. Moorey has also claimed that there is a relationship between the monster creature on the pins and monsters in Elamite art, which is not so obvious as suggested. While the monster does not seem to be a typical Luristan creature, the use of spirals for hair or a filler element is known in Luristan art (e.g., Moorey 1971a, no. 351; Potratz 1968, 24f., nos. 100, 101). However, more important for provenience is the fact that at least one example of this pin type was excavated at Surkh Dum (seen by me in the University Museum in Philadelphia), which supports the generally held view that indeed these pins (or some) have a Luristan provenience.²

For parallels to No. 276, see: Hančar 1934, 108, fig. 49; Herzfeld 1941, 155, fig. 275; Farkas 1970, no. 11 (which is Hanfmann 1954, no. 94), a close parallel; Moorey 1971a, nos. 329–32; Moorey 1974a, no. 94; Moorey 1974b, pl. xiv A; Moorey 1981, nos. 314–16; sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, no. 285; De Waele 1982, 133, no. 189.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

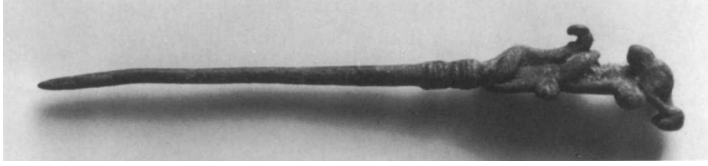
Glubock 1963, 35.

NOTES

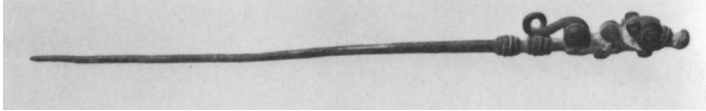
1. Cu: 95.1%, Sn: 4.13%, Pb: .160%, Zn: .047% (1986).

2. For what appears to be a modern imitation of this pin type, see sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 24 September 1981, no. 30, listed there as deriving from Hasanlu!

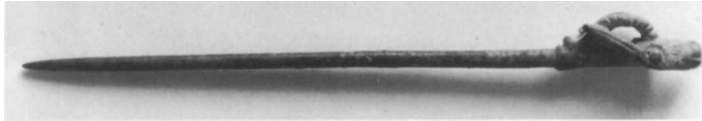




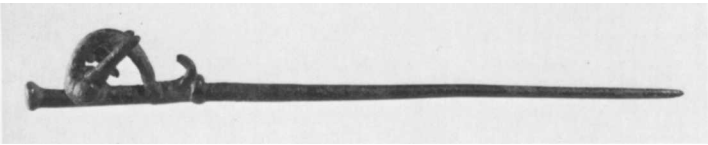
277



278



279



280

277. Animal-Headed Pin

32.161.37; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; length 14.3 cm

278. Animal-Headed Pin

55.65.3; Gift of Walter Hauser, 1955
Bronze; length 21 cm

BOTH PINS are the same in form and style. Each head consists of a recumbent stylized lion (better, feline) of very characteristic style, distinguished by a curled tail, body joints, ears, and eyebrows and jaw formed from one continuous thick line. Porada (1964a, 21) has discussed the manner of creating these details as resulting from the use of coils of wax in the model, giving the finished cast bronze the "impression of raised coils." The effect is one of the classic features of the Luristan bronzes (see Herzfeld 1941, 173, fig. 292).

Stray examples of this pin type have existed in various collections for some years (e.g., Pope 1930b, color pl., right center; Nagel 1963, pl. xxvii:52, 53; Ghirshman 1964, fig. 513; with its head turned back; Moorey 1971a, 194f., no. 318; Moorey 1981, nos. 309–11; Amiet 1976, 72, no. 169). However, only one example has ever been excavated: a pin exactly paralleling all the strays was

excavated at Baba Jan in eastern Luristan in what must be at the earliest a late eighth, or even a seventh-century B.C. level (Goff Meade 1968, 128f., fig. 12; Goff 1978, 38, fig. 14:29). This important find confirms a definite Luristan locus (aside from obvious stylistic judgment) for the type and supplies a fairly firm chronology for the feline form. More significantly, the late eighth–seventh-century general date supplies a welcome chronological peg for a large number of objects from Luristan that are embellished with the coiled feline, such as axes, standards, horse harness, etc.¹

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 277: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 70.

NOTE

1. For a comment on the chronology of Baba Jan, see note 1 of "Animal Finials . . ." above. A number of scholars have misdated the Baba Jan pin and thereby misdated a number of other Luristan objects, e.g., De Waele 1982, 38, 71, 135, 143, 155. [Now see the caveat expressed in brackets at the end of note 1 in "Animal Finials. . ."]

279. Animal-Headed Pin

32.161.38; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; length 11 cm

280. Animal-Headed Pin

57.51.48; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956
Bronze; length 11.6 cm

CAST together with the pin, each head is in the form of a horned animal, probably an antelope. In all details these pins are the mates to the many excavated at Surkh Dum and the numerous strays in private collections. See Nos. 204–207 for references and chronology, eighth–seventh century B.C.

281. Animal-Headed Pin

30.97.18; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze,¹ iron; length 6.9 cm

282. Animal-Headed Pin

32.161.39; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze, iron; length 3.8 cm

283. Animal-Headed Pin

32.161.40; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze, iron; length 3.9 cm

THESE THREE pins are all the same in form, differing merely in details. Preserved are parts of the pins and the heads, which consist of the complete bodies of an animal, in some cases probably horses, cast solid in the round. The animals are recumbent, their legs resting under the bodies with the hooves touching; No. 281 has incised lines that indicate paws rather than hooves. The heads are all stylized and differ one from the other: No. 281 has triple raised circles for eyes, large ears, a projection (forelock?) at the forehead, a neck collar (?), and a muzzle around the nose; No. 282 has a pointed head, simple eyes, small ears and forelock; No. 283 has a stubby head and no forelock. All have a thick ridge that continues from the forearm area and projects above the withers; they may be stylized wings. Further, all have an iron pin, now broken or missing, projecting from the rear.

Many pins of this type have been known from the antiquities market for some time, all attributed to Luristan (A. Godard 1931, pl. xxxvi:155; Legrain 1934, pl. vi:20; Moorey 1971a, 196f., for discussion and references; see also Moorey 1974a, no. 95; Schlossman 1968, no. 55; Potratz 1968, fig. 142; Barbier 1970, nos. 45–48; De Waele 1982, 136ff., nos. 197–201; cf. Orthmann 1982, 8, nos. 26, 27, who is not sure of origin). Some of the animals are made of iron, most are of bronze, and while most seem to be horses a few examples represent other animals (e.g., No. 281 and possibly No. 282; A. Godard 1931, pl. xxxvi:152, which is A. Godard 1938, 246, fig. 162).

No examples in bronze or iron have been excavated but a number made of bone derive from Surkh Dum (Muscarella 1981b, 347f., no. 26). The very same as the present ones in form and function, the Surkh Dum pins consist of recumbent winged equids with a hole at their rear for the insertion of a separately added pin. These bone pins reinforce an attribution of the bronze examples to Luristan, although it must be noted that the equids are not typical Luristan forms, as are other complete animal-headed pins (Nos. 277, 278). That complete animal-headed pins were made elsewhere in western Iran is documented by the ninth-century lion pins from Hasanlu (Nos. 42–50), examples that are formally related to the present examples and which have separately made pins of iron (Moorey 1971a, 197; Amiet 1976, 72). Also related in form, but cast in one piece of the same material, are a number of unexcavated bronze lion pins that are usually attributed to Luristan (A. Godard 1931, pl. xxxiii:136, which is De Waele 1982, 131, 153, no. 184;² Amiet 1976, no. 163); these examples may derive from another western Iranian center (see No. 357).

The use of iron on our pins precludes a late pre-ninth-century date for the time of their manufacture, a chronology supported by the Hasanlu evidence. The Surkh Dum evidence may allow us to date our pins to a time somewhere within the eighth–seventh century; I doubt if they are earlier.

NOTES

1. Cu: 82.9%, Sn: 10.5%, As: 1.65%, Pb: .928%, Zn: .013% (1986).
2. De Waele ignores the Hasanlu comparison, which is to date the earliest evidence we have for a chronology of the form, and dates these examples to the end of the second millennium B.C.



281



282



283



284



285



286

284. Openwork Pin

30.97.17; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; preserved height 6 cm

THE HEAD alone is preserved and the pin, which was made separately of bronze, is missing except for a fragment in the hollow of the socket; the reverse is plain. A mouflon with a projecting muzzle and articulated ears, and gracefully curving ridged horns is framed by two stylized Luristan-type feline heads that project horizontally from the upper shank, facing and abutting the horns.

The mouflon, as well as the goat and ibex and the stylized feline, was a favorite zoomorphic element in Luristan. Often the horns of the caprids are emphasized, as on this pin, to give prominence to the creature and to create a pleasant aesthetic effect. A number of openwork pins depicting mouflons, or mouflon-demons, and with subsidiary creatures below or touching the horns, are known in the repertory, sometimes cast within a frame (Pope 1930b, 444, fig. 5: unframed; A. Godard 1931, pls. xxxvii:157, xxxviii:159; Porada 1965, fig. 54); others have only the mouflon (Pope 1930b, color pl., lower left; A. Godard 1931, pl. xxxv:147; Legrain 1934, pl. v:17; Porada 1979b, 143, fig. 9; see also No. 199). The mouflon is also commonly represented on horse-harness trappings and cheekpieces, there too sometimes with subsidiary animals abutting the horns (Moorey 1971a, nos. 135–40; Moorey 1975b, pl. xxi; Amiet 1976, nos. 129–31, cf. no. 68; see also Nos. 255, 258–263). The feline heads allow us to place this piece not earlier than the eighth century B.C. (see Nos. 277, 278).

It is highly probable that pins of this form, along with Nos. 285–287, were votive objects. But it is not known whether they were specifically made to be dedicated to otherworldly figures and deities in temples (cf. No. 195 from Surkh Dum), or whether they were also worn on clothing, or were placed in domestic houses and used as apotropaic artifacts, or functioned as icons in houses, or all of these.¹

NOTE

1. A mouflon head surmounting a stylized head and joined to a straight pin is in Brussels (Speleers 1932, 117, fig. 15): surely it is a pastiche, probably consisting of three separate, and apparently ancient, pieces joined together.

285. Openwork Pin

32.161.33; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze¹ and iron; preserved height 8.9 cm, width 7.3 cm

THE CENTRAL figure in the scene is a fantastic creature, a demon, represented only by its head and torso

that rests on a stylized lion-mask. Its eyes are rendered as round pupils within vertical ovals, and occupy most of the face area. There is no nose, but vertical lines seem to represent the mouth (or beard). Ears project horizontally below inward-curving short horns, and spiral hair curls project below the eyes. Extending in a curve from the lion-mask are the upper bodies of two stylized felines which frame both the demon and the two creatures they hold by their tails. Thus, in this scene, it is the felines that master the animals, not the central demon.

The pin, now missing, extended up to the top of the hollow shank; it was of iron and separately made. Inasmuch as the reverse is plain, it is clear that only the front was meant to be seen. This pin type represents but one iconographical variety of a large group of openwork examples manufactured in Luristan (cf. Nos. 286, 287), a number of which were excavated at Surkh Dum (No. 195).²

Stray pins with the same crescentic frame and iconography, although sometimes with the central demon functioning as the master of animals, are ubiquitous and exist in various collections (viz. A. Godard 1931, pls. xxxv:148, 151, xxxvi:154, 156; A. Godard 1962, pl. 17; Godard and Godard 1954, cover; Pope 1930b, 444, fig. at center; Calmeyer 1964a, no. 72; Moorey 1971a, no. 349; Moorey 1974a, nos. 96–98; Moorey 1981, nos. 340–49; Barbier 1970, nos. 37, 43; Amiet 1976, no. 180; Christie's sale catalogue, 17 November 1977, no. 50). Others with the same or closely related motif are enclosed within a heavy square frame (viz. Porada 1964a, pl. v, fig. 2; Porada 1965, 84, fig. 57; Moorey 1971a, nos. 350–52; Moorey 1974a, no. 99; De Waele 1982, 146, no. 215).³ Still others have a fully round frame (Speleers 1932, 102, fig. 29; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. xv:43; Calmeyer 1972a, no. 41; Moorey 1974b, pl. xiii b; Moorey 1981, no. 352; Amiet 1976, fig. 44; Buhl 1974, no. 85; Merhav 1981, no. 77). There is also a large group of similarly formed, framed pinheads with a mouflon-headed deity in the master-of-animals position, which I purposely omitted as references here (viz. Amiet 1976, nos. 182, 183, 185).

The general relationship of these pins to the Surkh Dum examples, the stylized feline heads (see Nos. 277, 278), the presence of the lion-mask (present on a number of other pins cited above; see Nos. 270, 271), and the use of iron pins collectively suggest a date for this large group within the eighth and possibly the seventh centuries B.C.

NOTES

1. Cu: 89.7%, Sn: 9.71%, Pb: .080%, Zn: .024% (1986).

2. Note that a two-headed master of animals holding at bay two felines in a heavy square frame and a shank for a pin was excavated at Surkh Dum (Sor 1465; unpublished). The Surkh Dum master of

animals wears a kilt or skirt and has two human heads. In the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran, is an ivory openwork plaque, not apparently a pin, that has the very same formal scene, a two-headed, skirted figure holding at bay two felines (known to me from a photograph). On this ivory piece the figure is a monster, having two feline heads and wings. According to records in the Metropolitan Museum, a dealer (the source of the records) claimed that he found the ivory in Luristan and that it had been confiscated by a certain Iranian official. The official has informed me (personal communication) that he does not recall the confiscation.

3. The examples published by Orthmann 1982, 9, nos. 31, 32, are to my mind suspect (pace Orthmann, p. 1), and I prefer not to cite them.

286. Openwork Pin

32.161.34; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932

Bronze; preserved height 8 cm, width 7.3 cm

THIS OPENWORK pin depicts a squatting figure, en face, framed by animals, in a classic master-of-animals scene. The head is crudely rendered with asymmetrical pellet eyes and no nose or mouth; there is a grooved knob on top of the head over the horns which indicate a deity. The arms, sharply bent at the elbows, hold by their jaws two horned animals, apparently antelopes, represented only by their heads and long necks. The necks are joined in a continuous curve that encloses the deity in a crescentic frame (like No. 285). Breasts are not depicted, but the fact that the figure squats suggests that it is probably a female. Over the pudenda area is an irregular rectangular unit, while under it is an object that may be either a strut or a symbol of a birthing scene. Similar but more irregular objects exist under the elbows, missing at the figure's right side, and these at least seem to be struts. The pin shank itself is missing and was clearly separately made; it is not certain that it was iron.

Note that the casting of this piece is crudely executed: the facial features of the figure are askew and the body is awkwardly rendered; further, there are no smooth edges. The piece is either a rough ancient casting or a modern aftercast; the reverse is plain.

A classic Luristan type in form, this pin is the same in almost all details as the example excavated in the sanctuary of Surkh Dum, No. 195, in which the motif is further discussed. The Surkh Dum find confirms the Luristan provenience attributed to the strays of the present type, establishes a general eighth-century or later date for their floruit, and indicates that at least the pins with a squatting, birthing female served a votive function in sanctuaries.

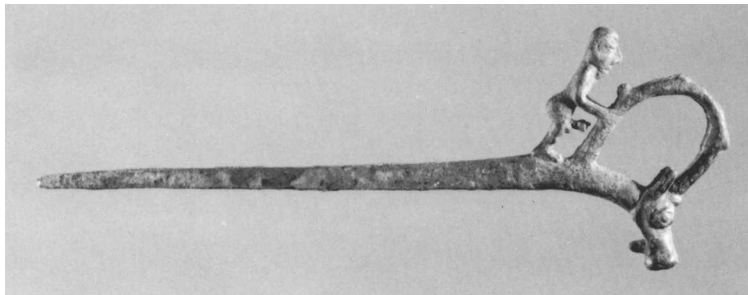
PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

D. Carter 1957, pl. 27a.



287

288



287. Openwork Pin

30.97.16; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; preserved length 12.4 cm

A CENTRAL horned figure holds at bay two stylized Luristan-type felines. The body of the figure, a deity, is not articulated, consisting only of a tube with vertically grooved areas (cf. No. 285), and apparently feet (note the grooving). Breasts and sex are not indicated, but both the face and the hair seem to be those of a female. The animals are represented only by their heads and long necks, which serve to enclose the deity. The pin is cast with the head, which has a plain reverse; part of the pin is missing.

In type and iconography this pin is related to a large group of openwork crescentic examples reported from Luristan: see Nos. 195, 285, 286; it is, however, simpler

in form and detail. The pin is probably contemporary to these examples, eighth century B.C. at the earliest. For parallels in iconography, see A. Godard 1931, pl. 11:194; Basmachi 1963, pl. 8, right; Barbier 1970, nos. 38, 42; Moorey 1981, no. 339; De Waele 1982, 142, no. 210 (dated too early); Orthmann 1982, 10f., no. 32.

288. Animal and Human Headed Pin

67.19; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1967
Bronze; length 24 cm

THIS PIN is but another example of the great variety of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic types known from Luristan and western Iran. The head, cast together with the shank, consists of an ibex in the same plane as the shank. A nude ithyphallic male stands behind the ibex's horns and grasps them, giving the impression that he is riding the animal. The man's face is characterized by a prominent triangular nose, and he has large buttocks. Surely the juxtaposition of the nude male and the ibex indicates that the two are interrelated in a fundamental manner, perhaps with reference to fertility and its power.

While no other pin known to me has a human in the same position, a number of similar examples have an animal behind the horns, there apparently in an attacking position, and perhaps representing a different concept (viz. Calmeyer 1964a, no. 68; Porada 1965, fig. 56; vanden Berghe 1968b, fig. 13:1; Amiet 1976, nos. 167, 168; Merhav 1981, no. 68; De Waele 1982, 132, no. 188);¹ whetstone handles also have this same configuration (viz. Potratz 1968, figs. 62–64; and Nos. 298, 299). Like most of the other pins cited, the present one must also come from Luristan and can be dated to the early first millennium B.C.

NOTE

1. For a suspicious example recently published on the art market, see Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 15–16 December 1981, no. 23.

289. Ram on a Long Tang

67.38; Gift of Farhadi and Anavian Co., 1967
Bronze; length 63.5 cm

A RECUMBENT ram, its feet in relief tucked up against its body, with flaring, grooved horns, prominent muzzle, and a long neck, is cast together with a long, thin tang. The end of the tang is looped, suggesting that the object was joined to something and that it was not a pin; its length would also preclude classifying it as a pin.

Based on the style of the animal's head (cf. Legrain 1934, pl. v:17; Nagel 1963, pls. xxxiv, xxxv; Moorey 1971a, pls. 25, 26), this object seems clearly to be of Iranian derivation, probably from Luristan. However, no parallels are known to me and its use remains problematic. I do not think it is related in function to No. 337.¹

NOTE

1. See sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 40, for a recently surfaced strange, and probably modern, example of a ram joined to a pin.

290. Pin

32.161.36; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; length 14.6 cm

291. Pin

49.78.3; Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1949
Bronze; length 20.6 cm

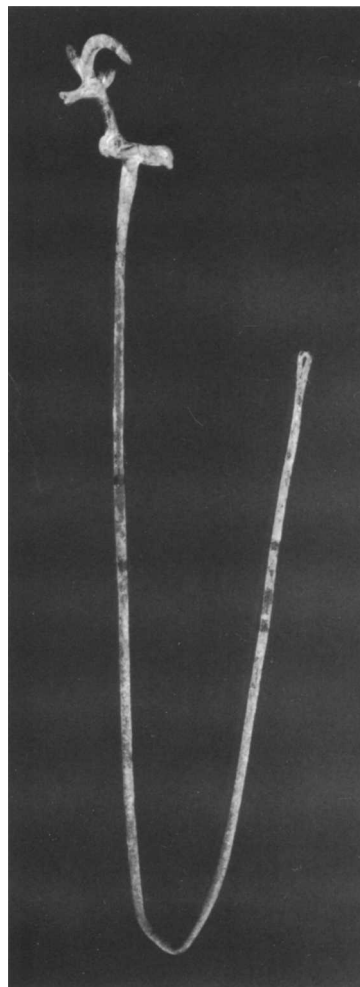
THE HEAD of No. 290 has a globular unit with small protuberances above and below. Given the simple form, it has been assumed, but it is not certain, that the shape represents either a pomegranate or a poppy head and is one of the many floral motifs used to decorate the heads of pins. Jacobsthal (1956, 39) refers to them as pomegranates, while Moorey (1971a, 188f.) refers to them as poppy heads and dates them to the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. in Iran. This date is supported by excavated examples from Surkh Dum (van Loon 1967, 24: "pomegranates"), and from Bard-i Bal (vanden Berghe 1971b, 21, fig. 18; 1971c, fig. 37; 1973a, fig. 11 bottom, pls. xxii fig. 4, xxiv fig. 2: where they are called pomegranates). Stray examples like No. 290 exist in several collections (A. Godard 1931, pl. xxxiii:120, 127, 139; Speleers 1932, 101, fig. 26 right; Nagel 1963, pl. lvi:125; Calmeyer 1964a, 16, no. 30—dated too early; Moorey 1971a, nos. 297, 298).

No. 291 has a conical head joined to the shank by a short, concave neck. The top of the shank is decorated with a herringbone pattern. Moorey (1971a, 182) distinguished it from the pins with conical heads joined directly to the shank, a type that apparently begins earlier than our type, and which may overlap it in time. There are no excavated examples just like No. 291; Moorey suggests that the type existed around 1000 B.C., or later.

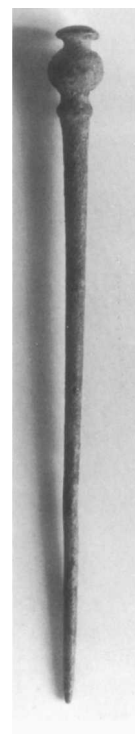
For excavated pins from Hasanlu and Surkh Dum, see Nos. 35–39, 208.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

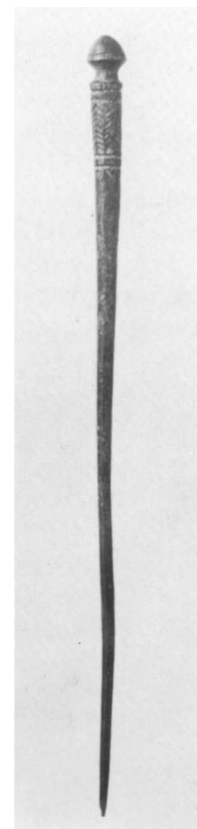
No. 290: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 66.



289



290



291



292



Impression of No. 292.

292. Lobed Ring

32.161.42; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932

Bronze; diameter 2.9 cm, height of lobe 3.5 cm

CAST AS one closed piece, the front of this ring is wider than the back. On the front is an unevenly engraved horned animal facing left, with three feet on the ground and the fourth extended horizontally; under the extended feet is a circle or disk. The design seems to have been added after the casting, and the ring was apparently meant to function as either a seal or a simple decoration.

This type of ring has been called lobed by Porada (1964a, 16ff.; 1965, 75ff.) and is distinguished from an apparently earlier type, also lobed, with penannular endings and a more refined and elegantly executed scene, called by her sheet rings. Both types have been excavated at Surkh Dum in Luristan, to date the only site where they are documented, in levels apparently of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. For discussion see Nos. 210, 211.

293. Animal Pendant

30.97.19; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930

Bronze; length 3.8 cm, height 4.5 cm

294. Animal Pendant

32.161.41; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932

Bronze; length 4.7 cm, height 3.7 cm

NO. 293 is cast in the form of an animal whose horns curve gracefully back; a small projection exists at the

forehead, above a pointed snout. Tubular in form, the body terminates in a short, thick upright tail. The front legs are bent at the knees, which appear as sharp projections; a projection also exists behind the rear legs, here probably meant to be hair tufts. A loop for suspension at the juncture of back and neck identifies the object as a pendant. No. 294 is clearly of the same class of object not only because of the posture and the loop, but also because of the form of the legs and the sharp knees. Here the creature is not readily identifiable. The tail curves up and out, two ears are evident, and a small projection exists both on the forehead and at the chest, the latter seemingly joined to a collar (cf. No. 281); the snout is short and pointed.

Pendants in the form of animals, mostly goats or mouffons, but also horses and other equids, are quite common among the corpus of the pendants reported as from Luristan. To date, only one site in Luristan has reported excavated examples, Surkh Dum (van Loon 1967, 24), but as they are unpublished, except for a dog, we do not know how many are close to our examples in form. Moorey (1971a, 232f., nos. 420–25) gives the references to many of the strays known in private collections; some have projections at the forehead (A. Godard 1931, pl. xxx:1, J, Q; Herzfeld 1941, pl. xxxi top right) but few have the prominent knees. For more recently published examples see Orthmann 1982, 12, nos. 38, 39; De Waele 1982, 160ff., nos. 225–59.

On the basis of the finds from Surkh Dum, it is probable that Nos. 293 and 294 were made sometime in the eighth or seventh century B.C. Some examples have traces of iron oxidation present (De Waele 1982, 181), another indication of a first-millennium (post-ninth-century) date (but cf. De Waele 1982, 181, for an attempt to date stylistically some examples to the late second millennium B.C.).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 293: Dimand 1931, 49, fig. 3. Nos. 293, 294: *MMA Selections* 1983, nos. 64, 67.

295. Pendant

1978.514.26; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; height 4.5 cm

296. Pendant

1978.514.38; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; height 5 cm

BOTH pendants are relatively small and formally the same: a Janus-head protome with a grooved collar joined at the neck to an openwork cage and a loop for suspension at the top. No. 295 has a human (female?) head, No. 296 a horned demon. No pellets exist in the cages, so that it is not certain that the pendants functioned as rattle bells or jingles. Nor is it known whether they were worn by humans or animals, but it may be assumed that they served some apotropaic function.

No examples have been excavated anywhere, but on the basis of the stylistic execution of the heads, especially the brows meeting the nose, and the eyes and mouth of No. 295, there seems little doubt that the pendants were made in Luristan and are typical Luristan bronzes, probably from the eighth or seventh century B.C. Judging from the relatively few published examples, however, they apparently were not common (Speleers 1932, 95, fig. 15h, i; Rexroth 1932, pl. 42:24; Basmachi 1963, pl. 9, third from right; Moorey 1971a, no. 435; vanden Berghe 1981, 89, fig. 26, no. 66; cf. also Nos. 380, 381).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 77, 81, figs. 57, 58.

297. Pendant

32.161.32; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 6.7 cm

CAST IN ONE piece is an oval ring with a wavy ridged band on its outer surface that is surmounted by two addorsed horned animal heads in the round; between their heads is a suspension loop.

While the animal heads fit generally into a Luristan context (viz. Moorey 1971a, nos. 464, 465), the oval ring does not appear to be common. I know of one other formally exact parallel to this piece (De Waele 1982, 84, no. 91: called a harness ring); another example has two addorsed cock heads surmounting a ridged oval (vanden Berghe 1968b, fig. 10:3; cf. Orthmann 1982, 32f., no. 108). Other pendants have addorsed cock heads and a suspension loop or hole, but they rest on a molding rather than on a ring; some may be stamp seals (A. Godard 1931, pl. 11:190; Rexroth 1932, pl. 42:16; vanden Berghe 1968c, no. 157; Maleki 1964, pl. VII:1; Moorey 1971a, nos. 464–66). Thus, some pendants with addorsed heads surmount an oval ring, others a molding; whether the former was a simple decoration or had symbolic value is unknown.



293



294



295



296



297



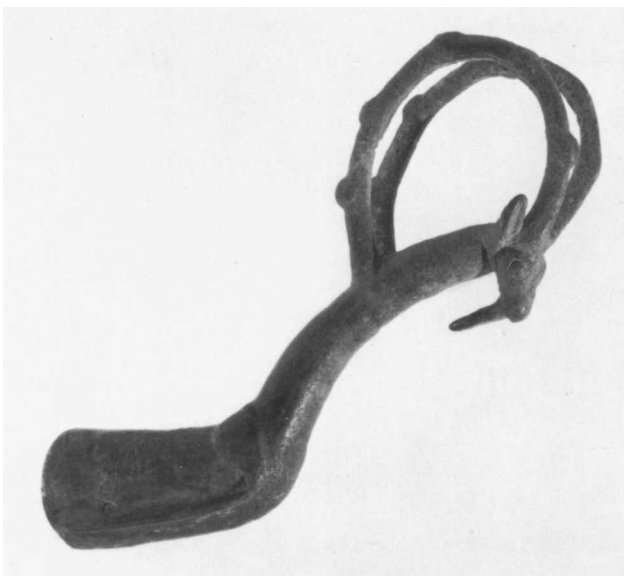
298



299



300



301

298. Whetstone Handle

32.161.13; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; length with stone 15.2 cm

299. Whetstone Handle

56.28; Gift of Mrs. Paul Moore, 1956
Bronze; length 8.9 cm, height 8.5 cm

300. Whetstone Handle

57.51.43; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956
Bronze; length 7.7 cm, height 6.8 cm

301. Whetstone Handle

1977.187.1; Bequest of Alice K. Bache, 1977
Bronze; length 12.5 cm, height 9 cm

THESE FOUR whetstone handles differ in details, even in style, but they are formally related. All have a short, hollow tube to hold a honing stone (preserved in No. 298, but whether it is original is uncertain), cast with an animal head or forepart protome. No. 298 has two ibex heads with long, gently curving necks and a single recumbent body indicated by leg and thigh swellings on the tube; a small recumbent sheep in the round rests on the tube. No. 299 has two mouflon heads with prominent grooved horns and upright ears; foreshortened front legs are depicted in relief on the tube that functions as a single body. A typical Luristan coiled feline with reversed head rests its front paws on the heads while its rear legs touch the edge of the tube; the feline apparently is attacking the mouflons. No. 300 is a naturalistically rendered gazelle forepart whose front legs are in high relief, almost in the round. And No. 301 has the forepart of a horned animal almost naturalistically rendered, and legs superficially rendered in relief. The tubes of all except No. 299 are pierced with holes that held

either chains (e.g., Wijngaarden 1954, pl. 1:2; Potratz 1955a, pl. 2:1; vanden Berghe 1981, fig. 10) or a metal clamp (e.g., A. Godard 1931, pl. XI:24).

Whetstone handles are among the most common class of objects associated with the Luristan repertory, and hardly a museum or private collection lacks some in its possession. Given the large quantity of bronze and iron weapons attributed to Luristan it is not surprising that many whetstones also derive from there. The variety of protome forms almost equals their number, ranging from simple, naturalistic renderings (as No. 300) to more stylized forms (as No. 299; cf. Pope 1930a, 391, figs. 14, 15).

It is not known just when whetstones were first embellished with zoomorphic protome handles, but one with a bronze ram's head inscribed with the sun god of Sippar from Mesopotamia of eleventh-century B.C. date and one with a gold lion's head from the Inshushinak deposit at Susa of thirteenth–twelfth-century B.C. date are considered to be the earliest examples known (Moorey 1971a, 98; Herzfeld 1941, 138f., fig. 253 top and middle); both preserve their stones but no chains. The next best dated examples of zoomorphic-headed whetstones that may be said to have been excavated are those with horse and calf heads on ninth- and eighth-century Assyrian reliefs (Hrouda 1965, pl. 22:21–23). On these examples the head is in the same plane as the stone, a feature characteristic of the earlier examples mentioned above, and contrasted to the typical Luristan types, where the head projects as a true protome. A few examples of the "Assyrian" type, none excavated, have been attributed to Luristan, although without verified evidence (A. Godard 1931, 43, pl. XI:24; Amiet 1976, 41, nos. 66, 77). These examples could come from Luristan or from other areas in Iran or from Mesopotamia.

Recently, three whetstones with zoomorphic handles, apparently goats, have been excavated and published from three tombs at Bard-i Bal in Luristan (vanden Berghe 1973a, figs. 5:6, 17:10, 20:12, pls. XVII, XIX; vanden Berghe 1973f, figs. 9, 11), dated about 1000–900 B.C. (Note that an example was excavated at Surkh Dum but remains unpublished: Schmidt 1938, 210.) One of the three Bard-i Bal examples was found together with a classic Luristan animal finial. The goat terminals on the three handles have the typical curved necks found on most of the stray handles, but they are more natural in execution. Of some importance is the fact that they are not only the earliest dated examples of whetstones from Luristan, they are among the earliest dated of all the Luristan bronzes as a group.

The three Bard-i Bal whetstone handles are all naturalistic in their execution, but it may be premature to claim that all such forms must be early and all stylized ones later (cf. Porada 1964a, 20ff., 28). Thus, while it

might be argued that No. 300 should be classified as among the earliest examples, it could be argued that the developed sculpting of the legs, more realistic than on the Bard-i Bal examples, could suggest a later date for this piece. Until we have more excavated whetstone handles in dated contexts, for example the piece from Surkh Dum, we cannot make facile diachronic conclusions based solely on natural as opposed to stylized. In any event, the Bard-i Bal examples furnish us with an approximate tenth-century date for the earliest use of whetstone handles in Luristan, an object that surely continued to be manufactured for centuries, as No. 299 demonstrates (see Nos. 277 and 278).¹ One may also note that their use in Luristan apparently continued a tradition established in Elam; we know nothing at present of first-millennium B.C. Elamite whetstones.

Whether zoomorphic handles on whetstones were in use in Iran during the Achaemenian period remains a problem. Moorey (1971a, 99) believes that the Achaemenians made whetstone handles in exactly the same manner as the Elamites, and he cites several unexcavated gold examples of protomes that he interprets as Achaemenian whetstone handles. One of these (Muscarella 1974a, no. 160) could be a furniture finial, and I am not convinced that all the other examples cited are ancient (Muscarella 1977a, 180f., nos. 118–21). A bronze whetstone handle in the form of an ibex forepart published by Amiet (1976, 41, no. 74) could be Achaemenian, although Amiet thinks it is earlier. If it is Achaemenian, it would be a continuity of the Luristan form, not the Elamite. However, inasmuch as no Achaemenian whetstones have been excavated or represented in art, the question of use during that period must remain open.

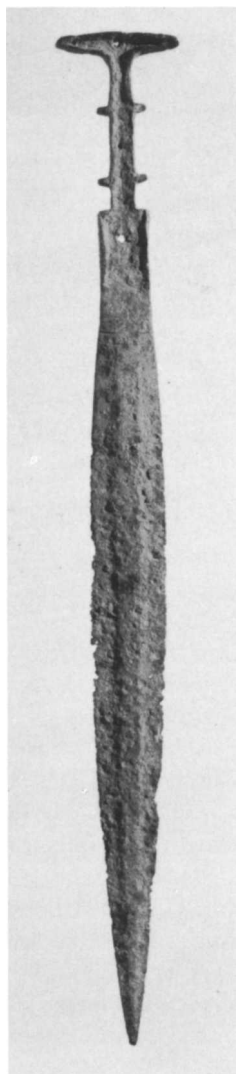
Given the connection of whetstones with weapons used in battle and in the hunt, one might assume that the zoomorphic handle had an apotropaic or magic value that rubbed off, literally, onto the honed weapon. A number of Luristan straight pins also have protome terminals of the very same form as those on the whetstones, goats and ibex, some also with a predatory animal or other figure on their backs and necks (No. 288). They too might have had an apotropaic value.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 299: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 71.

NOTE

1. I believe that Moorey's (1981, nos. 115–24) dating of the earliest whetstone from Luristan to about 1350 B.C. is too high by centuries. It is apparently based on his understanding of the highest possible date estimated for the beginning of the Iron I period in Luristan (see also for too early dating: Merhav 1981, 98, no. 64; De Waele 1982, 62, no. 68; cf. vanden Berghe 1981, 29, 47; Orthmann 1982, 23, nos. 77, 78. N.B. that, pace Orthmann, 22f., his whetstone and blade, no. 76, seem to be a crude modern pastiche!).



302

302. Sword

62.40.1; Gift of Jerome M. Eisenberg, 1962
Iron; length 51 cm

THE HILT and blade are made in one piece. The blade tapers out just below the guard area and at midpoint tapers in toward the sharp tip, willow leaf in form; there is a broad midrib. The flattened hilt and pommel form a T shape; both are hollow to receive an inlay. Two sets of protuberances divide the hilt to form a grip; rivet holes exist in the pommel, on the hilt between the protuberances, and just below the guard.

Vanden Berghe's excavations in Luristan have yielded several swords of the same or closely related forms as the example here. All are also made of iron and all have the same pommel form and the hilt with protuberances. They derive from three sites, War Kabud (vanden Berghe

1967, 56 left; 1968b, pl. 27b), Gul Khanan Murdah (vanden Berghe 1980, figs. 18, 19, 20:11), and Bard-i Bal (vanden Berghe 1973a, fig. 8, pl. xxiv:3). All are from Iron III contexts, about eighth–seventh centuries B.C. (the Bard-i Bal examples may be the earliest). Our sword may thus be attributed to Luristan where it was probably made sometime between the late eighth and perhaps the mid-seventh century B.C.

Maxwell-Hyslop and Hodges, in their discussion of unexcavated swords of the same or similar form as this example (1966, 164ff., pl. XLIX:3, 4, 6), correctly connected these swords typologically to a very elaborate and distinct form, or subtype, that is embellished with human heads and crouching lions (see No. 303); Calmeyer (1969a, 127) and Moorey (1971a, 317) also noted the interrelationship. It would seem that sometime during the lifetime of the simple form the embellished examples were conceived and made, but that both subtypes were contemporary thereafter.

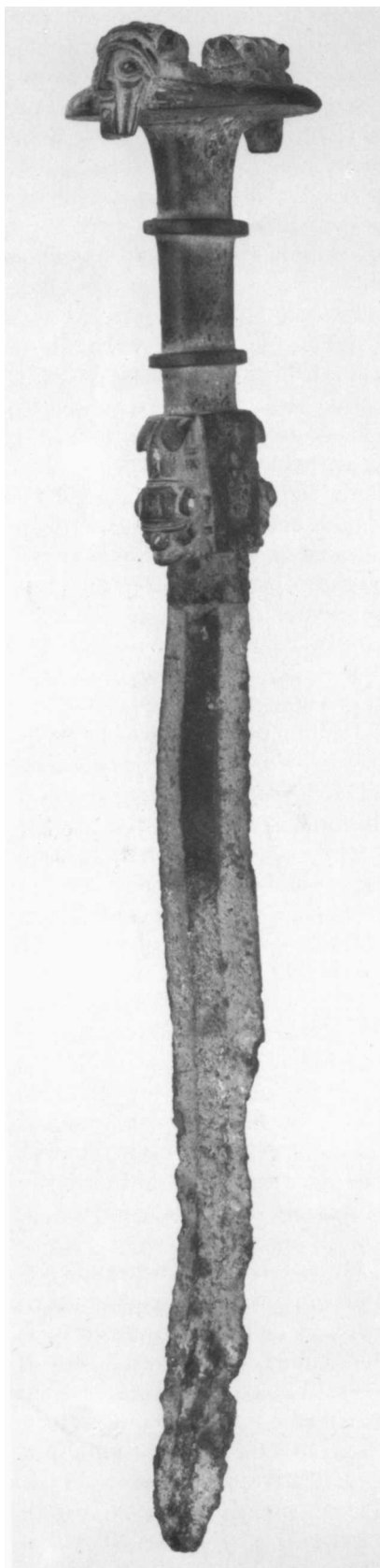
Working without benefit of excavated finds, and on the basis of comparisons with flanged daggers of another type, Maxwell-Hyslop and Hodges (1966, 172f.) dated both the plain sword and the embellished examples to the eleventh century B.C. (on page 174 they speak of the eleventh–tenth centuries, while on page 175 they discuss a seventh-century date but reject it). This date is too early by centuries, as shown by excavations. Nor is there any indication that iron was used before the late ninth century B.C. in Iran (Pigott 1980), nor in Luristan before Iron III, eighth–seventh century B.C.

303. Multi-Piece Iron Sword

61.62; Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1961
Iron; length 50.1 cm

THE SWORD is complete except for corrosion and minor damage to the blade. It belongs to a well-known class that has been described and discussed many times; the present example was first published by Kate Lefferts (1964, 59ff.). The blade is placed at right angles to the hilt and has a broad, flat midrib running the whole length; it flares slightly from the ricasso and then tapers toward the tip, willow-leaf shaped. The most distinctive characteristic of the weapon is the hilt: it is rectangular in section and divided into three areas by two raised rings. The pommel is a flat disk embellished on opposite sides with two bearded male heads facing out and parallel to the face of the blade; at the back of each head, and apparently one piece with it, is the forepart of a lion with its paws outstretched on the pommel. Each human head has round, bulging, outlined eyes, a prominent sloping

303



Hilt of No. 303.



Detail of guard on No. 303.



Pommel of No. 303.

nose, a small horizontal mouth set within a beard formed in layers and terminating in a straight line; hair divided into small lumps is visible over the forehead. The lions also have bulging outlined eyes and the same hair pattern noted on the human heads; the mouths are closed. A three-stepped flange exists at the join of the pommel to the hilt. The guard is rectangular and on each wide side, parallel to the face of the blade, is a couchant lion facing the blade; they are plastically rendered and decorated by incisions. The ricasso is formed of two sections, the lower incised in a chevron pattern. The hilt is further embellished with sixty-four carnelian inlays (mistakenly called agate in Ternbach 1964, 49): nine are placed in each of the couchant lions, twenty-one in each of the human heads and lion foreparts, and four on the pommel flanking the heads (one is now missing).

Technologically, swords of this class represent a remarkable accomplishment of the ancient craftsman for they are one of the most complex weapon types known from antiquity; as such, they have been of interest both to archaeologists and to historians of ancient technology. On macroscopic examination alone one has the impression that they were made in one piece, the intent, no doubt, of the craftsmen. However, both X-ray and careful laboratory examination of many examples have demonstrated that all the swords were in fact constructed from a number of units, varying in quantity from sword to sword. Thus, the example in the Metropolitan Museum "was made in nine, ten, or eleven parts, depending on whether the ricasso is separate and if so, whether it was made in one or two parts" (Lefferts 1964, 60): the blade and hilt are made of two units, the blade inserted into a split in the hilt; the two rings on the hilt were added; the disk pommel was added to a tang on the hilt and a flange added to mask the join; the two human heads and lion foreparts and the couchant lions were added to the pommel and the guard. All the added units were tightly and invisibly fitted into prepared grooves and locked into place by crimping or pushing back the edges of the grooves; some heating may have been employed. Although no rivets are evident on the Metropolitan Museum's sword or on some others (Maxwell-Hyslop and Hodges 1966, fig. 2; C. S. Smith 1971, fig. 2:28; F. Hummel 1977, 126, fig. 1; France-Lanord 1969, 92, 93, 103f.), several definitely preserve them to join the various units (Naumann in Maryon et al. 1961, 181; Bird and Hodges 1968, 218; France-Lanord 1969, 96, 98, fig. 13). And while some (most?) swords were constructed with the hilt and blade in one piece, several examples are known in which they are made separately and joined together by a rivet (Naumann in Maryon et al. 1961, 181; France-Lanord 1969, 98, fig. 13).

Other swords have been recorded as having been made of eight, nine, eleven, and even fifteen pieces. The number of hilt rings, rivets, and whether or not the blade and hilt are made in one piece determine the number of units recorded. After assembly, details were incised and apparently polished.

Of special interest is the fact that, unlike other swords and daggers known from antiquity, including the closely related No. 302, all the blades on the multi-piece swords are attached to the hilt at a ninety-degree turn, a feature that puzzles scholars (viz. A. Godard 1931, 40; Potratz 1955a, 187). To explain this anomaly Damien (1962, 30f., fig. 8a-d) suggested that the blade position indicates that the sword could have functioned as both a weapon and a tool; Pleiner (1969a, 33; 1969b, 46), on the other hand, sees the swords as symbols. Others have postulated that the hilt might have had an inlaid section

that would have facilitated a conventional grip (Spence and Needler 1955, 15; Maxwell-Hyslop and Hodges 1966, 168).

Laboratory examinations have demonstrated that each sword and its added units were hand forged and not cast, although molds were probably used as forms for the details (Moorey 1971a, 318, for a summary). That each sword was individually handcrafted is indicated by the fact that although all the attributes are very close in appearance and conform to a single design, no two seem to be alike in all details, in blade and hilt sizes and shapes, in weight, or in the sizes and proportions of the component units (Spence and Needler 1955, 15; Maryon et al. 1961, 175, 182; Damien 1962, 25ff.; Lefferts 1964, 59f.; Ternbach 1964, 47ff.; France-Lanord 1969, 78, 82); and some swords seem to have been made without lions on the guard (Nagel 1963, no. 29; Ternbach 1964, pl. XIII:5).

The problem concerning the specific composition of the metal has caused much debate, some of it contradictory. For although it is proper to refer to the material as wrought iron (i.e., not cast), it has been demonstrated that at least in some cases carbon exists, indicating to some scholars that the weapons are technically steel. Bird and Hodges (1968, 215ff.) and France-Lanord (1969, 86ff., 90, 105), however, have vigorously rejected these conclusions, maintaining that the presence of carbon is accidental, that it was not consciously added; to them the swords are not steel but forged iron (see also Pigott 1980, 448, and No. 302 above).

Not a single one of the approximately eighty-eight swords of the multi-piece class presently known to me has been excavated; all derive from clandestine digging (most, if not all, probably came from graves).¹ Most scholars have assumed that the swords derive from Luristan (A. Godard 1931, 317; Spence and Needler 1955, 18f.; Damien 1962, 17ff.; Maleki 1964, 17f.; Lefferts 1964, 59ff.; Pleiner 1969a, 34; Pleiner 1969b, 41, 46; Moorey 1981, 105). Only three scholars to my knowledge have argued for a non-Iranian origin. Herzfeld (1941, 135ff., 166f.) argued that the swords "are indeed a foreign element among the Luristan bronzes," and that the sword in the Khanenko collection in Kiev published as deriving from the Pontus area of the Black Sea actually came from there, and, further, that this area "must be the original provenance of them all"; the Pontus attribution was supported by Maryon (1961, 174) and Ghirshman (1983, 71, 73). Pleiner (1969a, 29, 33; 1969b, 41, 46) accepted only the Khanenko sword as deriving from outside Iran. Ghirshman (1983, 29, 51f., 71f., 73f., 77, 84f.) asserted, but did not demonstrate, that all the examples were imported to Luristan from Cappadocia in antiquity.²

Evidence for a conclusion that the multi-piece swords



Detail of join of pommel and hilt on No. 303.



Ricasso of No. 303.

derived from Luristan manifests itself primarily from examination of the typology of the swords' basic features, the hilt and blade, and secondarily from the existence of stylistic parallels for the protome heads and couchant lions. Maxwell-Hyslop and Hodges (1966, 167ff.), Calmeyer (1969a, 127), and Moorey (1971a, 317) have perceptively called attention to the close typological relationship of the multi-piece swords to those plain iron examples that have willow-leaf-shaped blades with a broad midrib, a narrow hilt either flanged with protuberances for gripping or solid with raised rings, and a concave or flat pommel. This information has been presented in the discussion of sword No. 302; it was also

noted in that discussion that several of these iron swords have been excavated in Luristan. There is yet another closely related class of excavated swords from Luristan that has a direct bearing on the problem of origin of the multi-piece class. At the eighth–seventh-century sites of War Kabud, Tuttalban, and Chamzhi-Mumah, vanden Berghe (1967, 56, right; 1971a, 265; 1975a, 357, fig. 6; 1977a, 63) excavated iron swords with rectangular solid hilts and raised rings, curved horizontal pommels, and willow-leaf-shaped blades. Except for the lack of the protomes and the lions, and, of course, the position of the blade relative to the hilt, these swords are typologically close to the embellished swords (France-Lanord 1969, 84). There can be little doubt that the multi-piece swords derived from the same cultural milieu as the excavated swords, and that they are a modification, although not necessarily a later development.

The most prominent parallel with respect to the bearded-head protome's eyes, nose, mouth, and beard is a statuette cited by Moorey (1971a, 318) and first published by A. Godard (1938, 233f., figs. 145–50); although unexcavated, it is accepted by most scholars as coming from Luristan ("Pusht-i Kuh": Calmeyer 1969a, 127, 143, fig. 133; Moorey 1971a, 318; Moorey 1971b, 117; Amiet 1976, 32). I believe that the Luristan attribution (certainly western Iran in general) is correct: all the features of the face are matched by typical Luristan figures (especially A. Godard 1931, pl. LVI:204; Moorey 1971a, no. 186); and the sword worn in the figure's belt is exactly the same in all details as the iron ones excavated at War Kabud and Chamzhi-Mumah, mentioned above (vanden Berghe 1968b, 124; Calmeyer 1969a, 127, 147).

Another statuette, now in the Schimmel collection (Harper in Muscarella 1974a, no. 146), is also a relevant parallel; it relates directly to the aforementioned statuette in facial features and the sword worn in the belt and less directly to the facial features of the heads on the pommels of the multi-piece swords.³ There can be little doubt about the Iranian background and origin of the Schimmel statuette. Finally, in this context one should mention a bearded male protome on the rim of a faience vessel excavated by Schmidt at Surkh Dum in Luristan (Muscarella 1981b, 349, no. 31). To be sure, this head is not matched by all details of the heads on the sword pommels—the eyes, ears, and beard are different, but the large curved nose and small mouth, as well as the protome concept itself, are worthy of comment and are part of the evidence supporting the suggestion that the multi-piece swords fit into a Luristan background.

Moorey (1971a, 318) has called our attention to still another Iranian feature on the swords by noting that the couchant lions on the guard are a motif common in Iranian art (see also De Waele 1982, 38, 46, 53). We may

also cite, in addition to Moorey's examples, the Hasanlu lion pins (Nos. 42–50), which, in position if not in style, are the same as those on the swords (see also sword No. 388).

The fact that the swords are manufactured of iron—and are relatively common—indicates that they were produced sometime in the first millennium B.C. On the basis of the evidence given above, in particular the chronological evidence of the excavated iron swords, we may safely conclude that the multi-piece swords were manufactured sometime between the late ninth and the seventh centuries B.C., a date that conforms in general with those suggested by Spence and Needler (1955, 19), Potratz (1955a, 187f.), Damien (1962, 27), Pleiner (1969a, 34), Moorey (1971a, 318), Amiet (1976, 34), and Evrard-Derriks (1977–78, 40). A more precise date within this period may tentatively be obtained by focusing on the War Kabud and Chamzhi iron swords mentioned above, which may range from about 750 to 650 B.C. (as Pleiner 1969b, 47). I suggest that the multi-piece swords may also be assigned within this period, about 750–650 B.C. Furthermore, as has been noted by Maxwell-Hyslop and Hodges (1966, 173) and Moorey (1971a, 318), the homogeneity of all the swords of this class suggests that they must have been made within a relatively short period of time and by a limited number of craftsmen.⁴ Therefore, the suggested range of about 750–650 B.C. merely establishes chronological perimeters.

The exact number of multi-piece swords in existence is not absolutely known, given the possibility that unknown and unpublished examples may exist in dealers' shops and in collections. But that the number in existence is indeed fairly large is evident from the published examples, and we may thus conclude that, whatever the use of the swords, mass production existed. Over the years the published list of currently known examples has grown: in 1961 Maryon recorded twelve examples (with duplications). In 1964 Lefferts repeated Maryon's list and added more for a total of thirteen examples. Calmeyer (1969a, 127) cited Lefferts's thirteen examples and in note 408 claimed to have located seven more. In 1971 Moorey was able to list a total of thirty plus. Pleiner (1969b, 41) mentioned over thirty examples, a figure he raised to about forty in 1969a, 29, and suggested that there might be as many as one hundred known. Schumacher (1973, 97ff.) listed about thirty-four, to which F. Hummel (1977, 125, n. 2) added two more. Ghirshman, in 1983 (p. 73), knew only two dozen. There are in fact considerably more examples known, and with the cooperation of Louis vanden Berghe, I have been able to recognize eighty-eight (plus/minus) examples housed in various museums and private collections.⁵

NOTES

1. Collected in this group as multi-piece swords are those that have the protomes on the pommel and the lions on the ricasso and those that lack some or all of these additions. Nagel 1963, no. 29; Rexroth 1932, pl. 41:7; Maxwell-Hyslop and Hodges 1966, pl. 1, nos. 3, 4; Bird and Hodges 1968, figs. 1, 2: we are here concerned with a polythetic class (Clarke 1978, 36, 207f.). Because the modern history of plundering in Luristan suggests that graves were the primary target, it is assumed on this circumstantial evidence that all the swords derived from graves. Whether an individual burial contained only one sword is unknown.

2. P. Diba, in *Les Trésors de l'Iran et le vase en or des Mannéens* (Paris, 1965), 88f., n. 1, fig. 53b, mistakenly stated that the sword in the Royal Ontario Museum was excavated at Alaca Hüyük. Actually, she confused the figures of Maryon et al. 1961, pl. 65: fig. 1 is from Alaca Hüyük, fig. 6 is from the Royal Ontario Museum (Diba's fig. 53b).

3. One should parenthetically call attention to a bronze statuette in Minneapolis, M. C. Rueppel, "Bronze Sculpture from Ancient Persia," *Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 4, 1, pt. 1 (1957), 1-3, cover illus.; Culican 1965, 131, pl. 66. I only know this piece from the photograph and hesitate to cite it: if it is genuine then it too should be brought into the discussion concerning Iranian statuettes with a sword at the belt. For another statuette, no doubt genuine, with a sword at its belt, see *Kunstschätze aus Iran* (Kunsthaus, Zurich, 1962), no. 190, pl. 23.

4. If this chronological conclusion holds up, then we might conclude that each sword was made for a specific person and that they were not passed down to others to use. The individual variations in manufacture and the number and size of specific components suggest that more than one craftsman was involved. Because no examples were excavated, we do not know their geographical distribution. Nor do we know whether the swords were juxtaposed to objects that might reflect wealth or signs of rank when compared to other graves.

5. A longer version of this entry, with a catalogue of the eighty-eight (plus/minus) swords, is to be published in *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe* (Ghent, 1989).

304. Spiked Axehead

32.161.2; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze;¹ length 19 cm

305. Spiked Axehead

32.161.3; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; length 19 cm

THESE TWO axeheads are characterized primarily by the splayed flat blade set in the same plane as the socket, and by the spikes projecting from the rear of the socket. The latter is cylindrical and relatively short and is cast with moldings that continue as the spikes. The spikes of No. 305 are plain and blunt, those of No. 304 are in the form of animal heads (bears?). The blade springs at an oblique angle from the upper part of the socket—itsself set obliquely to the whole blade—and rises slightly above it; the top edge is almost horizontal to the tip, where it

curves sharply down and inward to form a long striking edge, and then curves upward where it narrows at the socket. No. 304 is distinguished by having a zoomorphic juncture: the blade issues from the mouth of an animal head set into the upper part of the socket.

This class of axehead is represented by a large corpus of examples, and it occurs in a number of forms or subtypes, with a variety of blade curves and socket angles and embellishments (see No. 306). At least two stray plain examples like No. 305 in blade form and socket angle bear twelfth-century B.C. inscriptions, one in Akkadian for an Elamite king and one in Babylonian (Dossin 1962, 157f., pls. xxiii:13, xxiv:14; Porada 1965, fig. 52; Porada 1979b, 142, n. 11; Calmeyer 1969a, 67, Group 33A', B', C', claims there are three separate axes). And an example with an uncommon narrow and moderately splayed blade, but with four typical spikes, was excavated in a thirteenth-century B.C. temple at Tchoga Zanbil (Ghirshman 1966, 100, pl. LIII:4—not inscribed, pace Medvedskaya 1982, 81). Until recently these examples were the sole evidence for dating the axes, but recent excavations in western Luristan have demonstrated that they had a longer life and a distribution outside of Elam. At two cemetery sites, Bard-i Bal and Kutal-i Gulgul, vanden Berghe (1970b, 10, 13; 1971c, 20f., 26, figs. 11, 13, 28; 1973a, 16, 24, 35, figs. 5, 11, 20, pls. xvii, xviii:1; 1973c, 18, 22, 24, 25) excavated a number of examples. The sites are roughly contemporary, dated to about 1000-900 B.C. (vanden Berghe 1973f, 4), and indicate that the type existed for centuries after the inscribed examples were made. Another excavated example comes from Xatunban in eastern Luristan. In this the upper edge of the blade is extremely curved and the edge is horizontal, on a level parallel to the base of the socket; its date is unknown (Iran Bastan Museum 1977, 63, no. 390). Finally, a fragment of an axe, preserving only three spikes, derives from a metal hoard of probable early first-millennium date at Tang-i Hamamlan (Thrane 1964, 158, fig. 5; cf. Moorey 1971a, 53, no. 20); and a complete example was excavated at Surkh Dum.² Thus, we may date our axes between the twelfth century (leaving aside the Tchoga Zanbil example, which is an earlier form) and 900 B.C. (or later: see note 2).

Neither the inscribed nor the Tchoga Zanbil example has the zoomorphic juncture or the animal-head spikes, and it may be that subtypes like No. 304 are later embellishments. Yet that, for at least the time during their manufacturing history, both the plain and embellished zoomorphic forms existed together is indicated at Kutal-i Gulgul where contemporary tombs yielded plain examples and at least one embellished one.

Many plain examples exist in various collections (see Calmeyer 1969a, 67ff.; Moorey 1971a, 49ff.); here I cite

for convenience only parallels for the zoomorphic form: A. Godard 1931, pl. xviii:56; Deonna 1932, 86, fig. 10; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. iv:18; Deshayes 1960, II, pls. lII:3103, LXVI:1.3102; Nagel 1963, pls. xx, XXI:37, XXII:38; Potratz 1968, figs. 20, 22–27; Barbier 1970, nos. 81, 82; Moorey 1974a, 42f., nos. 7, 8; Moorey 1981, nos. 37–41; Amiet 1976, no. 51; De Waele 1982, 27, no. 20; Orthmann 1982, 19, no. 65. All are strays; many have animal-head spikes, and some have animals in the round on the top of the blade edge. The internal chronology and development of the class have still to be worked out, especially with concern for the dating of the latest period of manufacture. It would seem that the examples with the typical Luristan coiled feline on the upper part of the blade are among the latest made, perhaps dating to the eighth century B.C. (see Nos. 277, 278).

Only a single example of this class of axehead has been excavated in the Near East outside of Luristan, that from Tchoga Zanbil.³ And the example inscribed in Akkadian, which reads: “(axe) that King Shilhak-Inshushinak has made” (Ghirshman 1960, 210), may also be assumed to have been made in Elam, not Luristan. Of course, the finds of vanden Berghe now firmly support the Luristan origin of some, if not all, examples among the strays, and Potratz’s (1968, 2) suggestion that the class is “die Luristanische Hauptaxt” thus gains support. However, Calmeyer’s (1969a, 70) assertion that they are “rein ‘luristanisch’” is valid only if understood in a chronological sense. This limitation exists because of the find from Tchoga Zanbil and the existence of the inscribed

Shilhak-Inshushinak and Babylonian examples. At present, the evidence suggests that the axes were made both in Elam and in Luristan, but apparently at an earlier time in Elam, where the zoomorphic juncture was at home (see No. 335). Put another way, the axes may have originated in Elam but eventually they were used extensively, and perhaps exclusively, in Luristan.

Because the angle of the socket and blade is askew, more in some cases than in others, there has been discussion concerning whether these axeheads were used as weapons or were made solely as parade pieces (viz. Ghirshman 1960, 210; Moorey 1971a, 53; Medvedskaya 1982, 81f.). The question has been settled in favor of the former use by Potratz (1968, 2, n. 5), Calmeyer (1969a, 67), Porada (1979a, 400), and De Waele (1982, 36f.).⁴ On both Nos. 304 and 305 the striking blade is sharp and could certainly have functioned as a weapon, and as Potratz and Porada have argued, the point could have permitted the weapon to function as a “Reisshacken,” a ripping axe, and a terrible weapon.⁵

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 304: D. Carter 1957, pl. 25e; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 42.

NOTES

1. Cu: 90.7%, Sn: 8.24%, Pb: .114%, Zn: .011% (1986).

2. A related, smaller example (length 14 cm) of the same blade and spike type as illustrated in Moorey 1971a, 59, no. 20, and De Waele 1982, 26, no. 19, with a zoomorphic lion’s head juncture, but here facing the spikes, not the blade (cf. A. Godard 1931, pl. XXI:64, which is Godard 1962, fig. 115), was excavated at Surkh Dum (van Loon 1967, 24; apparently Ackerman 1940, 2d ed., 532 f; now in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania: Sor 1633). It is either a late variety (eighth century?) of the types under discussion here, or a curated heirloom: it is not the same subtype as Moorey 1971a, 51, nos. 14, 15, and Moorey 1974a, 32f., nos. 7, 8, as suggested there (Muscarella 1981b, 328, n. 6). See also Mallowan 1966, I, figs. 23, 24, for a related Assyrian example, probably ninth century B.C.

3. Aurel Stein (1940, 223, pl. IX:11) was shown a spiked, but variant blade example in Luristan by the villagers of Tarhan, said by them to have come from Chiga-pahan. It has the normal socket and spikes, but the blade is heavy and not so prominently curved as is normal (cf. Arne 1962, fig. 7, middle right). Note that whereas Stein carefully noted that the axe had no known specific provenience and that the alleged site of the find was chosen “probably at random,” vanden Berghe (1981, 19) and Moorey (1971a, 50) give the site as an actual provenience. A. Godard claimed that two spiked axes (1933, 132 and figs. 9, 10: the latter went to the David-Weill collection) were found in Zalu-Ab, northeast of Kermanshah, i.e., north of Luristan proper. But it is clear from a close reading of the text that Godard did not himself witness the uncovering of the finds, rather he got his information from “l’inspecteur qui a suivi les travaux” (the dig was a commercial one, not an archaeological excavation). For a review of earlier spiked axes from Syria, see Moorey 1971a, 49f.

4. Both Calmeyer (1969a, 67, 68, pl. 5:1) and Moorey (1971a, 51) cited the axe represented on the well-known bronze tondo in Leiden as an example of the plain spiked axe (Calmeyer’s Group 33). However, a close examination of a photograph of the tondo reveals quite clearly that the axe is a form unparalleled by extant examples, that it

304



305





306

is a form patterned after but different from Group 33 axes. The drawing of the axe in Calmeyer 1973a, 37, is not accurate, as it is unintentionally altered to better represent a typical example. The blade actually represented on the tondo is also too large for the shaft and it lies awkwardly parallel to the shaft. I have elsewhere raised doubts about the authenticity of the tondo (Muscarella 1977a, 176, no. 70), one of the reasons being the, to my mind, misinterpreted axe form. There is a group of disks or disk pins, including the Leiden piece, that have representations of a man riding a bull or cow: see also a silver pin in Cleveland (B. Goldman 1964, pl. xli); a bronze pin and umbo (Ghirshman 1964, figs. 90, 490). Not one of these examples was excavated and all are to my eyes suspicious; they may not be ancient productions. Compare G. M. Belleli, in *AMI* 16 (1983), 110f. and fig. 1, a fragmented silver plaque, on which is depicted a man riding an animal that could be—but is not certainly—a bull; the plaque seems to be ancient.

5. See Helmut Nickel, *Ullstein Waffenbuch* (Berlin, 1974), 204.

306. Adze/Axe

51.72.7; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1951
Bronze;¹ length 16.4 cm

THIS OBJECT seems to be an adze, a tool rather than a weapon, because of the shape and position of the blade; nevertheless, because of the rear spikes and the weight, it could easily have functioned as an axe used as a weapon. In form it is clearly a subtype of the class represented by Nos. 304, 305, here having a different blade shape, which is set at a right angle to the socket. The spikes are in the form of animal heads, in this case with long ears, and which suggests that they are horses or antelopes. Here too a zoomorphic juncture, in this case a lion's head, exists at the blade's end. Moldings on the socket are raised dotted bands and appear to imitate thongs.

No examples of this subtype have yet been excavated, but inasmuch as it is close to No. 304, it may be assumed that this adze/axe should be dated to the same general time period, late second–early first millennium B.C.

For parallels, all strays, see: A. Godard 1931, pl. xxi:64; Deshayes 1960, II, pl. lIII:3116; Nagel 1963, pl. xxiv:43; Moorey 1971a, 60, no. 31; Moorey 1974a, 46, no. 12; Amiet 1976, nos. 52, 53; sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, no. 220; De Waele 1982, 28, no. 21.

NOTE

1. Cu: 90.4%, Sn: 8.53%, Pb: .297%, Zn: .029% (1986).

307



307. Knobbed Mace Head

62.225.4; Gift of Robert B. Forrest, 1962
Bronze; length 11.5 cm

THE HEAD of this mace is covered with raised lozenge-shaped knobs; it is placed near the top of a long socket that is just over half the total length. This type of mace head seems to be a modification of the earlier spiked examples such as those excavated at Hasanlu (Nos. 69, 70).

Almost exact parallel pieces have been excavated in Luristan at three sites, War Kabud, Djub-i Gauhar, and Chamzhi-Mumah (vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 30:3, 4; vanden Berghe 1975a, fig. 6:5, fig. 14:6; vanden Berghe 1980, 38, fig. 10:11). These examples furnish us with a firm date for their manufacture, the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., and a firm provenience in Luristan. Stray examples attributed to Luristan may in fact have derived from there (Calmeyer 1969a, 8ff., pl. 4:8, 9: dated too early; Moorey 1974a, 48, no. 16, cf. no. 15). (See No. 150 for the alleged findspot of this mace head.)



SHEET METAL

308. Quiver Plaque

41.156; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1941
Bronze; length 55.3 cm

THIS LONG, thin, tapering plaque is the front side of a quiver. It was once attached to another material, and the numerous small holes on the edges of the long sides suggest that it was sewn rather than riveted to the backing, which was most probably leather. Leather was also probably the material of the back part of the quiver. Two larger holes, one at the top right of the plaque, the other at the bottom right, held the cord that secured the quiver to the shoulder. The plaque is divided into seven horizontal panels decorated in repoussé with scenes, all complete except the lowest; at the very top is a now corroded border that is bent back to form a narrow flat rim.¹

Although each panel is distinct in the nature of the scene depicted, there is some attempt at symmetry evident in the overall design. Thus, the top and bottom panels depict rampant winged "bulls" flanking and touching a stylized tree, two pairs above, and one below where the available space is narrow. The adjacent two panels, the second and the sixth, both depict animal friezes, the upper one a procession of three antelopes (or gazelles?) moving to the right toward an ibex represented in a vertical position (to fill a small space?), the lower panel a lion attacking an antelope. The horns of the antelopes are decorated with horizontal lines whereas the front and back projections of the winged animals of panels one and seven have continuous vertical lines. The latter form of decoration is typical in panels three, four, and five to suggest hair, which could indicate that the winged animals in panels one and seven have manes, not horns. However, in panel one the feet are cloven like the herbivores, and the ears are relatively short. Of related interest is the fact that although the same animal is seemingly represented in panels one and seven, the tails are depicted in different lengths and positions. Because of the cloven feet I call them bulls with the understanding that they may be composite creatures.

The three central panels shift markedly from an emphasis on animals, both in mythical and apparently natural conditions, to an emphasis on the world of pure mythology concerning demons and deities. And it is these scenes that appear to be conveying the primary message of the plaque. The top panel in this unit, the



third of the plaque (of uneven height; the center is 6.8 cm), depicts two winged and horned male deities en face except for the feet, which are all turned to the right. They wear identical but differently proportioned calf-length flared and fringed garments, belted (?) and with crossed bands extending from the shoulders to the belt. Their faces are puffed out at the cheeks, round bulging eyes have thick brows joining over a flat nose, a rectangular beard reaches to the chest, and a scalloped unit, which may be hair, projects between the horns. The horns are not depicted in the same size, as the ones on the right-hand figure are somewhat smaller and more restricted than those on the left. Dramatically characterizing these figures are open-mouthed lion-head protomes springing forth from both sides of their heads; the protomes have projecting forelocks and long, sharp fangs through which a long tongue protrudes. The deity at the left holds long palm (?) branches in both hands, while his neighbor holds a rampant lion at bay with his left hand. In his right hand he holds a rectangular object attached to a long handle, the tip of which he awkwardly grasps. Moorey (1975c, 25) has perceptively identified the design on the rectangular object as a lion-mask, although the object is a separate decorated unit and not, as Moorey suggested, a continuation of the palm branch held by the other deity. Porada (1975, 397) interprets the rectangular object as a heavy mace, a weapon needed to subdue the lion, and Dumézil (1950, 21, 22ff.) has interpreted it as an altar, but its size and the presence of a handle precludes these respective interpretations. In any event, whatever the object is, it is unique.

The next panel, the fourth, is distinguished both by being in the central position and by having the greatest height (10 cm) of all the panels; it is also unique in its composition and superb in its execution. Two gigantic, rampant lions flank in an apparently unmenacing manner a relatively small humanoid figure whose head and legs are profiled while his upper body is seen from the front. The figure holds (hands are not visible) two horned animals, each by one of its rear legs, while he himself is touched by one paw of each of the lions. The latter are depicted in the same manner and style as the one in panels three and six, except for minor differences in body markings on the thigh, chest, and stomach, in the body proportions and tail positions, and in the lack of top hair locks. A vulture, or perhaps a raptor, is placed just above the lions' uplifted paws. Only the right-hand lion touches the groundline, but it may be fortuitous that its companion and the central figure seem to float (see also the animals in panels two and six). The central figure has a heavy brow that curves out and down into a non-human, bulbous nose. His hair is rendered in a net pattern with a dot in each unit, and there may be a headband.

An ear but no mouth is depicted, and there is a thin curved beard touching the chest. He is barefoot but seems to be clothed in a short-sleeved, knee-length tunic, as several body markings might be indications of clothing. A band across the waist could be a belt, but it is unclear what the bands below the knees represent. The two horned animals do not have the same horn structure, and the left may be horns of a caprid, the right of an antelope; both have cloven hooves.

More than with the other scenes represented, the fifth panel (height 9.3 cm) seems to our modern uninstructed eyes to depict a specific narration in abbreviated form. A central male figure en face except for the feet, one represented bare, the other booted, clasps his hands before him. A human head is attached to a cord which passes through the hands and is apparently held by them, although it clearly continues up to the beard. Is the viewer meant to understand that a head is held by the man's neck? Clothing, as well as the face and beard, are similar in form to that of the deities of panel three, yet this figure appears to be an older man, a human, and presents a less starey-eyed effect on the viewer. He is flanked by two humanoid figures who are similar in physiognomy to the one in panel four but who exhibit noticeable differences: in hair pattern and the presence of a projecting hair lock, in clothing, and in the presence of a unique arrowlike projection at the neck. These details may be clues to the viewer that different creatures or demons are represented in the two panels. In panel five the right figure carries a palm branch in his left hand and grasps the central figure with his right; a sword in its sheath (?) is at his waist. The left figure does not exactly balance the action of his colleague, except in intent, for although he, too, holds the central figure with one hand, in the other is no palm branch. Here there is a sword that is distinctly aimed (albeit crookedly) at the central figure in a threatening manner, indicating that harm is intended.

All the figures on the quiver have a rich patterning of lines and subsidiary decoration, and most of the clothing and the animals' bodies have a double-line outer border with dotted or beaded decoration. The best-executed figures on the plaque are the animals, in particular the lions in panel four and the ibex in panel two. They have pronounced outlined shoulders in the front, triangular outlined eyes, veining and joint lines, neck bands, and thigh markings, either a swirl or a dotted circle. The deities, demons, and humanoid creatures have neatly rendered hair and beards, fine clothing and wing lines, and are all skillfully executed except perhaps for



the legs (but note those of panel four). There are rosettes in panels three through six and dot-encircled disks in panel three, but there is no obvious feeling of horror vacui, except perhaps in panel three (cf. Moorey 1975c, 25); no background scenery occurs. Although the figures in panels three and five are dressed basically in the same type of long garment, details differ, i.e., length of fringe, presence or lack of a "belt," or oblique skirt decoration, all of which suggest an effort to distinguish one set of figures from the other, to make clear they are different personalities.

It is tempting to essay an interpretation of the various scenes depicted on the plaque, and this has been done by some previous writers, with less than desirable results (viz. Dussaud 1949, 213ff.: pre-Zoroastrian Indo-Iranian Kassite; Dumézil 1950, 18ff.: pre-Zoroastrian Vedic; Lancaster 1952, 98f.: astrological; Ghirshman 1964, 70f.: Zoroastrian; cf. Porada 1975, 397f., for a less extreme view). Moorey (1975c, 19, 24ff., 29), in his study of this and other quivers, has concluded that, inasmuch as we know practically nothing about the religion and mythology of the culture that produced them, attempts at interpretation lead only to "self-deception," for no "simple solution, nor any specific identification of deities or myths, is probable." With these views I am in agreement, and it seems that only general statements based on obvious internal features may be offered as tentative suggestions to explain the scenes. Thus, to begin with the obvious, the scenes are depicted on a quiver, and one might posit that they relate to the needs of a warrior, a protector of the homeland, or to a hunter, a provider of food. One might then suggest with Porada that the scenes are meant to be, perhaps among other things, apotropaic in nature. Individual items represented may have been easily recognized by the contemporary viewer as indications that a specific, known narrative is illustrated, namely the rectangular, lion-masked object in panel three and the isolated head and bare feet in panel five. In panel five the large central figure seems to be a captive of the two figures, clearly smaller in stature and either demons or heroes. Is the head decapitated and tied to the neck of the central figure as a penalty? The palm branch carried by one of the figures may be an identification symbol, as might the strange arrowlike projection at the neck of each of the two figures. Porada (1975, 398) compares this scene to the "Humbaba" motif on the Hasanlu gold bowl, but although a general formal relationship might be perceived, in that two figures surround and seem to harm a third, iconographically the scenes are distinct. Thus, we do not know if a shared myth is being depicted on the two objects or if in fact two separate stories are illustrated.² Nor do we know whether the central panel, four, illustrates a mythologi-

cal narrative or is merely a standard master-of-animals motif, a specific but general apotropaic emblem. Finally, it is tempting to suggest that the animal friezes in panels two and six relate to sympathetic magic appropriate for a hunter, but what may seem obvious to us may not reflect reality. In any event, we have some idea concerning the problems of interpretation.

Attention has been called to the differences in the form of the horns of the two figures in panel three. A close examination of the drawing of the figures reveals still other slight variations, not in style, rather in detail of execution: the shape of the beards, the lines of the arms, neck lengths, shape and detailing of the feet, toes, and ankles, the position of the "belts," and the lengths of the fringed area of the skirts. Nor are the lion protomes the same in details of execution: in the tongue decoration—herringbone on the right, plain on the left; in the curve of the hair curl; and in the length of the projection. These variations might reflect simply the work of one artist over a period of time, and the fact that the left figure was crowded into a smaller area than the right figure. It is also possible that these details suggest that the decoration is the product of two separate artists working closely together in the same workshop. The differences in details and proportions between the feline in panel three (thought to be a bull by Dussaud, 1949, 214) and those in panels four and six might reflect the work of two individuals, but it is also possible that the feline in panel three is a lion and the others, lionesses. Also, the feet and toes of the figure in panel four are rendered with more charm and security than those of the other figures, and he has ankles marked, a feature found only on the left figure of panel three. Note also the different rendering of the rosettes in panel five from those in panels three, four, and six. In the final analysis the question of whether one artist or more worked on the plaque must remain open because subjective perceptions are involved—yet the possibility for the latter situation exists, however subtly, and should be considered.³

Quivers are known from the ancient Near East both as objects and as representations in art (Madhloom 1970, pls. 24, 25; Hrouda 1965, pls. 20, 21; Calmeyer 1973a, 44ff., Groups E, F), but surprisingly few derive from controlled excavation. From Mesopotamia there is one from Uruk of neo-Babylonian date, and one from second-millennium B.C. Mari (Calmeyer 1969a, 87, Group 43 b", c"); from Iran there is one from Susa, one from War Kabud in Luristan of Iron III date (Calmeyer 1969a, 87, Group 43A", d"; vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 29c; vanden Berghe 1979b, fig. 4), three unpublished examples from Period IV at Hasanlu (one decorated with a hunt scene in local style), and some unpublished examples from Marlik (Negahban 1981, 369). These quivers are deco-



Panels six and seven of
No. 308.

rated with geometric designs or, as in the case of one or more of the Hasanlu examples, plain (I know nothing of those from Marlik). In addition to the excavated quivers, there are two distinct groups, all unexcavated and known to us from the antiquities market, that have been assigned to Iran, specifically Luristan. All the quivers mentioned are of bronze, and it is possible that others made of perishable materials such as leather have not been preserved.

The first group of unexcavated quivers may be subdivided into at least two units, one decorated in horizontal panels with scenes in Mesopotamian, specifically neo-Babylonian or Assyrian style, the other also with

panels, in a more provincial, cruder Assyrian or neo-Babylonian style (Calmeyer 1969a, 81ff. Group 43; Calmeyer 1973a, 93ff.; Calmeyer 1984, 144, pl. 10 [Calmeyer 1972a, no. 54, is surely not genuine?]; Muscarella 1974a, no. 138; Moorey 1975c, 21). In decorative scheme, these examples remind us of the quivers represented on the Assyrian reliefs of the time of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), the only time in Assyrian art when quivers were decorated with horizontal panels containing figured scenes; after this period all Assyrian quivers are decorated with geometric or floral patterns (Layard 1849, pls. 5, 28; Hrouda 1965, pl. 20:11; cf. vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, no. 30). Whether

the unexcavated quivers date to the ninth century or later, to the eighth, is not clear (see Calmeyer 1969a, 83, 86; Calmeyer 1973a, 95, Moorey 1971a, 255; Moorey 1975c, 21; Muscarella 1974a, no. 138; for problems of forgeries see Porada 1979a, 400; Muscarella 1977a, nos. 40–43). On the basis of an unverified claim by Maleki (1964, 2f.), these quivers have been attributed as deriving from Gilan, in northwestern Luristan, close to the Iraqi border (see also Ishiguro 1976, 94f., no. 106; sale catalogue, Sotheby Parke Bernet, 20 May 1982, no. 14, said to be Calmeyer 1969a, 86, Group 43D': restored?).

The second group of unexcavated quivers, to which the Metropolitan Museum's example belongs, consists to date of eight or nine examples, all of which have been collected and published by Moorey (1975c). Aside from the present example, they exist in the following collections: ex-Heeramanek, now in Los Angeles (Moorey 1981, no. 444; for a possible second example in Los Angeles, see no. 446); three in the Louvre: one a fragment (and not certain to be from a quiver, Moorey 1975c, pl. ivd; A. Godard 1962, fig. 38, 45ff., dates it to the second millennium B.C. and calls it a plaque; see Calmeyer 1973a, 95, n. 59, who also questions it as a quiver fragment), one ex-Barbier, and one ex-David-Weill (Amiet 1974b; Moorey 1975c, fig. 5, pl. 11a); one in Brussels (Moorey 1975c, pl. 11b); and two in Teheran (Moorey 1975c, 26f., n. 48, fig. 7; Amiet 1976, 84, fig. 47). Although all are distinct in the types of representations, they all share the same horizontal arrangement, the same corpus of motifs, and style. Using the Metropolitan Museum's quiver as a standard, the following motifs are shared among the remaining examples: triple-headed en face figure: ex-Heeramanek Los Angeles; open-mouthed rampant lion: Louvre (ex-Barbier and ex-David-Weill), Brussels; heraldic winged bulls flanking a tree: Louvre (ex-David-Weill), Brussels, Teheran, Los Angeles (Moorey 1981, no. 446); master of animals: ex-Heeramanek Los Angeles, Louvre (the fragment and ex-Barbier), Brussels, Teheran; vulture/raptor: Louvre (ex-Barbier); beaded outlined body: ex-Heeramanek Los Angeles, Louvre (ex-Barbier and ex-David-Weill), Brussels; thigh pattern: Louvre (ex-Barbier); rosette fillers: Louvre (ex-Barbier), Brussels, Teheran. Further, the ex-Heeramanek Los Angeles quiver has a scene in which a central figure, winged and horned, grasps by the wrists two flanking bullmen, which reminds us of the scene on panel five of our quiver, but which probably represents a different event. This quiver also exhibits prominently Elamite features (Moorey 1975c, 21).

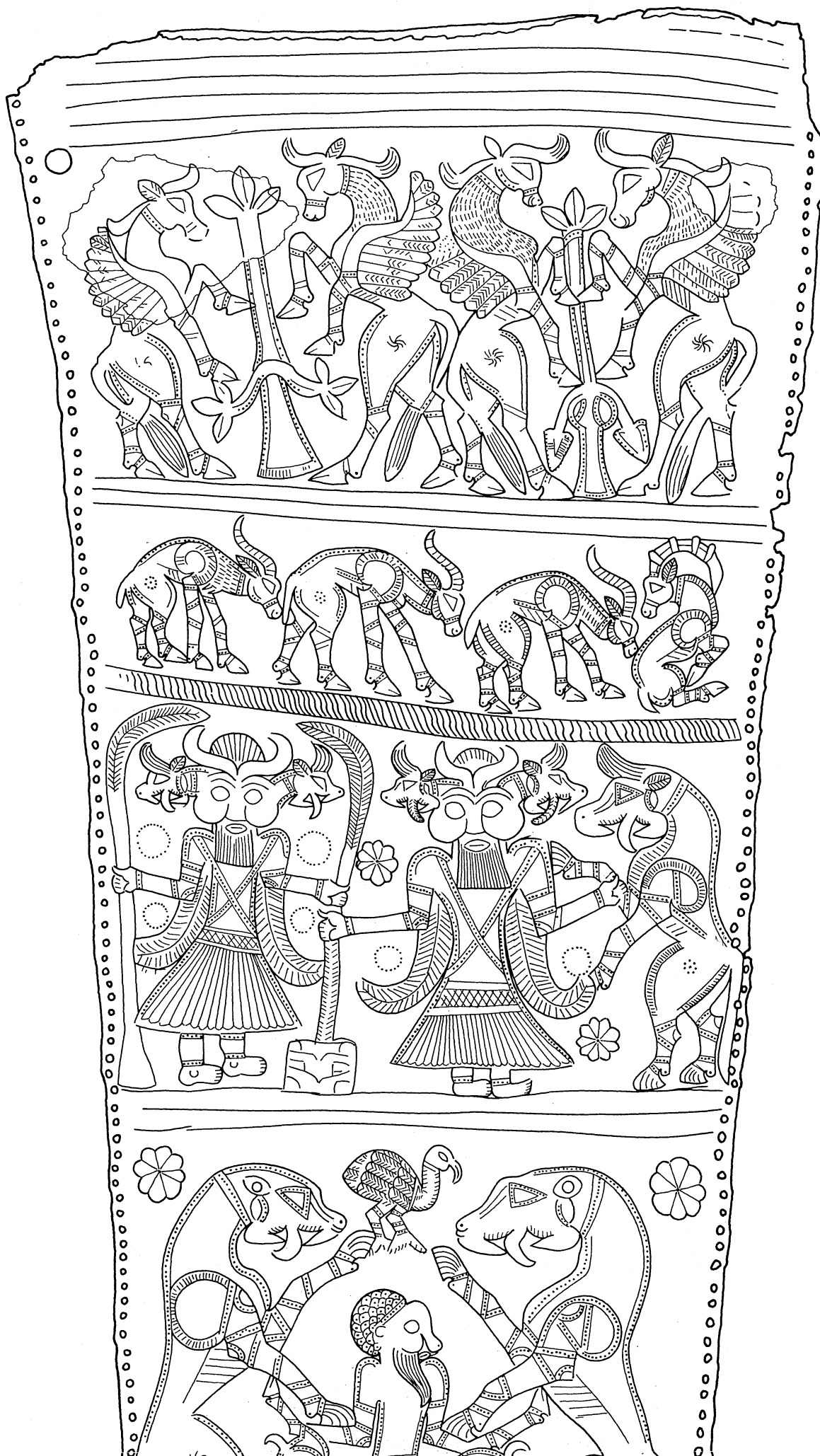
That the latter group of quivers is not an isolated group, but rather fits into a broad, recognized cultural background, is indicated by the stylistic and iconographical parallels easily found on other bronze objects, pri-

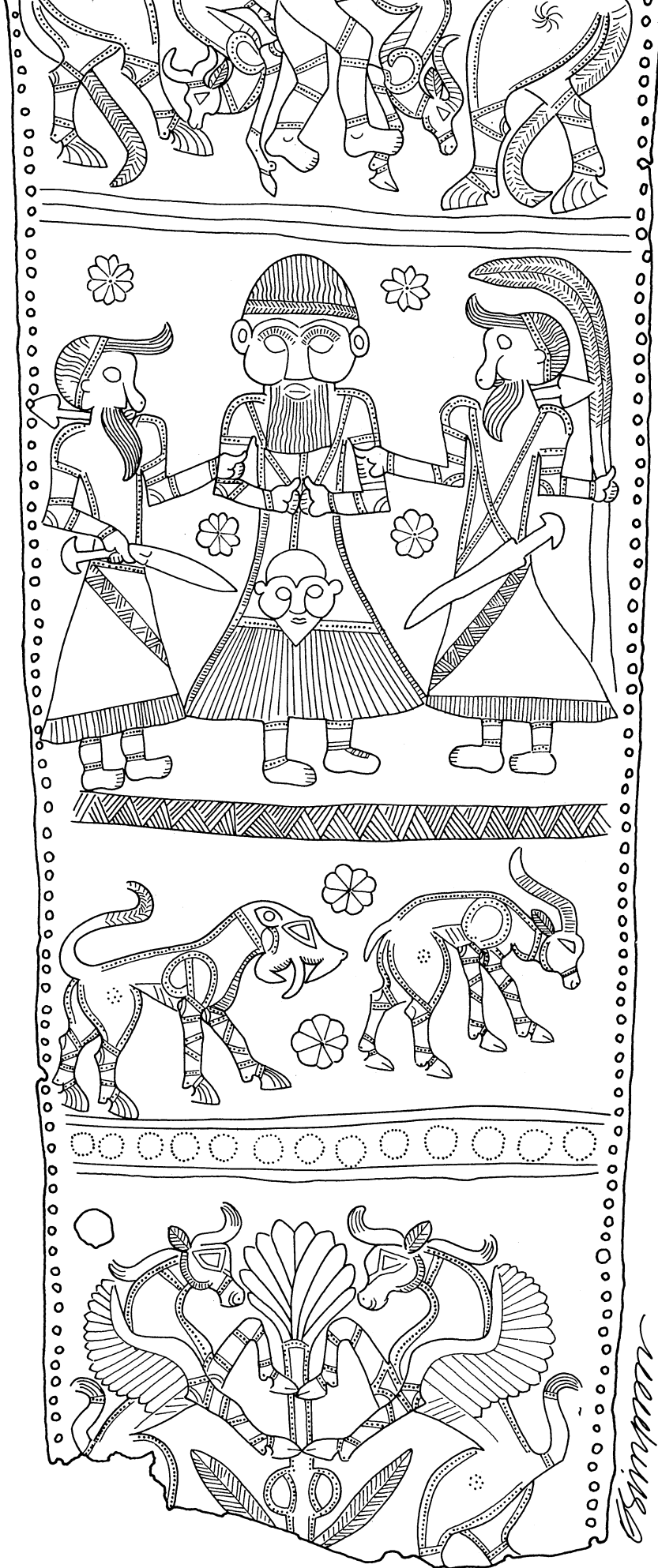
marily those associated with the art of Luristan. One class of objects (noted by Kantor 1947, 258), hammered disk-headed pins (see Nos. 309–312), in particular share the same stylistic features and repertory of motifs. While the bearded bulbous-nosed figures on our quiver do not occur on any of the others, they are depicted on a number of disk-headed pins, where they also wear the same type of garments as the figures on panels three and five (A. Godard 1962, figs. 56, 59, pls. 21, 23; cf. figs. 52, 54, 55; see also Nos. 309–312, note 5). On Godard's plate 21 the flanking figures carry palm branches (at least the left one), and they flank, here in an apparently beneficial manner, a central figure; palm branches are depicted on other pins as well (de Clercq-Fobe 1978, nos. 55, 56). On Godard's plate 23 the left figure has the very same net-pattern hair as that of the figure in panel four of the Metropolitan Museum's quiver. Isolated heads/masks, triple-headed figures,⁴ and open-mouthed lions are also found on pinheads (A. Godard 1962, figs. 43, 45; Moorey 1971a, no. 361; Moorey 1975c, pl. 11b).

One extraordinary disk-headed pin is of special importance for the present discussion because it connects, more than any other example, the workshops of the pins to those of the quivers, and because it is the closest existing parallel to the Metropolitan Museum's quiver both in style and motifs depicted. The pin, now in Zurich (Potratz 1945–51, fig. 3; Moorey 1975c, 25, pl. 111a), is, first of all, uniquely divided into multiple horizontal panels, an arrangement more at home on quivers than on disk-headed pins.⁵ Within these panels there are upright lions with open mouths and protruding tongues, heraldic winged bulls flanking a stylized tree, isolated heads/masks, lions attacking gazelles, and rosette fillers, all rendered in exactly the same style, execution, and animal-body markings as on the Metropolitan Museum's quiver. The panel arrangement together with these parallels indicate, as clearly as possible on any two pieces, that the pin and quiver almost certainly derive from the same workshop; at the least we may acknowledge that one was made not without knowledge of the other. Note also, before leaving the Zurich pin, that both the quatrefoil and the half-rosette motifs in its border occur on other disk-headed pins and on the ex-Heeramanek Los Angeles quiver (Moorey 1975c, pl. 11b and fig. 1; Moorey 1981, no. 444; A. Godard 1962, fig. 89).

Another disk-headed pin warrants attention. This is an example in Los Angeles (ex-Rabenou, ex-Heeramanek: Moorey 1981, 80, no. 388), which both Moorey and I (1977a, 173, no. 21) have considered to be suspicious. Here a demon masters two upside-down horned

FIG. 15. Drawing of No. 308 by Elizabeth Simpson.





Samman

animals while a predatory bird attacks their stomachs. It is clear to me, after viewing Elizabeth Simpson's drawing of the Metropolitan Museum's quiver and discussing the Los Angeles pin with her (for she brought it to my attention again), that certain elements of the decoration on the pin are almost identical to those on the quiver: the ear of the demon divided into two units (cf. quiver panels one and seven); his shoulder-arm position and patterning (cf. panel three); his skirt outline and the execution of the bottom fringe; the shape and position of the feet and the shape of the mouth (cf. panels three and five). There are also differences: the presence of a mustache on the demon and his pendant "wings" (perhaps tassels?); the presence of the birds; and the fact that the horned animals lack body markings, so characteristic of the quiver animals. At first the floral design on the border bothered me, but the design of four concentric semicircles (half-rosettes) surrounding a raised dot is matched on the Zurich pin.

In the final analysis it seems to me that the Los Angeles pin is genuine. Indeed, it is possible that the pin may have been made in the same workshop that made the quiver and the Zurich pin; or, considering the lack of animal markings, it could have been made in another workshop, but one that was closely related.

Still other objects, all within the Luristan repertory of sheet-metal artifacts, exhibit parallels in style and motif to our quiver. A bronze strip in Berlin depicts a figure with a bulbous nose, unbearded, and dressed in a long, flared, and fringed garment, as well as open-mouthed lions attacking a horned animal, a winged lion with a protruding tongue, and a vulture, here apparently held by the bulbous-nosed figure (Nagel 1963, no. 57). The execution of this piece is cruder than that of any of the quivers, and detailed body markings along with the outlined hooked shoulder are lacking on any of the animals, but its artistic background is the same as that of the quivers and disk-headed pins. A small, curved plaque, ex-David-Weill collection (Amiet 1976, no. 195), depicts open-mouthed lions in a master-of-animals scene and a lion attacking a horned animal, in style and motif matching figures on the ex-Heeramaneck Los Angeles, the Brussels, and the Metropolitan Museum quivers. We may also note the Luristan background of the lion-mask in panel three (cf. Nos. 270, 271). The hair swirl on the lions in panel four, however, is rare in Iran (Kantor 1947, 258: fig. 7A may not be ancient), but it occurs on lions depicted on a bronze vessel of undetermined date from Marlik (Negahban 1983, 83, no. 57; cf. no. 21). The open-mouthed lion with a long, sharp tongue protruding through fangs is also known on a class of cheek-pieces rendered in the form of a lion drawing a chariot

with an archer (Muscarella 1982a). I am not sure, however, whether this class derives from Luristan and think it may be a more northern creation.

The presence of a figure with one foot bare and one booted or shod is intriguing, and to my knowledge it is a motif unattested elsewhere in Luristan. I know of only one example (reference from Edith Porada), on an ivory figurine from Nuzi. M. Mellink (in *Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, ed. K. Bittel [Berlin, 1964], 155, 161) cites episodes recounted in the Bible which suggest that a person shown with one shoe removed either attests something or is being represented as in disgrace.⁶ One does not know which attitude, if either, obtains for the scene in the fifth panel, but the latter possibility would seem to fit into context with someone being threatened and who seems to have a decapitated head hanging from his neck.

Moorey (1975c, 25, nn. 41, 42) has placed within the Luristan milieu some bronze vessels decorated with animal friezes that he believes parallel the antelopes or gazelles passant on our quiver and on the Zurich disk-headed pin. While these vessels share the frieze of animals with outlined hooked shoulders, and sometimes the vulture or raptor (Muscarella 1972, figs. 1–11, 21; Muscarella 1977b, fig. 14; see also No. 145), I believe that they are not products of the same workshops that produced the quivers and pins. I have argued (1972) that for stylistic reasons, these vessels probably derived from the north, where rows of animals with outlined hooked shoulders, rosette fillers, and vultures were also common. Negahban (1983, 13, 15, 18) believes that the winged bulls on our quiver are similar to and reflect a close contact with winged bulls on a gold vessel from Marlik (G8, Tomb 26) as well as with the "unicorn" animals on another (G9, Tomb 45). He even goes so far as to posit a movement of the people of Marlik in the tenth century B.C. to Luristan and its environs. Apparently his stylistic conclusion is an elaboration of Porada's (1965, 94) suggestion that the quiver "echoes" the style of the earlier unicorn vessel. In any event, I do not see the similarities suggested by Negahban; further, the winged bulls have two horns depicted, not one as Negahban believes. What we have before us, I suggest, is a Greater Iranian *koine* of motifs, which is significant, for it supports the theory that similar concepts and motifs were known and utilized over a wide area, from the Caspian shore to the southern Zagros Mountains. Put another way, the metalworkers from the different cultures and regions of Iran were aware of each others' productions, and they borrowed freely.

Two facts emerge from the previous discussions: the quivers form a "homogeneous group" (Moorey 1975c,

27) among themselves, and they obviously fit neatly into the sheet-metalworking tradition of Luristan where they form an indigenous Luristan style (Calmeyer 1969a, 87; 1973a, 95). Going a step further, it might be posited that because of their intimate relationship to the disk-headed pins, many of which were excavated at Surkh Dum in the Kuh-i Dasht region of Luristan, the quivers might tentatively be accepted as products of workshops from the same region, a position shared by Calmeyer, Moorey (1975c, 21), and vanden Berghe (1980, 42f.; 1981, 49).⁷ It should be further noted that this indigenous Iranian, Luristan, group of quivers (with the ex-Heeramanek Los Angeles quiver being a stylistic variant within a corpus) has no stylistic or iconographical relationship with the so-called Gilan-Luristan group mentioned above, which reveals nothing in the execution of the objects relating them to Luristan, and whose archaeological record reveals nothing to demonstrate that the objects even derived from Luristan.⁸ Nor are the Luristan quivers related to the only other culture in the Near East (aside from the ninth-century Assyrian examples) that had similarly decorated quivers with horizontal panels, namely Urartu in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (Azarpay 1968, pl. 21; Piotrovskii 1970, pl. 49 and color pl., no. 122).

Based on our far from complete knowledge of Luristan art, the Metropolitan Museum's quiver should be dated sometime within the early centuries of the first millennium B.C., a chronology posited by most scholars (but cf. Kantor 1947, 258, who dated it to the "late Assyrian-early Achaemenian" period, to the seventh-sixth centuries B.C.). Porada (1965, 88) first dated it to the "beginning of the first millennium," but later (1975, 397) to the time between 900 and 700 B.C.; Calmeyer (1969a, 87) dated it early in the first millennium B.C.; Moorey in 1971a (255) first dated this quiver and others to the late ninth-eighth century B.C., later (Moorey 1975c) to the time between 750 and 600 B.C., and still later (Moorey 1981, no. 444) about 1000-650; and Amiet (1974b, 249) dated the Louvre, ex-Barbier, quiver to the late seventh century. I prefer a general dating within the last decades of the eighth century B.C. and probably into the seventh century as the time range in which the quiver was manufactured, primarily because of its relationship to the disk-headed pins and the presence of the lion-mask in the third panel. I also believe that the other quivers were made during this same period but leave a relative dating open for others to resolve.⁹

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Ackerman 1940, 115; Pope 1941, 293, fig. 8; *A/O* 14 (1941-44), 227, fig. 5; Pope 1945, 15f., pl. 15; Dussaud 1949, 213ff., fig. 11; Dumézil

1950, 18-37, pl. 1; Lancaster 1952, 99, fig. 4; Ackerman 1955, 29, fig. 4; D. Carter 1957, pl. 28a; Phillips 1963, 227, right; Ghirshman 1964, 70f., fig. 91; Porada 1965, 87ff. (fig. 59), 101, 236 n. 10, 237 n. 21; Culican 1965, 26, fig. 5; Akurgal 1968, 66, fig. 34; Farkas 1970, 35, 52, fig. 10; Hinnells 1973, 46 (1985 ed., 40); Moorey 1975c, pl. 1; Porada 1975, 397f., fig. 317; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 68; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 40, no. 55.

NOTES

1. Elizabeth Simpson, who made the superb drawing of the quiver (Fig. 15), worked from both the quiver itself and an X ray. I have benefited much from a study of the exact details manifested in the drawing and from conversations with Dr. Simpson. The X-ray and microscopic examination by Simpson revealed many details not readily visible on the quiver: e.g., a clarification of the corroded panel one; the hair lines on the bulls of panels one and seven; the rendition of the lion protomes of panel three; the bare foot of the figure in panel five and the cord continuing to his beard. The drawings published in Dussaud 1949, 213, fig. 11, and Dumézil 1950, pl. 1, were made from photographs.

2. Lancaster (1952, 99) and Pope (1945, 16) interpret the scene in panel five as two figures with a victim. Dumézil (1950, 22, 25f.) prefers to recognize two deities (what I see as projecting hair he calls divine horns), the twins Nasatya, in a physician-rejuvenation scene: the swords represented are not harmful, rather they are physicians' knives. Dussaud (1949, 216) also rejects an interpretation that the two figures are doing harm to the central one.

3. Elizabeth Simpson, who studied the quiver at great length, believes that one artist executed the design. For a more obvious example of the work of two artists on a single object, see Muscarella 1972, 25ff., 31, 37, and n. 72 (here No. 145), and Hardin 1979, 92f.

4. I have elsewhere rejected as forgeries a class of objects with triple-headed figures represented, the Zurvan group: Muscarella 1977a, 171f.; 1979a, 3, nos. 2-5. Note that after the publication of these two papers I came across two other works that published the Zurvan group: in Hinnells 1973, 70ff. (1985 ed., 72f.), where my 1977a, nos. 1 and 5, are illustrated and cited as examples of early Zoroastrian iconography (following Ghirshman); and Rempis 1972, 323, right side, where my no. 1, the silver plaque in Cincinnati, is used in a crucial manner to date the life of Zoroaster to a pre-Achaemenian period.

Paraphrasing, it should also be remarked here that a bronze statuette published by Merhav (1981, no. 82) as having "an astounding similarity" to the central figure in panel five on the quiver has in fact nothing in common stylistically with the ancient art of Luristan, nor, indeed, with the panel five figure: I would be very surprised to learn that this piece is ancient!

In July of 1982, P. R. S. Moorey showed me, at the Ashmolean Museum, two small disks, a pair (1972.2153a, b), each depicting a seated figure, one left, one right. Both figures are exactly the same in all details, having a bulbous nose, large ears, pleated long garment, and carrying a curved palm (?) branch: they are in form and posture the same figures depicted on the Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Borowski "Zurvan" objects. Macroscopically, they "look good," and Moorey will submit them to a laboratory examination. If they prove to be genuine, they might be the original models copied by the forgers for the pastiche "Zurvan" pieces.

Note that I know of two grotesque parodies of the quiver under discussion here, both made by the same hand and both apparently of silver. One is in a private collection, the other in a museum in the south of the United States.

There are also at least two more "Zurvan"-type forgeries now

published, both quite crude and both executed on gold: plaque, *Treasures of the Orient* (Middle Eastern Culture Center, Tokyo, 1979), 253, no. 11, color pl. 11 ("Luristan"); beaker, *Art and Auction*, October 1982, 31 ("Luristan"); that vessel is the same one published in *Connoisseur*, October 1982, 123, showing the other side.

5. I know of another disk-headed pin (actually almost rectangular in shape) in the Foch collection, and to my knowledge unpublished, which is divided into three horizontal panels and decorated with representative scenes. In style it is not the same as our quiver and the Zurich pin.

6. For other discussions on shoes connected to legal and ritual traditions see E. A. Speiser, "Of Shoes and Shekels," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 77 (February 1940), 15–18; C. Clamer, "A Middle Age Bronze Pottery Boot from Tel Lachish," in *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, ed. J. N. Tubb (London, 1985), 55 (the latter reference I owe to James Muhly).

7. I have discussed elsewhere the misattribution of the Metropolitan Museum's quiver to the site of Surkh Dum: Muscarella 1979a, 13 (the Ackerman reference cited should be 1940, 2d ed., and p. 115, not 199; and the Thrane 1964 reference is p. 159, not 59); Muscarella 1981b, 330f.

8. Aside from the comments of Maleki, Calmeyer, and Moorey regarding the alleged Pusht-i Kuh origin of the so-called Gilan group of quivers (see also Gropp 1981, 117), vanden Berghe accepted the same attribution (1980, 42f.; 1981, 49). He names three sites north of Ilam as the loci where Assyrian-style quivers, shields, and a helmet were allegedly found by clandestine digging (N.B. that his description of the helmet fits onto an Urartian rather than an Assyrian background). Following Calmeyer and Moorey, vanden Berghe assumes that the Assyrian style quivers derive only from the Pusht-i Kuh region, the indigenous quivers from the Pish-i Kuh in the Kuh-i Dasht and Rumishgan plains. However, his conclusions are based, as are those of Maleki, Calmeyer, and Moorey, on hearsay. See also an Assyrian-style decorated quiver published by vanden Berghe and De Meyer (1982–83, no. 3) attributed with no evidence to Urartu.

9. Dussaud's (1949, 197) and Dumézil's (1950, 18) dating of the quiver to the twelfth century B.C. are based on an a priori assumption that it was a Kassite work. And Akurgal's (1968, 66f., fig. 34) dating of the quiver to the seventh century B.C. is based on preconceived grounds that it, along with many other Iranian objects of manifestly earlier periods (viz. the Hasanlu gold bowl), is dependent on seventh-century B.C. Urartian art.

309. Disk-Headed Pin

39.96.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1939
Bronze; length 20.6 cm, diameter 8.9 cm

310. Disk-Headed Pin

39.96.2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1939
Bronze;¹ length 19.4 cm, diameter 8.8 cm

311. Disk-Headed Pin

39.96.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1939
Bronze; length 19.6 cm, diameter 8.9 cm

312. Disk-Headed Pin

39.96.4; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1939
Bronze;² length as preserved 13 cm, diameter 6.6 cm

THESE FOUR pins are all of the same type, differing only in the iconography represented on the disk heads. Each is hammered from a single sheet of metal, the shank and the head, and the decoration on the head is executed in repoussé. No. 309 has as a central boss a human head (female?) encircled by a continuous tongue pattern, surrounded by seven compartments each identically filled with a rosette and two palm fronds (?); a beaded border forms the outer edge. Nos. 310 and 311 have a lion's head as the central boss; in No. 310 it is surrounded by the same recumbent horned animal placed in each of four compartments, and in No. 311 surrounded by a garland wreath and rosettes. No. 312 has no central boss or compartments; depicted are two heraldic winged horned animals, the front legs of which touch or hold an attenuated male (?) head or mask.

Aside from the basic disk-headed pin form, the pins are interrelated by the central heads, the compartmentalizing of the decoration, and by the fact that the horns of the animals of Nos. 310 and 312 are the same, seen from the front view. These pins belong to the same type as those excavated in 1938 at Surkh Dum in Luristan (see No. 193), which to date is the only site in Iran to yield decorated disk-headed pins. Over the years it has been assumed by most scholars interested in these pins that all the many stray examples in various collections must have come from Surkh Dum, from clandestine digging that preceded and allegedly followed Schmidt's excavations. While in some cases—if not all—Surkh Dum may indeed be the provenience of the stray pins, no one can be sure, because the sources for the claim are either antiquity dealers or learned guesses of scholars (Potratz 1945–51, 38; Muscarella 1981b, 329ff.). The four pins here were first published by A. U. Pope (1939, 790f.: he was also the vendor), who stated that they came from an area "between Luristan and Nehavand." In 1941 (p. 292), however, he said that they came from the valleys of the Kuh-i Dasht in Luristan, the very area where Surkh Dum is situated. And while not specifically claiming that the pins came from that site, he implied it (Muscarella 1979a, 13; see also Moorey 1981, no. 386). In any event, whether our pins came from Surkh Dum or from a still unrecorded site, we know that they are the same type as others found there. Further, we may conclude with some conviction that they derive from western Iran, and from no other area in the Near East.³

Whether or not disk-headed pins of the present type were worn on clothing as fasteners or as decoration is of course not known, given the lack of data, but that they were used as votives in temples is documented at Surkh Dum. Another use has been suggested, namely that they were inserted in a tube placed between the typical Luristan animal standards, or inserted in the hol-

low idol standards, in order to join those units to supports. In fact, there is no verifiable evidence to support this suggestion (for discussion see "Animal Finials, Master-of-Animals Standards . . .").

Attention should also be called to the fact that the hooves of the recumbent animals on No. 310 touch but do not overlap. This feature is found on recumbent animals depicted on objects from Surkh Dum (No. 192), and on other disk-headed pins and sundry objects from Luristan (de Clercq-Fobe 1978, nos. 27, 40, 41; Amandry 1965, pl. xxvi:3). It is also found depicted on a gold vessel from Marlik, Tomb 36, of late eighth or seventh century B.C. date (Negahban 1983, 19ff., no. 21).⁴ The same hoof position occurs on earlier bitumen roundels from Elam (see No. 331; Amandry 1965, pls. xxvii, xxviii). Moreover, on the roundels the goats have their horns depicted as seen from the front, just like those on Nos. 310 and 312, also No. 308. We thus get a glimpse of how apparently minor motifs traveled across Iran in the late second and early first millennia B.C.

Various dates have been suggested by different scholars for the chronology of the Surkh Dum-type disk-headed pins, ranging from the late second millennium B.C. (Herzfeld, in *AMI* 8 [1936–37] 158; vanden Berghe 1959, 93) or late second–early first millennium (Pope 1941, 292; Dussaud 1949, 197; A. Godard 1962, 45, 50, 69, 70; de Clercq-Fobe 1978, 133), or in the first millennium (Moorey 1971a, 208; Moorey 1981, 76ff., 1000–650 B.C.; Amiet 1976, 75; Kantor 1947, 258, dates some into the Achaemenian period). What will eventually decide the issue is the date of the material from Surkh Dum, a chronology still unresolved (see discussion of the objects from Surkh Dum, above). However, there can be little doubt that, based on the little information we possess on this site, the pins cannot be dated earlier than the eighth century B.C. and may even be later.

For pins that generally parallel our examples in formal decoration, see for No. 309: de Clercq-Fobe 1978, no. 37; cf. also Nos. 313, 314. For No. 310: de Clercq-Fobe 1978, nos. 27, 40, 41, 42; Moorey 1981, no. 395 (Moorey doubts its authenticity).⁵ For No. 311: de Clercq-Fobe 1978, nos. 35, 37, 38; Herzfeld, in *AMI* 8 (1936–37), 157, fig. 118a, b, d, f; Basmachi 1963, pl. 17, right (with no central boss); A. Godard 1962, fig. 49. And for No. 312: de Clercq-Fobe 1978, no. 62.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Nos. 309–312: Pope 1939, 790f., figs. 2, 8, 9, 10; Moorey 1979, figs. 12a–d. Nos. 309 and 310: *AfO* 13 (1939), fig. 1a, b; Ackerman 1955, 28, fig. 3. No. 310: Muscarella 1972, 41, fig. 17. No. 312: Potratz 1961, 381, fig. 99.

NOTES

1. Cu: 94.3%, Sn: 2.7%, As: 1.6%, Pb: 0.3%, Zn: not detected.
2. Cu: 93.7%, Sn: 3.4%, As: 0.6%, Pb: 0.6%, Zn: not detected.



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310



311



312

3. I have already cited as a probable forgery a gold disk-headed pin claimed for Surkh Dum (Muscarella 1979a, 8, no. 6; 1981b, 331). Another gold disk-headed pin published in a Japanese catalogue (*Treasures of the Orient* [Middle Eastern Culture Center, Tokyo, 1979], 94, fig. 78, upper left) should also be considered a probable forgery.

4. Negahban (1983, 21), misunderstanding the correct chronology of Tomb 36 (see above No. 52, note 3) here and elsewhere—he dates it centuries too early—arrives at untenable conclusions about the origins at Marlik of “later” Scythian art.

5. Another possible parallel, with regard here not to iconography but to the formal four-part division of the scene depicted around a central head, is Moorey 1981, no. 374. I cited this pin as suspicious in Muscarella 1977a, 173, no. 22, because I see strange features: the drawing of the clothing, heads, beards, the tree branches, as well as the existence of the floating heads and figures and the ithyphallic (?) male; modern repairs clearly exist on the upper left and right sections. I do not know with certainty whether this pin is a forgery but would welcome laboratory analysis; Moorey believes it to be ancient “with some modern repairs.” If genuine, the pin is important for the iconography, the sense of which is still elusive. Note that the figures on this pin have bulbous noses, like the figures on the quiver, here No. 308.

313. Disk Plaque

57.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1957

Bronze, gilt; diameter 16.5 cm

SURROUNDED by an intricate garland border and a narrow edge of raised dots, the prominent feature of the disk is the repoussé human head. The head is triangular at the top with the hair depicted as three bands decorated by neat hatching and lozenges and curling up at the ends; on the forehead is a group of scalloplike leaves. The bulging eyes are framed by heavy brows that join over the nose, which is narrow at the bridge, thick by the nostrils. Distinctive are the heavy cheeks and the prominent offset chin within which is set a thin mouth. Traces of gilding are still visible.

This disk is in all features, form, iconography, and style, related to the disk-headed pins excavated at Surkh Dum (see No. 193), and to many strays in various col-



lections (see Nos. 309–312), where either isolated heads or humanlike figures en face are depicted. It differs only in the lack of a pin and in its size, being considerably larger than most of the disk-headed pins. Some of the faces on these pins have round heads and prominent chins (viz. A. Godard 1962, figs. 68, 73, 77; de Clercq-Fobe 1978, nos. 30–33), others have triangular heads and prominent chins (viz. A. Godard 1962, figs. 71, 78; de Clercq-Fobe 1978, no. 56; also with a floral pattern on the forehead). There are no holes for attaching the disk to another object (cf. Nos. 191, 192, 315) and thus it is not clear what function it had.

Whatever the source for the disk, it surely came from the same milieu as the disk-headed pins, from Luristan, and must be dated to the same time, to the late eighth–seventh century B.C. Ghirshman (1956, 123, pl. xx:1, 2) published two similar plaques with central faces from the A. Mazda collection. He attributed them to the Surkh Dum temple, although in fact they derived from the antiquities market.

At least three other stray disk plaques are known to me, which in size, in the lack of holes for attachment, and in the presence of a central human head, relate them to the plaque here (cf. also No. 315). In each of those instances, however, I believe that while the head seems to be genuine, along with the disk itself, the space around the head—larger in area than on ours—has been embellished in modern times with scenes (Muscarella 1977a, nos. 3–5, 22; 1979a, 3, nos. 4, 5). Moorey (1981, nos. 373, 395) doubts the authenticity of the decoration of two other disk pins.

In Muscarella 1977a, numbers 3–5 (as well as nos. 1, 2, 6, 7) form part of the “Zurvan group” of forgeries. I know of still others from this same modern group that have not yet been published: but one has in the meantime been presented in a Japanese catalogue, *Treasures of the Orient* (Middle Eastern Culture Center, Tokyo, 1979), color pl. 11, a gold plaque (see No. 308, note 4).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

ILN, 15 August 1948, 214; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 73.

314. Disk Plaque/Boss

65.9; Gift of Nuri Farhadi, 1965

Bronze; diameter 5.7 cm

ALL THAT is preserved is a repoussé boss depicting a frontal human head, probably that of a female. The head completely fills the boss and is fully circular in form; the rear of the boss is hollow, not flat. The hair is neatly and uniformly rendered as clusters of locks tucked into



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one another and with an inside border consisting of a raised band that joins as an ogival arch on the forehead. Almond-shaped eyes are prominent and set below thick brows that join over the fully fleshed nose; the mouth is small and no ears are depicted.

Although circular, not triangular, and with no prominent chin, the head is similar to the one depicted on a disk plaque (No. 313): note the brows, eyes, thin mouth, nose, and lack of ears. However, it is even closer to a disk pin that is in form almost an exact parallel, and which was excavated at Surkh Dum (No. 193 for discussion). Nothing remains of a flange that might have surrounded the face on this boss, and it is almost certain that we have not a disk-headed pin, but rather a plaque or boss.

315. Disk Ornament

50.167; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1950

Bronze; diameter 18.2 cm

A CENTRAL, almost cone-shaped, plain umbo is surrounded by a flange on which are depicted five small, squat horned animals running right, with their heads turned back, and five “rosettes,” all in repoussé. The rosettes consist of a central umbo encircled by punched dots and a circle of small raised umbones also encircled by dots. Two pairs of holes exist on the flange opposite each other, touching the raised-dot border.

At least three close parallels in form, pattern of decoration, and presence of pairs of holes are known (A. Godard 1931, pl. xxv:75; Moorey 1971a, no. 479; Moorey 1974a, no. 22A; cf. Basmachi 1963, pl. 21, right),



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all unexcavated. E. Schmidt (1938, 214; see also Moorey 1971a, 250) recorded three disks with raised hemispherical centers and four pairs of holes at the rim from a grave excavated in Luristan (Xatunban/Khatunban). However, he did not mention decoration, and therefore it is not known how close the excavated examples are to the one here and the close parallels. Clearly similar disks, in gold, with a central umbo and surrounding geometric decoration in repoussé, and at least one of which has pairs of holes, come from tombs at Marlik (Negahban 1964, nos. 82, 83, pl. VI A). The Marlik disks are earlier than the bronze ones, but they may very well belong to the milieu that eventually led to the production of the later pieces.

The paired holes make it clear that the disks were attached to another object or material, distinguishing them in function, it would seem, from disks like No. 313. Moorey (1971a, 250) plausibly suggested that disks of this type might have been used to decorate clothing, sewn onto the cloth through the holes. In all probability, these disks are contemporary to those with lion- or human-head centers, which would date them to a time not earlier than the late eighth century B.C.; they could easily be seventh century in date.

It is of interest to note here also the presence of the peripheral small umbones with a circle of small dots on a bronze disk that has a human face and which was mentioned in connection with No. 313 (Muscarella 1977a, no. 3). On this disk the umbones have been recently hammered back to allow for the addition of decorative scenes, and in the process one umbo was displaced.

316. Bowl

32.161.1; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932

Bronze; diameter 18.5 cm, height 5.1 cm

THE BULGING body of this vessel takes up a large proportion of the total height, and the short neck flares out slightly; there are two incised lines below the lip. The body is lobed or gadrooned all the way around. The interior is plain, but a hollow base creates a slightly raised central area in the interior with a grooved perimeter; there is a small hole at the center.

Bowls are usually difficult to attribute and to date because of the large number and variety in existence, especially among collections of strays. Fortunately, we are able both to attribute and to date the present bowl fairly accurately because of the existence of excavated material. Several bronze bowls that are exact parallels to this example have been excavated at the late eighth–seventh century sites of War Kabud and Chamzhi-Mumah in Luristan by vanden Berghe (1968b, 168f., pl. 33b; 1977a, 60, upper left, center); the War Kabud example even has incised lines below the lip. It is therefore probable that the present bowl comes from Luristan, from the late eighth or seventh century B.C.¹

Some other strays are known: Calmeyer 1964a, no. 109; and two others, almost exact parallels to the one here, have been published as deriving from Turkey, but with no verification (vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, nos. 151, 152).

NOTE

1. Sürenhagen and Renger 1982, 125, misleadingly compare a knobbed relief bowl from Gruft 30 at Assur to the War Kabud example; see No. 52, note 1.

Tepe Nush-i Jan, Excavated Objects

Tepe Nush-i Jan

TEPE NUSH-I JAN (apparently meaning Long Life Mound) is situated 42 miles (ca. 60 km) south of Hamadan, in the Jowkar plain. The site is built on the summit of a natural shale outcrop 37 meters in height that dramatically stands out and dominates the plain; the summit has a relatively small area, about 40 by 100 meters, or 4000 square meters (Stronach 1969, pl. 1a; Stronach 1974, fig. 2; and Stronach, Roaf, et al. 1978, fig. 1, for the final plan published). Three periods of occupation were uncovered, the earliest being "Median" (Period I), dating from sometime in the last half of the eighth century B.C. to about 650 B.C., followed by a squatters' level (Period II), also of the Median period, and after a chronological gap, a Parthian level (Period III). The best preserved, and the most extensive, of the three occupation periods is the Median Period I level, which encompasses the whole summit; only scattered remains of the later periods were recovered.

Four major Median buildings were excavated, all of mud brick built directly on the bedrock; a perimeter wall is preserved at the south and it may have encircled the whole summit. In the course of more than a century each building was modified by additions, alterations, abandonments, and in one striking instance, by deliberate burial. The complex problems of interpreting these modifications are carefully and intelligently presented in a series of reports by the excavator (Stronach 1968, 1969, 1972c, 1974, 1977, 1981; Stronach, in *Iran* 9 [1971], 175; Roaf and Stronach 1973; Stronach, Roaf, et al. 1978), on which much of the following summary is based.

While the relative construction chronology of the buildings is still uncertain, it is clear that not all were built at the same time (Roaf and Stronach 1973, 138; Stronach, Roaf, et al. 1978, 9f.). The Central Temple, originally called the Central Building and then the Fire Temple, was one of the earliest to be built and is a uniquely shaped structure unparalleled anywhere in the earlier or the contemporary Near East.¹ The 14 by 15 meter building is entered through a passageway into a rectangular portico and ramp room, the latter leading to a second story in this section; a second passageway connects this unit to a lozenge-shaped room with five bays that rise to the full height of the building. Near the

western bay, and off center, is a freestanding altar with traces of burning in a shallow depression; the shape of this altar is also known later in the Achaemenian period. At some time before the abandonment of the site the temple was systematically and carefully filled in with small stones and mud, the whole capped with mud and bricks, to a preserved height of 8 meters. Why the building was buried is a mystery, but that it was deliberate and carefully executed is a fact.²

The adjacent Fort building (25 by 22 m) was constructed while the Temple was in use and is directly to its east. It, too, has a rectangular portico and ramp room which in this case leads to four long, parallel magazines. It has been identified as a fort (for protecting the Temple?) because of the presence of external buttressed walls and arrow slots in the upper story; the magazines suggest it may have functioned for storage as well. In the passageway between the portico and magazines and covered by a brick, a hoard of some 231 silver objects and pieces was found in a bronze bowl (see No. 319; Stronach 1969, 15f., pls. mb, viic, d, viii, ix, xa; Bivar 1971).

The Old Western Building, situated on the western part of the summit, may have been built at the same time as the Central Temple. Except for the lozenge plan, which it lacks, and its smaller size (12 by 13 m), it is formally similar to the temple in internal room arrangements (Stronach, Roaf, et al. 1978, 3f., fig. 2). It too has an altar off center in the inner room and was probably also a temple: if so, the site had two temples at one time (for different fire functions?). While this building was not buried, it was abandoned before the final abandonment of the site (Ghirshman in Stronach 1977, 699, mistakenly says this building was buried with stones). While the Old Western Building was still in use, a large rectangular buttressed building (15 by 20 m) with three rows of four columns was built abutting it to the east. This building, called the Columned Hall, has the same basic plan as the contemporary columned halls at nearby Godin Tepe (about 50 km to the northwest) and those at the earlier site of Hasanlu in northwest Iran (see above, "The Hasanlu Project"), although it does not have benches along the walls, the hearths, and the

“throne” areas.³ Both the Columned Hall and the Fort were abandoned about 650 B.C. (blocking of the Fort may have begun but was never completed, Stronach 1974, 224), but in both structures, as well as to the south of the Central Temple, there is ample evidence, namely crude rooms and artifacts, that “squatters” lived for some time in the ruins. There are no signs of destruction, either from the early Median period or from the later squatters’ level, and the causes for the abandonments remain unknown.

Nush-i Jan is significant in Iranian archaeology not only for the uniqueness of the Period I remains, in particular the Central Temple and the configuration of the structures (not to mention their fine state of preservation), but also because it is almost certainly a Median site. At the present time only one other almost certain Median site is archaeologically known, Godin Tepe Period II (Young and Levine 1974, 29ff., figs. 37–43). Both sites are defined as Median by their chronological position as well as by their geographical location, being situated in an area considered to be the heartland of Media in the seventh century B.C. (Levine 1974, 117ff.).⁴ The Median capital at Hamadan is still basically unexcavated (Muscarella 1980b, 31ff.), and the site of Baba Jan is not unequivocally a Median site.⁵

The Metropolitan Museum supported the excavations at Nush-i Jan in 1969, 1970, 1973, and 1974, and has received a number of objects as part of its division with the Iranian Archaeological Service. These include four bronze objects, pottery, and some of the silver objects from the hoard found in the Fort. For those interested in modern locations of the Nush-i Jan material, I add here a list of those non-bronze objects in the Metropolitan Museum collection that have been published elsewhere:

POTTERY

MMA Inst. 69.1.4: Stronach 1968, fig. 16; 1969, pl. xiiB, fig. 6:4

MMA Inst. 69.1.5: Stronach 1968, fig. 18; 1969, pl. xib

MMA 69.24.16: Stronach 1968, fig. 17; 1969, pl. xiiA

MMA 69.24.19: Stronach 1968, fig. 15; 1969, pl. xia, fig. 6:8

MMA 1974.105.1: Stronach 1969, fig. 7:1

SILVER

MMA 69.24.1: Stronach 1968, fig. 7, bottom; 1969, pl. viiiA, bottom; 1972c, fig. 58, bottom

MMA 69.24.2, 3, 4: Stronach 1968, fig. 8, three from left column; 1969, pl. ixa, left, right

MMA 69.24.5: Stronach 1968, fig. 9; 1969, pl. ixd

MMA 69.24.6: Bivar 1971, pl. iv:c8

MMA 69.24.7: Bivar 1971, pl. iv:c10

MMA 69.24.11: Bivar 1971, pl. i:A1; Stronach 1968, fig. 10, bottom; 1969, pl. xa, bottom

(MMA 69.24.6, 7, 9 may also be illustrated in Stronach 1968, fig. 11, and 1969, pl. ixB)

NOTES

1. Compare, however, the lozenge-shaped rooms with bays in the Sasanian period at Bischapor and Takht-i Suleiman (Schippmann 1971, figs. 20, 44).

2. Stronach (1977, 698; and Stronach, Roaf, et al. 1978, 10) suggests that the filling may have been made to form a foundation for a building to have been constructed above, an opinion I find difficult to accept. A more significant reason, religious or political, seems more appropriate inasmuch as the building was a sacred structure. Ghirshman in Stronach 1977, 699, ingeniously connects the filling in of the temple with the destruction of the Daiva temples by Xerxes. The problem, however, is one of chronology, for if Stronach is correct in placing the burial before 600 B.C., it has nothing to do with the Achaemenians, let alone Xerxes. Ghirshman also mentions other examples of temple burial in the Near East; the practice may (to speculate) be related to the pollution of a sacred area, or perhaps to a ritual connected with disposing of a temple no longer needed. Note that although Yamamoto (1979, 43) puzzlingly claims that a building, Site IV, at the Parthian site of Shahr-i-Qumis in northeastern Iran (see above, “Yarim Tepe, Tepe Hissar, Shahr-i-Qumis”) was similarly buried with shale, no reference to this appears in the excavation reports of that site. Yamamoto (1979, 34f.) also makes an interesting comparison between the plans of the Site IV structure and the Nush-i Jan Temple, especially with regard to the fire bowl in the former.

In his later reports Stronach seems more reluctant to call the Temple a Fire Temple, which was its name in the 1973 and 1974 reports, raising issues of archaeological interpretation. One may ask if this building, a clearly unique structure with a hidden altar that was used to hold a fire, is not a fire temple, what, then, is a fire temple? It does not necessarily follow that we are dealing with a Zoroastrian temple, which issue seems to be the cause for caution, given the problems related to Zoroaster’s chronology, the areas penetrated by his theology (Roaf and Stronach 1973, 138; Stronach 1977, 696f.; Stronach 1981, 127ff.), and the exact nature of a Zoroastrian fire container: on this issue, see M. Boyce, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ser. 1, vol. 8, pt. 1^{2A}; *A History of Zoroastrianism II* (Leiden, 1982), 36 n. 133, 52; she rejects the view that Nush-i Jan has a fire altar and is a fire temple. Concerning terminology, note that Schippmann (1971, 473) refers to the building at Nush-i Jan as a “Feuertempel”; so does Yamamoto (1979, 34ff.) but he does not believe it was a Zoroastrian temple.

3. The history of the development of the multi-columned hall within Iran and elsewhere is a complex subject. It is clear that the earliest examples known in Iran are those at Hasanlu in northwestern Iran, dating at their advent to the late second millennium B.C. and continuing to about 800 B.C. The next stage available for study within Iran is represented at the Median sites of Nush-i Jan and Godin Tepe (cf. the contemporary but less elaborate and uncanonical columned hall at Baba Jan in Luristan, Goff Meade 1968, 112ff., fig. 5). The building type eventually reached its greatest developments during the Achaemenian period at Pasargadae and Persepolis. Columned halls are also known in Urartu, and it has been claimed that the Urartian eighth–seventh-century B.C. columned halls are the source of the Achaemenian structures (for a summary—and rejection—of this position, see de Francovich 1966, 219f., and Stronach 1978, 70ff.). This position cannot be maintained against the fact that columned halls existed at Hasanlu at least a century or two before those in Urartu, and also because the examples at Godin and Nush-i Jan are

in general contemporary with the Urartian examples. There are two possibilities to be considered, neither of which can be proven at the present time (Muscarella 1971c, 264): one is that the Urartians, who learned of the columned hall from Hasanlu, in turn diffused this knowledge to the Medes (e.g., Godin and Nush-i Jan), who then in turn passed it on, so to speak, to the Achaemenian Persians. The second possibility is that the Urartians indeed borrowed the idea from Hasanlu but played no role, direct or indirect, in the diffusion of the columned hall within Iran. This possibility suggests that there was direct continuity within Iran from Hasanlu to Achaemenian times, with Godin and Nush-i Jan furnishing examples of this internal development across the centuries (as per, more or less, de Francovich 1966, 220f., 233; Roaf and Stronach 1973, 132; cf. Burney, who rejects the idea: Burney and Lang 1972, 124, 159). Either possibility is viable inasmuch as we know nothing of the dynamics of the transition across time or of the movement of architects (the ones who carry the tradition) across Iran.

I have avoided introducing a third possibility, that the Persians learned of the columned hall directly from the Urartians, simultaneously, perhaps, with the Medes. Reluctance to introduce this idea

is based primarily on empirical grounds, namely that we do not know the architectural nature of a pre-Achaemenian (Cyrus II) Persian site, and thus do not know whether Persians built columned halls before they erected Pasargadae and Persepolis. For comments on Urartian-Persian contacts in pre-Achaemenian times, see Root 1979, 33 and fig. 2.

4. While it is obvious from Assyrian textual evidence that Medes and Persians had cities (not camps) in western Iran from at least the ninth century B.C., we have yet to uncover a pre-Cyrus II settlement (Malayan-Anshan has to date yielded no Achaemenian remains). The primary reason, aside from chronology, for defining Nush-i Jan and Godin Tepe as Median sites, rather than as Persian, is their geographical position. Note that Root 1979, 31, misleadingly dates the two sites to the "early years of the first millennium" (*italics mine*); she further claims that the sites, along with Baba Jan, present evidence that the Medes and Persians "had fortified citadels and 'palaces' of a permanent nature." However, in a strict archaeological sense, the sites speak only to Median citadels.

5. For further information on Nush-i Jan, see Curtis 1984, and my review in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, 4 (1985), 729f.

OBJECTS

317. Fibula

69.24.12; Nush-i Jan 1967/26; late Period I
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1969
Bronze; length 4.4 cm

318. Fibula Pin

1978.93.25; Nush-i Jan 1967/19; surface find
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978
Bronze; length 4.5 cm

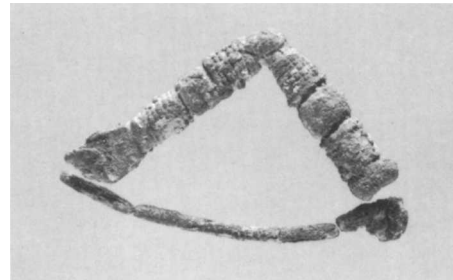
THE ARC of the complete fibula is triangular. The arms are decorated with three moldings, two horizontally grooved and hatched rectangular beads framing a plain one. The catch is in the form of a human hand; the pin is made separately and inserted into one end of the arc.

The isolated pin has a spiral twist at one end and is clearly from a fibula.

Typically Near Eastern, of a type found in various areas of the Near East, the complete fibula belongs to Blinkenberg's Type XIII, 12 (1926, 243ff.) and to Stronach's Type III 7 (1959, 197ff.; cf. fig. 9:12, pl. 11:2, 3, 5). It was found in a squatter's room built over the Central Temple area after its entombment, and probably dates to the late seventh or early sixth century B.C. (Stronach 1968, 185, fig. 13; 1969, 16, pl. xb). In Stronach 1978 (9) other triangular fibulae, made of bronze or iron, are mentioned as deriving from the squatters' areas. See also Nos. 52, 481, 482, 502.¹

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 317: in addition to the Stronach references given above, vanden Bergh 1978, 56f., fig. 11:4.



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NOTE

1. Now see Curtis 1984, 29f., 55, figs. 5, 20, nos. 263-75, 490 (whole or fragmented pieces), for a total of twelve or thirteen fibulae from the squatters' levels; the Metropolitan Museum example, No. 317, is fig. 5, no. 272. Curtis's nos. 276-79 and 491 are isolated fibula pins; the Metropolitan Museum example is no. 491; no. 490 may be from the Parthian period: but cf. Stern 1982, 152, fig. 257, top.

Curtis (1984, 30) claims there are two iron triangular fibulae from Assur Graves 263 and 279. Actually, there are at least six iron fibulae recorded from Assur (Graves 263, 279, 472, 689, 695, 958), three of which are claimed to be iron *eckige* fibulae: from Graves 689, 695, 958.



319

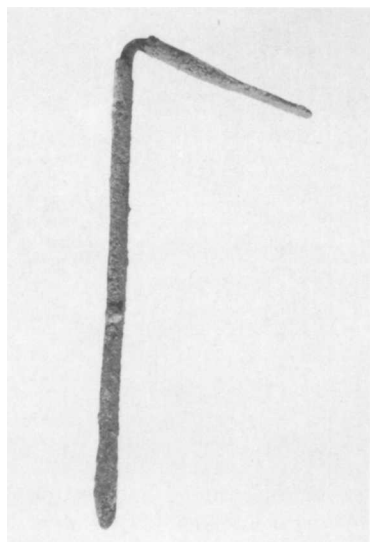
319. Bowl

69.24.13; Nush-i Jan 1967/166; late Period I
 Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1969
 Bronze; diameter 16.8 cm, height 5.5 cm

THIS PLAIN bowl, now fragmented into a number of pieces, is undistinguished in its shape, and if it had not been excavated in an archaeologically determined level it would not be readily datable (cf. No. 11); it is dated to the late seventh century B.C., by its context. What distinguishes it is the fact that it contained a silver hoard. On the last day of excavation at Nush-i Jan in 1967 a brick was found at the base of the sloping ramp in the Fort adjacent to the Central Temple. When the brick was removed, the bronze bowl was revealed, filled with some two hundred silver objects, including double and quadruple spiral beads, an earring, coils, small fragments, and several small bars (Stronach 1968, 182f., figs. 7–11; Stronach 1969, 15f., pls. VII–XA; Bivar 1971, pls. I–IV). The bowl is published in Stronach 1969 (pl. viii) and Bivar 1971 (pl. iii).¹

NOTE

1. Now add Curtis 1984, I, no. I, pls. I, II.



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320. Cosmetic Stick (?)

1978.93.24: Nush-i Jan 1967/166; surface find
 Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978
 Bronze; extended length 11 cm

THIS SMALL object is bent but may originally have been straight; one end is round in section, the other flat. Lacking a pointed end seems to preclude its having been a pin, and it is probable that it is a cosmetic stick, used to apply eye makeup (cf. Moorey 1974a, nos. 122, 123, for more elaborately decorated cosmetic sticks with flattened tops). For kohl sticks in situ with cosmetic containers see Muscarella 1980a, frontispiece; Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. xviii:8; Stern 1982, fig. 249; see also No. 73 for other references. A large number of metal examples occur at Deve Hüyük, more pinlike than the example shown here, but with rounded ends (Moorey 1980, 97ff., fig. 16:396–415). And several bronzes from Pasargadae may be cosmetic sticks (Stronach 1978, 212f., fig. 91:11–13).¹

NOTE

1. Now for the example shown here, see Curtis 1984, 34, fig. 7, no. 297. Curtis identifies the object as a spatula, which does not preclude use as a cosmetic (kohl) stick. His no. 298 is a cosmetic stick very much like some from Deve Hüyük, Moorey 1980, fig. 16:397, 398, 405, 406.

Achaemenian Objects

Pasargadae and Persepolis

THE EARLIEST known Achaemenian city built after the Persians' rebellion and defeat of their Median overlords (559–550 B.C.), and their establishment of hegemony over Iran and most of the Near East, is Pasargadae.¹ The site is in the present day province of Fars, in the high valley called the Dasht-i Morghab (Plain of the Water Bird), and was built by Cyrus II (reigned 550–529 B.C.) as his capital; his next successor but one, Darius I (reigned 522–486 B.C.), eventually moved the capital to the city he built, Persepolis (Parsa), some 50 kilometers to the southwest.

The site of Pasargadae is extensive, covering about 2000 meters from north to south, with a number of monuments spread out leisurely within this large area: two palaces (P and S), a garden and pavilion, a sacred precinct with altars, a high sacred tower (the Zendan), a great fortified citadel (the Tall-i Takht), and the Tomb of Cyrus himself. Although western travelers had visited and reported on the site from the fifteenth century, scientific excavations did not begin until 1928, when the great archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld worked there for about six months. Twenty-one years later full-scale, extended excavations were begun by Ali Sami of the Persepolis Archaeological Institute; his campaigns lasted for five seasons. Without doubt, the most extensive and comprehensive investigations of the site, leading to the uncovering of new monuments and features as well as the publication of complete and accurate plans and architectural drawings, was that of the British Institute of Persian Studies under the direction of David Stronach in 1961–63 (Stronach 1978).

One of the most significant contributions of the British Institute excavations was the recognition of the existence of several chronological periods at the site, which indicated that Pasargadae was not ignored by Darius and later Persian kings after Persepolis was built (see also Root 1979, 297f.). The best archaeological evidence for the long life of the site comes from the citadel, the Tall-i Takht. Here four stratigraphically defined periods were recorded (Stronach 1978, 11ff., 146ff., foldout figs. 6, 7), commencing with the construction of Cyrus

(Period I). This was followed by a relatively long and surprisingly apparently peaceful period (Period II), during which building, repairs, and wall-relief decoration (Palace P) were executed, and which lasted until about 280 B.C. While the Takht was at least partially destroyed at this time, neatly dated by a stratified coin hoard (Stronach 1978, 155, 185ff.), it is of some interest that there is no evidence of destruction or damage by Alexander when he arrived at the site in 330 B.C. The third period represents the use of the site by a local Persian dynasty, the "Fratadara," from about 280 to about 180 B.C., when there is another destruction and a final abandonment. A small and short-lived Islamic occupation came into existence (Period IV) some 800 years later.

Except for a spectacular hoard of some 1,162 objects, mostly jewelry, of gold, silver, and stone, from the garden area (Stronach 1978, 168ff., figs. 85–88, pls. 146–59), most of the artifacts and small finds from Pasargadae, e.g., pottery, weapons, seals, and fibulae, were recovered from the Takht. The Metropolitan Museum received a number of objects from the British Institute as a result of its support and cosponsorship of the Institute's excavations. Aside from pottery, the Metropolitan Museum received two silver coins, one of Alexander (Pasargadae 62/243; MMA 1978.93.21), the other of Seleucis I (Pasargadae 63/279; MMA 1978.93.20), a silver bracelet (from the Takht, not the Treasure, Pasargadae 62/27; Stronach 1978, fig. 90:1; MMA 1978.93.18), and the three bronzes discussed below.

In 1948 twenty-four objects from a variety of Iranian sites, all apparently excavated pieces, were given by the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran, to the Metropolitan Museum (Wilkinson 1949, 187; Muscarella 1980b, 33, n.20).² Three of these objects derive from Persepolis, two pottery vessels and a complete horse bit of bronze that is discussed below. The Museum also possesses six bronzes that are here defined as Achaemenian on the basis of style. These bronzes are without provenience; they could have surfaced anywhere in the Near East, and they follow the horse bit from Persepolis in this catalogue.

NOTES

1. The site of Anshan (modern Tall-i Malyan) in the Marv Dasht, a plain about 45 kilometers northwest of Persepolis, is known from texts to have been both an important city in the second millennium B.C., connected to Susa and Elam culturally, as well as the later seat of government of the Achaemenian Persian dynasty before the overthrow of the Medes and the transfer of the capital to Pasargadae. Yet, to date, no Achaemenian remains have been recovered there, which makes Pasargadae the earliest Achaemenian site presently known. In

addition to Stronach 1978, see Root 1979, 46ff., for dating of the palaces.

2. These objects were given in exchange for survey equipment left at the Teheran museum by Walter Hauser after the termination of the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at Nishapur in 1948 (reported in December 1948 in a letter from Hauser to Henry Taylor, then director of the Metropolitan Museum).

EXCAVATED OBJECTS

321

**321. Armor Plates**

1978.93.15; Pasargadae 63/102; Tall-i Takht, Room 94;
late Achaemenian period

Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978

Iron; height 13.4 cm, width 7 cm

THESE armor-plate fragments consist of a series of small plates, each about 1.2 by 2.8 centimeters, overlapping each other to form plate units. These units were in turn placed to overlap each other; poorly preserved leather backing is still extant. In the original publication of the present fragments (Stronach 1978, 181, 222f., fig. 96:1), the drawing does not show the small individual plates, rather it depicts the units as single plates; the fact that the iron is very corroded may be the reason for the error.

Other examples of Achaemenian armor plates were recovered at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, pl. 77:1–16; note that nos. 15 and 16 seem to be the very same type as the present example; Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 24, no. 8). For examples of armor plates of similar type from other sites, see Nos. 62, 63, 451–459.

322

**322. Socketed Trilobate Arrowhead**

1978.93.16; Pasargadae 62/8; Tall-i Takht; unstratified
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978

Bronze; length 3 cm

A GOOD number of trilobate arrowheads were excavated at Pasargadae, dating to both the Achaemenian and post-Achaemenian periods (Stronach 1978, 180f., 218f., fig. 94:1–19 [no. 5 is the Metropolitan Museum example], pl. 165a–c), and 3,600 were excavated at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, 99, pl. 76:7–11; Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 26, no. 13). The evidence from the two sites suggests that trilobate arrowheads were standard equipment for Achaemenian bowmen. The example shown here is unstratified, but it is either from the

Achaemenian period or later, about 200 B.C. For a brief discussion of the geographical and chronological range of these arrowheads, see Nos. 173, 180, 181, 521–526.

323. Trilobate Javelin Head

1978.93.17; Pasargadae 63/141; Tall-i Takht, Room 94;
Period III, post-Achaemenian
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1978
Bronze; length 6.1 cm

FIFTEEN javelin heads were recovered from Pasargadae, only one of which, the present example, is trilobate in form (Stronach 1978, 181, 220f., fig. 95:3–9; the one here is no. 3). Trilobate javelin heads also were recovered from Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, pl. 76:2, 3; Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 23, no. 7).

These heads are attributed to javelins because they are twice the size of arrowheads and too small to be called spearheads; in battle javelins were throwing weapons.



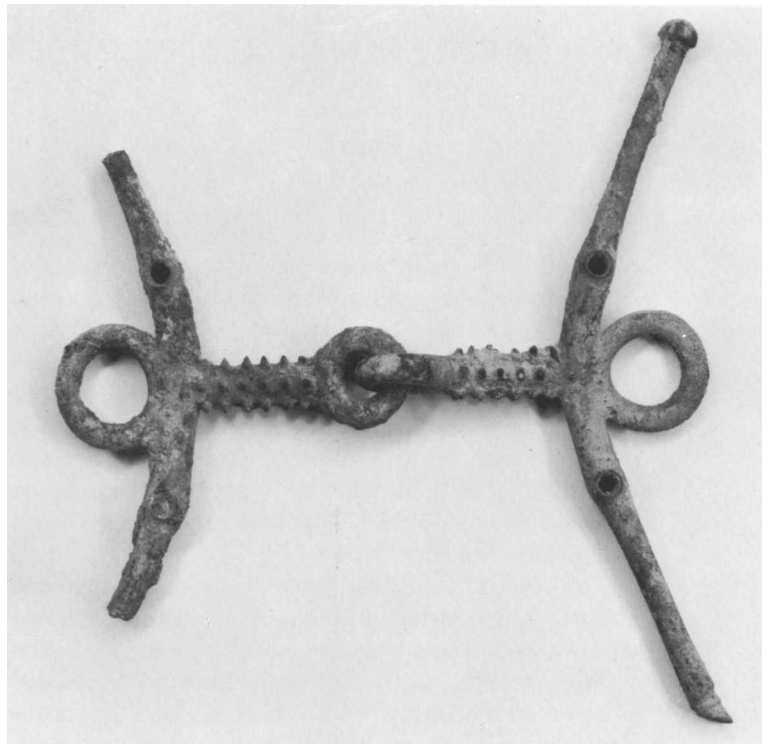
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324. Horse Bit

48.98.19; excavated at Persepolis (no. 355); acquired
from the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran, 1948¹
Rogers Fund, 1948
Bronze;² length 23.5 cm

THIS TYPE of horse bit seems to be derived from the earlier examples represented at Hasanlu and elsewhere, those with flexible canons and curved cheekpieces, or pierced cheekpieces, for attachment to the reins (see Nos. 92 and 94). In the present example each canon and loop is cast in one piece to the cheekpiece, rather than made separately, and the canons are studded with spikes for efficient, albeit cruel, control. On each cheekpiece there are two holes for attachment to reins, and at one end of each is a knob (called a phallus by Moorey 1980, 72), at the other a horse's hoof; only one cheekpiece is complete.

This bit is a typical Achaemenian type; it is one of fifteen excavated at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, 100, pls. 78:2, 4; 79:7, 9; cf. pl. 79:3 and 8 for varieties). Other spiked examples have been excavated in an Achaemenian cemetery at Deve Hüyük in North Syria, at Tell ed-Deim in Mesopotamia, and at Athens, and Olynthus in the Chalcidice (Moorey 1980, 70, fig. 10:227 and 228, 71f., nos. 6, 13, 14; *Sumer* 16 [1960], 93ff., pl. 10 [in Arabic]; see also Potratz 1966, 117ff., 47c, pl. LII:124a; Herrmann 1968, II, n. 42; Muscarella 1980b, 37—the last three references omitted the Olynthus find); other non-spiked examples are given by Moorey (1980, nos. 5, 9, 10);³ the Athens and one of the Deve Hüyük examples have a horse's hoof and a knob at the cheekpiece terminals.



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Aside from the Persepolis examples, no others were known from Iran until recently. In 1980 a classic, spiked cheekpiece with plain terminals was acquired at Tureng Tepe in northeastern Iran (Besenval 1982, 177f., fig. 1, pl. 1a, b). Although not excavated, it apparently was found locally as it was given (sale is not mentioned) to the local guardian who presented it to the French excavators at the site.

Further, what appears to be a fragment of a bone cheekpiece terminating in a horse's hoof was excavated in the squatters' level at Nush-i Jan (Curtis 1984, 47f., fig. 15, no. 431). This object is of potential importance. It may be Achaemenian in date and thereby inform us that the squatters' level at the site lasted until the Achaemenian period; or, if the level is definitely dated to pre-550 B.C., it could be a rare example of a Median object, one that continued in the same form into the Achaemenian period (see above, "Tepe Nush-i Jan"). The problem deserves more study. [Now see my review of Curtis 1984 in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, 4 (1985), 729.]

It is not clear exactly when the motif of a horse's hoof first appears as a cheekpiece terminal, but a bone example of a straight "Scythian" cheekpiece in the Metropolitan Museum (Porada 1965, 132, fig. 73) apparently has this feature. It should date to the seventh or sixth century B.C. (see also Moorey 1974a, 87, no. 52); it therefore seems probable that the Achaemenian pieces are not the earliest examples of the form.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 24, no. 9.

NOTES

1. Wilkinson 1949, 187; Muscarella 1980b, 33, n. 20.
2. Cu: 93.1%, Sn: 4.14%, Pb: .931%, Zn: .026% (1986).
3. Moorey's no. 5 is cited by him as coming from Warka, while Potratz (1966, 117, no. 1) says it came from Nimrud. Others cited by Moorey are without provenience: no. 2, "Luristan"; nos. 7, 8, and 11 are in western museums; no. 12, usually cited as from Gori in the Caucasus, was also not excavated. I am not sure that no. 4, from Khorsabad, is a horse bit.

ACHAEMENIAN GENERAL OBJECTS

325. Head of a Ram

56.45; purchase; Fletcher Fund, 1956

Bronze; height 34 cm, width at horns 22.8 cm

THIS SCULPTURE of a ram is a masterpiece of ancient Near Eastern art and demonstrates, as much as any work, the skills of ancient artists and their sensitivity for animal representations. In style and execution of details it is a classic production of the Achaemenian period although, because of the nature of its acquisition, it cannot be assigned to a specific home within the vast Persian empire. Charles K. Wilkinson (1956b, 72ff.) has already described it in some detail, and therefore only a summary is needed here.

The head is hollow, cast in the lost-wax process, and consists of five parts: the head proper, and the two horns and two ears. The parts were joined together by fusion welding, a technique in which adjacent edges are melted and molten metal of the same kind is added, like a solder; the join at the ears is masked by a decorated ring. Hair is depicted on the back of the head and along the chin, and there is a tuft of hair on the throat. To indicate volume, the hair on the back of the head is depicted as a raised area with neat horizontal rows of vertical tufts that end in curls which divide down the middle, curling left on one side, right on the other; the forehead hair is

basically the same except that there is no division line and the curls are above rather than below the tufts. The throat hair consists of delicate tufts and the chin hair, triangular in section, has a fine petal pattern on the outer surface, chevrons on the inner. Set below massive brows are prominent eyes. The uniformly ridged horns curve magisterially upward, then sweep back and out toward the sides; both tips are missing. At the base are four holes for attachment, and there are traces of iron within the hollow close to the horn area. As Wilkinson (1956b, 77) noted, the "head gives a sense of a live being charged with power."

Because of the uniform ridging and the swept-back curve of the horns, I believe that the head is that of a ram and not an ibex (see Nagel 1963, 59ff., pl. LXXX: cf. 3 to 4; see below, note 2).

All the features, the hair details, the execution of the eyes and brows, are typically Achaemenian in style, as Wilkinson has noted. What is not known is the function of the head, because no similar object is depicted in ancient art, nor has any been excavated. The holes at the base indicate that it was joined to another object, al-

though most probably not the body of the animal itself. Wilkinson suggested that a wood and iron rod was attached. A clue concerning use comes from an observation of Edith Porada (1964a, 15; 1965, 75, 234, pl. 16). She called attention to the practice of modern Lurs who place ibex heads on the edge of their house roofs, "perhaps to protect the dwelling." This apotropaic quality of animal heads may have an ancient history, as Porada

noted, and may explain the purpose of the Metropolitan Museum head. That it was the property of royalty seems almost certain, for one would not expect someone else to have the wealth and authority to employ such a gifted artist, one skilled in the classic, canonical style desired by the court.

Although there are no excavated parallel pieces available for discussion, a number of ibex or goat busts or

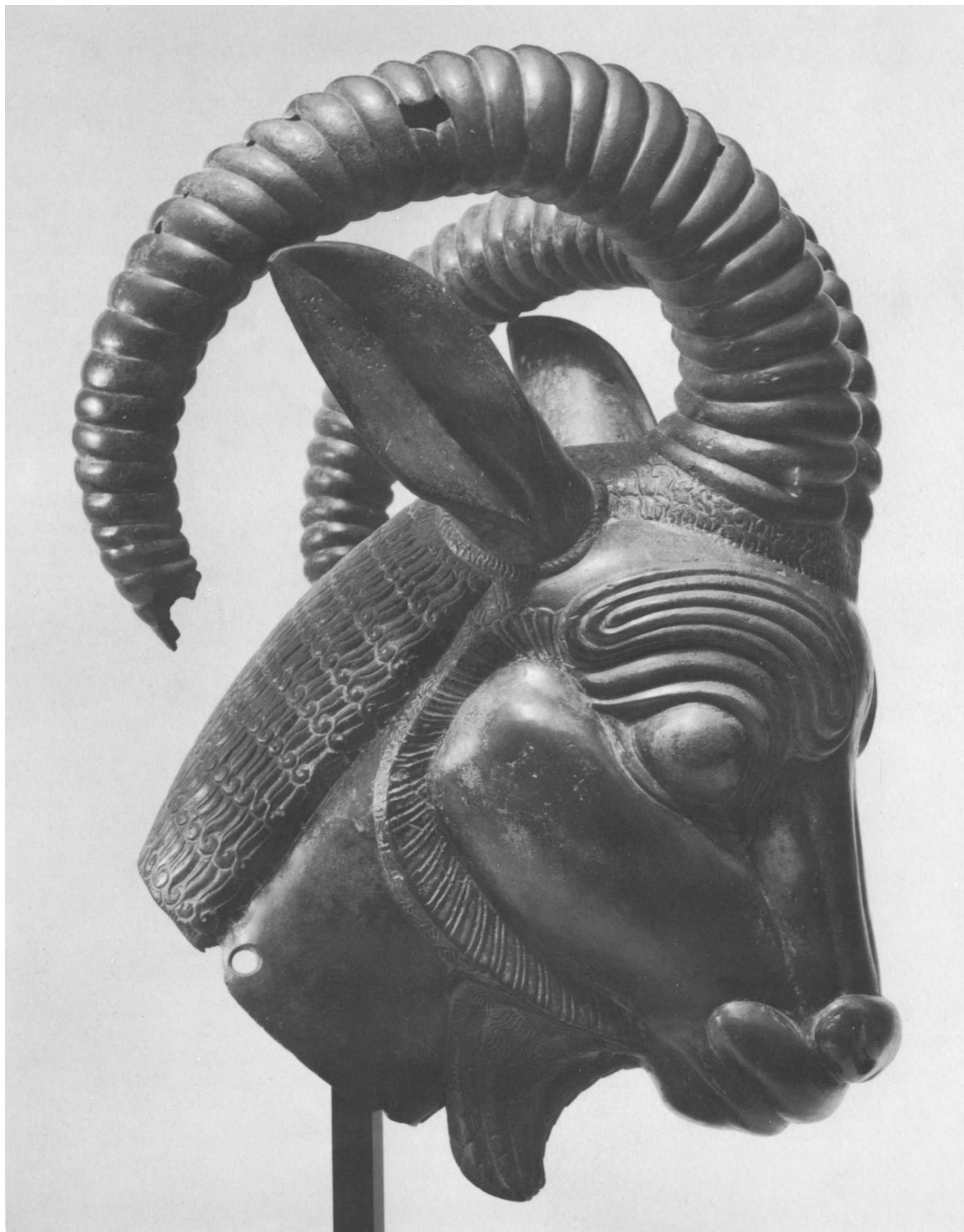
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protomes of uncertain function are known in collections.¹ An almost exact formal parallel to the head here is a smaller version of a goat (height 17.1 cm) in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Shepherd 1961, 255ff., cover; Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 109, no. 143). The similarity in profile is obvious in spite of the differences in features. The Cleveland piece is also a bust, and it has the same beard, eyes, brows, and rear hair. However, aside

from size, the Cleveland head was cast in one piece, the ears are small, the cheek hair consists of tufted curls, the muzzle is simpler, with little embellishment, and there are no holes for attachment at the base. Surely it was meant to have the same function as our head.

A less complex and detailed head of an ibex exists in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 108, no. 142). Other



examples are to be found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Terrace 1962, no. 59; Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 109, no. 144), in the British Museum (Casson 1938/1964, pl. III c; Amandry 1959, pl. 29:5). A rather close parallel to the Metropolitan Museum head exists on an unexcavated Achaemenian terracotta rhyton (?) in a private collection (*Trésors* 1966, no. 674, fig. 65). This head matches ours in the form of the horns and hair at the

base, upright ears with a base ring, throat hair, eyes and brows, etc. And animal heads more or less like ours, sharing the same Achaemenian characteristics, are found on other rhyta, as well as on jewelry, on animal-headed vessels, and as handles of amphorae (viz. Svoboda 1956, figs. 10, 17; Muscarella 1974a, no. 155; Terrace 1966, no. 59; Amandry 1959, pl. 23:1-3; Wilkinson 1967, figs. 1-10; Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 69, 103, nos. 77, 135).²

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PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Life, 17 May 1957, 95; Wilkinson 1956b; Shepherd 1961, 255, fig. 1; Crawford et al. 1966, 33, fig. 51; *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries: The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1970), 112, no. 59; *MMA Guide* 1972, 53, fig. 21; Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 111, no. 146; H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), 58, no. 114; *MMA Guide* 1983, 49, no. 9.

NOTES

1. I know the pieces under discussion here only from photographs. A full laboratory analysis of the Cleveland head would be of great importance.

2. A bronze ibex-headed terminal for an Achaemenian-style rhyton published in *Apollo*, July 1980, advertising p. 65, is not readily recognizable as an ancient object; it should not be quoted until testing by a disinterested laboratory demonstrates its antiquity: N.B. this piece is the same mentioned in Muscarella 1977a, no. 92. Likewise, a stone ram's head protome and a "silver alloy" lion-head protome published in Japanese catalogues (*Treasures of the Orient* [Middle Eastern Culture Center, Tokyo, 1979], no. 109, and *Enjoying 7000 Years of History: The World of Persian Pottery*, ed. J. Gluck [Otsu, Japan, 1980], no. 170) do not appear to be ancient works.

[Since the completion of the above entry I have come across Joseph Bell, "Metropolitan Zoo," *Animal Kingdom* (Zoological Society Magazine), January–February 1986, 28f., who believes that the Metropolitan Museum head is probably "a composite, incorporating the horns of a sheep and the beard of a goat."]

326. Lobed Omphalos Bowl

37.140; Gift of Walter Hauser, 1937

Bronze; height 3.8 cm, diameter 15.2 cm

327. Lobed Omphalos Bowl

64.56; purchase; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1964

Bronze; height 8.3 cm, diameter 23.2 cm

THESE TWO BOWLS are basically the same: a body formed of lobes, an everted rim, and an omphalos at the center of the base. No. 326 is a shallow bowl with seven lobes, the space between filled with a design in the form of a stem and flower; the latter consists of a raised dot to indicate the ovule and incisions indicating the petals. Two small holes have recently been repaired. No. 327 is deeper and larger, with eleven lobes, but here the flower, which is the same as on No. 326, projects from a thick border that outlines each lobe. No. 327 is certainly hammered; No. 326 is heavier and may have been cast.

Both bowls are clearly the same in typology and manifestly were made during the Achaemenian period from which a number of parallels in shape and body decoration are known from various parts of the Empire. Good parallels were excavated in North Syria and Israel at Deve Hüyük (Woolley 1914–16, pl. XXI, upper right; Moorey 1980, 32, fig. 6:94–99), at Gezer (Stern 1982, figs. 89:4, 240), and other bowls, without the floral pattern, come

from Ain Shems (Grant 1932, pl. xvii:45) and Shechem (Stern 1980, fig. 6:4). A related example, with nine lobes and flowers in between, derives from Achalgori (or nearby) in the Caucasus (Smirnov 1934, pl. xi:63; cf. pl. xii:64—a local copy?); and from Persepolis there is a glass fragmented bowl, with only the ovule depicted between the lobes (Schmidt 1957, pl. 63:3). An unexcavated bronze bowl similar to No. 327 was at one time in the David-Weill collection (Amiet 1976, 51, no. 98).¹

NOTE

1. For a parallel to No. 326, now see Luschey 1983, 324, fig. 4:9, from Gradnitsa, Bulgaria, silver. Recently, a number of classic Achaemenian silver lobed bowls in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, similar to the present two examples, were published by D. von Bothmer (*MMAB* 42, 1 [1984], nos. 16–21, 28, 29): incorrectly called Greek.

328. Harness Fitting

56.81.54; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1956
Bronze;¹ length 3.2 cm

329. Harness Fitting

56.81.55; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1956
Bronze; length 4.1 cm

THESE TWO claw-shaped, or boar's-tooth-shaped, objects have four perforations at right angles to each other around the base which alone is hollow. Both are plain except for incisions on an outside edge of No. 329. There is no problem in recognizing their function inasmuch as examples are depicted on horse reins represented on several reliefs at Persepolis (Schmidt 1953, pls. 35, 37; Wilkinson 1949, 196) and at Xanthos in western Anatolia (Ghirshman 1964, 350, fig. 445; Bernard 1965, 272f., pl. xviii, fig. 2). Another representation of these objects on reins occurs on a striking and unique scene on a fragmentary bowl from a late sixth century B.C., early Achaemenian context at Maşat, in northern Anatolia (T. Özgüç 1982, 123, pls. 1, 64:1a, b). As the reliefs and the painting on the Maşat bowl indicate, these objects held the leather reins in place on the cheeks and heads of horses in harness.

A fairly large number of examples made of stone and bone, as well as three actual boar's teeth similarly perforated, were excavated at Persepolis, dating to the fourth century B.C. (Schmidt 1957, 100, pl. 79:3–5 [inadvertently called bronze in Muscarella 1974a, no. 157]; Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 25, no. 11). An actual boar's tooth with perforations was also excavated at Babylon (Koldewey 1913, fig. 194), which along with the Persepolis examples surely indicates that the bronze, bone, and stone examples were indeed imitating this shape. A bronze



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example derives from Sardis (Waldbaum 1983, 40f., no. 85, pl. 6), examples in bone derive from Karmir Blur in Urartu, late seventh–early sixth century B.C. in date (Barnett and Watson 1952, 146, fig. 22; also Hauptmann 1983, 259, fig. 5:7, 8), and stone examples were excavated at Gordion in post-destruction levels (R. S. Young 1964, 56).² Ghirshman (1977, 32f.) refers to gold and wood examples from Altai tombs. Ghirshman also claimed (1977, 32, fig. 4) that the enigmatic and unique Hasanlu tomb that contained a human and four horse skeletons (Ghirshman 1964, 24f., 99, fig. 131; Dyson 1965,

208ff.) yielded over a hundred bone examples, which he examined in the Iran Bastan Museum in Teheran. If this is a correct observation, then indeed this tomb is post-Iron II in date, and will not have predated the early seventh century B.C.³

Ghirshman has in addition created false proveniences for other boar's-tooth fittings. He claimed (1977, 27, figs. 1, 2), but without verification, that four bronze examples "provenaient d'une tombe" in Luristan, announcing them to be the first examples so far recognized as deriving from that area.⁴ He also cited a bone example as from Ziwiye (Ghirshman 1977, 28f., fig. 3; 1964, fig. 540; 1983, 100). Unfortunately, Bernard (1965, 272), and now Hauptmann (1983, 265, fig. 5:10 [not 11 as cited]), accepted the Ziwiye attribution—but not Calmeyer (1985, 137). Both the Ziwiye and Luristan attributions skew the record of historical loci of these objects and should be omitted from archaeological discussion—except for their existence as strays.

The fittings are usually associated with the Cimmerian and Scythian penetrations into the Near East in the seventh century B.C., but it is clear that other people, particularly the Achaemenian Persians, utilized them in the course of time (see also Nos. 503–505).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 329: Herzfeld 1941, 271, fig. 374, center (labeled inexplicably "Constantinople," but where it may have been purchased).

NOTES

1. Cu: 82.8%, Sn: 12.4%, Pb: .225%, Zn: .050% (1986).
2. Ghirshman 1977, 27, mentioned one example from the "Cimmerian level" at Gordion, presumably—and incorrectly—meaning the early seventh-century destroyed level; in Ghirshman 1983, 86f., no date is given. Calmeyer (1985, 131, 136, 137) believes that these examples are evidence that Phrygians (post-destruction period) used such harness fittings. He also believes (1985, 130f.) that Delegation IX on the Apadana reliefs, whose horse wears these fittings, is a representation of the Cappadocians, which reinforces the claim for Phrygian use: see above, No. 52, note 2.
3. Cf. Muscarella 1974b, 79, and Muscarella, in *Archaeology* 28 (1975), 211f., where I then considered the tomb difficult to date. It is clear to me now that Dyson's (1965, 209, 211) tentative dating of the tomb to the eighth century and, following upon this, his conclusion that it represents the earliest evidence of Scythians in Iran are not tenable. In this same discussion, Dyson (1965, 211; see also Dyson 1964a, 372, fig. 3) claimed that a bone (not ivory) cheekpiece derived from the Period IV level (Iron Age II, ninth century B.C.): in fact it derived from the subsequent Period III level (Muscarella 1974b, 79, n. 16; also see now Hauptmann 1983, 262, 267). This fact obviates Dyson's statement (of some importance, if true) that "minor contact with Scythians may have occurred during Period IV." The Hasanlu horse-burial tomb, the bone cheekpiece, and a stylized bird head in bone (Dyson 1964a, 372, fig. 2), all of Iron Age III date, represent the only evidence at Hasanlu of a Scythian presence (pace Yamauchi 1982, 47, 71). And there is no clear suggestion that this presence predates the seventh century B.C. See also Moorey 1982a, 97.
- I belatedly came across G. Kurochkin, "Hasanlu and the Scythians" (in Russian), *IranAntiq* 17 (1982), 43–47. Kurochkin notes the dis-

crepancy concerning the level in which the bone cheekpiece from Hasanlu was excavated. He also seems to prefer a post-Period IV date for the Hasanlu horse tomb. However, he unfortunately complicates the issue concerning the dating of the earliest Scythian remains in Iran by claiming that the fragments of a good Iranian repoussé bowl from Period IV at Hasanlu represent a bearded Scythian with trousers. The figure in fact wears a belted skirt and to call him a Scythian is gratuitous; for a discussion of this figure on the bowl, see Winter 1980, 25f., figs. 64–67.

In *BibOr* 15, 6 (1958), 259, R. Ghirshman mentions the discovery south of Lake Urmia of a Scythian tomb with horses, then unpublished, which dates to a time not later than the eighth century B.C. Barnett (1962, 93) cites and misquotes Ghirshman with regard both to the date assigned and to the claim that the discovery was "recent." Barnett then uses the "evidence" from the unpublished information to support his view that the Scythians were in western Asia in the ninth century B.C. Needless to state, an unpublished tomb does no such thing: but it is quite clear from Ghirshman 1964, 24, that the tomb under discussion in his 1958 article mentioned above is the Hasanlu tomb discussed in this note, which is most surely not ninth century B.C. and may not even be eighth century in date, a time considered likely by Sulimirski (1978, 14).

For other incorrect statements that Scythians were in Iran during the ninth century B.C., see Sulimirski 1954, 290ff.; T. C. Young 1967, 20, 26, 33; Yamauchi 1983, 91f.

4. They were brought to him for sale by a man allegedly from Luristan. Ghirshman was of course attempting (at any cost) to "prove" that the Cimmerians lived in Luristan (see "The Luristan Bronzes," above). In Ghirshman 1983, 87, pl. III:4, he publishes one bronze example (from his own private collection!) that he believes came from a tomb in Luristan.

330. Harness Fitting

52.119.9; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1952
Bronze;¹ height 3.5 cm

WHEREAS some harness fittings made to hold leather reins in place on a horse's head are shaped like a boar's tooth (Nos. 328, 329), or a stylized ram or bird's head (Nos. 503–505), this example is made in the form of a boar's head; a fang is indicated on either side of the mouth. It too has four perforations at right angles to each other, but here the base is closed.

Six other fittings in the form of an animal's head are known to me. One, a horse's head, from Popovka in the Soviet Union, from the Achaemenian period is cited by Hauptmann (1983, 266). Five others are strays. A silver horse's head with a hair knob is in the Schimmel collection (Muscarella 1974a, no. 157); one in the form of an unidentified animal (a feline perhaps) was published by Herzfeld (1941, 271, fig. 374, right) as coming from Babylon; one, a griffin (?), was once on the art market (sale catalogue, Christie's, London, 12 July 1977, no. 66); and two others, both horse heads, are in German private collections (Hauptmann 1983, 266, fig. 6:3, 4). The Schimmel and the German examples seem manifestly Achaemenian in style; the former shares with the

Metropolitan Museum's example the ridge of mane on the back of the head, and it shares with the German examples the topknot.

Herzfeld acquired the Metropolitan Museum's example somewhere in Iran. It is almost certain that it, along with the others cited, was made during the Achaemenian period.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Herzfeld 1941, 271, fig. 374, left; Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 25, no. 10; Hauptmann 1983, fig. 6:1 (listed with others as a horse's head).

NOTE

1. Cu: 86.4%, Sn: 12.4%, Pb: .225%, Zn: .050% (1986).



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Elamite, General Iranian, and Parthian and Sasanian Objects

Elamite, General Iranian, and Parthian and Sasanian Artifacts

IN THE NEXT sections are presented first those bronzes that by either style or provenience may be attributed to an Elamite artistic tradition, if not necessarily to a specific center within that designated area (Nos. 331–336). Just as in philology one uses “the toponym ‘Elam’ in its broad sense, i.e., the region of Susiana and the adjacent sections of the Iranian plateau up to and including Anshan” (Steinkeller 1982, 255), so archaeologists use the term Elam/Elamite in an equally broad sense. The collective term Elam was in fact a federation or ensemble of several geographical areas and communities interrelating with one another culturally and politically, if not linguistically (e.g., Amiet 1979; Vallat 1980; de Miroschedji 1980; de Miroschedji 1981b; Stolper 1982). Of these areas—Susa, Susiana, Elam, Awan, Anshan, and Shimashki—only two, Susa and Anshan (Malyan/Fars), are firmly mapped on the archaeological terrain.

That the locations of the other areas remain unresolved is revealed by the different geographic placements assigned by scholars to two of the major components of the federation, Elam (in its limited sense) and Shimashki. Elam is placed together with Awan and Shimashki, just east of Susa up to Anshan, by Amiet (1979, 198). To Vallat (1980, 4ff., fig. 5), Elam is placed together with Anshan in Fars; to de Miroschedji (1980, 137) and Steinkeller (1982, 265, fig. 2), it is northeast and east of Khuzistan, almost up to Kermanshah.

Shimashki is placed by Vallat (1980, 8f.) in the Kerman area, the very same place Steinkeller (1982, 246ff.) sites Marhashi; Steinkeller places Shimashki northeast of Elam, i.e., northwest of the Isfahan plain, the same general area accepted by Stolper (1982, 46, n. 18).

The site of Susa, although clearly not the geographical center of greater Elam, and where Semitic writing predominated, remains the primary source of information on the material culture of Elam at large, and much of what archaeologists determine to be Elamite in style and form is based on finds from there. It is becoming more possible both to recognize and to distinguish the material remains derived from the west and the Kerman area, and at the same time to perceive the manifest cultural ties between the two areas, especially in the third millennium B.C. (e.g., Amiet 1974a; Amiet 1977b; Amiet 1979; Vallat 1980, 8f.; de Miroschedji 1981b, 21f.). These connections are documented by the presence in both areas of Proto-Elamite tablets, lapis lazuli, chlorite vessels, metal seals, and shared motifs; and the trade routes from Afghanistan to the southwest probably passed through Kerman and then west (Amiet 1974a; Tosi 1974, 9, 13f., 17, fig. 1). Whether the Kerman area was Shimashki or Marhashi is obviously still not resolved, but it seems that archaeologists would not necessarily use the term Elamite to culturally define the material remains recovered there.

Types of objects similar to or the same as those included in the Elamite section, especially the weapons, have often been attributed casually to Luristan although they have not been excavated. To determine proveniences from dealers' sale lists, and to assign an Elamite-style object to Luristan or elsewhere, even after qualifying it as "unprovenienced," begs the question of archaeological provenience.

The Elamite objects in this catalogue are followed by a number of objects that are to my mind Iranian, but which nevertheless are not readily attributable to one of the known cultural regions. It may be posited that except, perhaps, for Nos. 359, 364, and 365, the general Iranian group derived from some area(s) in western Iran. The three vessels Nos. 348, 349, and 350 are placed here rather than in the Elamite or Luristan sections because of a conservative attitude. While they were probably manufactured in one or even both of these areas, they are not distinct enough to allow a more specific geographical attribution; I would venture to guess, however, that they all derive from Elam. Only one object in the collection may be attributed, at least tentatively, to the Kerman-Lut region in southeastern Iran, No. 337.

Following the general Iranian material is a group of objects that are Parthian or Sasanian, defined on the basis of style or general parallels (ca. 150 B.C.–A.D. 650). All

objects in this category are claimed by their vendors to have come from Iran; however, one cannot be sure about this attribution, particularly because of the notorious problems of provenience of many objects assumed to have been made during these periods (e.g., Orbeli 1938/1964, 716, 756; Grabar 1967, 19ff., 27, 30f., 44, 75ff.; Harper and Meyers 1981, 5, 8, 11f., 47). They are placed in the Iranian section for convenience (for other Parthian or possibly Parthian objects, see Nos. 173, 177–190, 360–363, and 437–439).¹

Note that the Metropolitan Museum has relevant material, including metal artifacts, excavated at Qasr-i-Abu Nasr, Iran. The site and its finds are being prepared for publication by Donald Whitcomb and are therefore not treated here (see Upton 1934, 18ff., and Upton in Frye 1973, 1ff., for preliminary reports).² For further excavated Parthian material see above, Shahr-i-Qumis (Nos. 177–190).

NOTES

1. Note that the bronze ewer MMA 47.100.90, published in Grabar 1967, 138f., no. 57, and in *MMAB* 29, 7 (1971), 325, was formerly in the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art and was transferred to the Department of Islamic Art in 1973.

2. Now see Donald S. Whitcomb, *Before the Roses and Nightingales: Excavations at Qasr-i Abu Nasr, Old Shiraz* (MMA, New York, 1985).



ELAMITE OBJECTS

331. Decorated Helmet

63.74; purchase; Fletcher Fund, 1963

Bronze, silver, gold, bitumen; height 16.5 cm,
diameter 22.5 cm

THIS HELMET, self-evidently a masterpiece of ancient art, has no parallels either in the representative art of the ancient Near East or from excavations. The helmet proper is sturdily made of bronze, dome shaped, with a slight cutaway at the forehead area where there was originally a small projection to go over the nose; there is no indication that ear flaps were added. Nine gilded silver studs, each with a bronze pin bent back inside the helmet, are evenly spaced around the lower border; a tenth is missing and presumably there were originally two or three more around the back where the edge is now broken. A tapering bronze tube overlaid with bitumen and silver and gold that once probably held a plume of feathers or hair is centered at the rear of the helmet; it is marked by scales and a herringbone pattern.

The main decorative scheme, set on the front of the helmet, consists of three figures, a male flanked by two females, all of whom are clearly deities. The male wears a multi-horned headdress surmounted by a star and a long garment that covers his feet; it is decorated with a vertically oriented scale pattern. This same pattern decorates the conical background against which he stands in apparent symbiosis. A background is represented rather than a mantle, for it not only extends on either side of the body and is visible both above the headdress and below the garment, but its scale pattern is oriented horizontally, in contrast to that of the garment. No fish-tail is represented, and it would seem appropriate to interpret the scales on both the clothing and the background as representing the mountain motif, in spite of the horizontal orientation on the background. Porada (1975, 389), however, perceptively noted the ambiguity in the interpretation fish scales/mountain motif, and it may be that the artist consciously intended to represent both ideas or motifs. Against the center of his chest the deity carries a vessel, the left hand holding the base, the right the neck. From the vessel gush streams of water that cascade out to either side of his body and down the "mountain," which identify him as a water god, perhaps the god of a specific mountain spring or river. His beard is neatly rendered as straight hair ending in curls, and his small moustache is executed as a separate unit over the small but full-lipped mouth. His eyes are almond shaped and heavily outlined. A long ropelike strand of hair ending in a spiral curl falls from behind each ear.

The goddesses, both exactly the same, wear a long

tiered garment, the flounces of which are rendered by vertical lines; as on the central figure, the garment completely covers the feet. Each goddess wears a headdress with a single pair of horns marked with a ropelike pattern; each headdress has a rosette on top and a horizontal row of triangles marking the lower edge. The goddesses are also standing against conical, scaled backgrounds, although narrower than that of the central figure; the backgrounds explicitly illustrate their close relationship to this deity. The goddesses also wear multi-strand necklaces and bracelets on each wrist. Their thick hair, rendered in a herringbone pattern, falls to their shoulders from behind their ears. Their mouths are relatively long and thin, as distinguished from the god's, while their eyes have the same heavily outlined almond shape. The hands of the goddesses are held open, fingers almost touching, at chest level in gestures of supplication.

A bird, perhaps a raptor, with wings outstretched and head rendered in the round, is centered dramatically over the water god at the top of the helmet. Its body and upper wings are marked by a scale pattern, while the long wings and the tail feathers are rendered in herringbone. Legs and claws are not depicted.

The figures of the deities and the bird were first sculpted in bitumen that was then overlaid, first by a layer of silver, then by one of gold;¹ the decoration and details were then incised. The bitumen cores were fastened to bronze plates held to the helmet by rivets bent back inside. From a technical point of view the system of sculpting, decorating, and mounting the figures is quite extraordinary and sophisticated. Why both silver and gold were put over the bitumen is not known, but surely they had some religious or symbolic significance for the ancient artist. Perhaps the ideology behind the combination is related to the one which caused statuettes of gold and silver to be dedicated together at Susa (Amiet 1966, figs. 318, 319), and to the practice known from the late second millennium B.C. down to the later Achaemenians of depositing foundation tablets of gold and silver (Ellis 1968, 97ff.; Schmidt 1953, 70, 79). Sections of metal overlay are now missing from all the figures and from the metal tube.

At least two other helmets of the same type, both at one time on the art market, are known to me from photographs only. One still has preserved the three central





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figures, which are exactly the same as the ones here except for the workmanship, which is distinctly inferior in execution of the details of carving and decoration; only studs remain where the bird should exist (*Trésors* 1966, no. 536, fig. 32).² The short nose guard is still preserved, and instead of a row of large gold studs at the lower border there is a row of small ones. On the second helmet (in a dealer's shop, Frankfurt), what appear to be the bronze plates on which the bitumen cores were mounted are still intact.

On the basis of stylistic judgment alone the helmet may be attributed to an Elamite background, where many of the details and characteristics are matched by excavated material: the deportment of the figures and the very characteristic almost-touching, open-hand position of the goddesses (Amiet 1966, figs. 299, 423; cf. also No. 333 here); the tiered clothing of the goddesses (Amiet 1966, figs. 220, 234, 238, 242); the clumps of hair ending in a spiral curl, sometimes framing the beard (Amiet 1966, figs. 282, 284, 285, 289, 294, 305, 310); perhaps also the use of gilded studs decorating a head ornament (Amiet 1966, fig. 405). Two other Elamite features have been noted by others: Wilkinson (1965, 107f.) called attention to Elamite helmets depicted on an Assyrian relief of the first millennium B.C. that have a long pendant feather at the back; and Porada (1975, 372, fig. 287b) noted that on a stela from Susa deities have rosettes on the top of their horned headdresses.

Neither the water god himself, nor the hovering bird, is peculiar to Elam, although the position of the latter

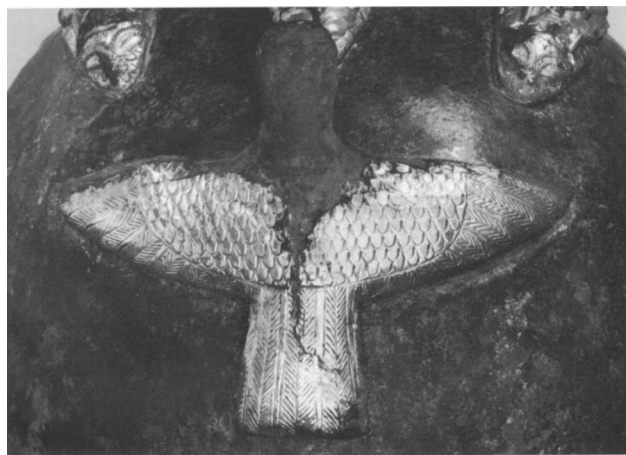


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seems to be unique, as is, I believe, the position of the background mountain.³ The god with the flowing water was known in the art of Elam through most of the second millennium B.C. (de Miroschedji 1981b, 5, 8, 10f., 12, pls. II, VI, VIII, X). De Miroschedji (1981b, 13ff.) attempted to identify this deity (assuming he is always the same god) and concluded that he is Inshushinak, the god of Susa, who had fertility characteristics, thereby associated with water, similar to the Mesopotamian Ea. However, he fairly and objectively allows one to conclude that the water god could indeed have been Napirisha, the god of Elam, who is also associated with Ea (de Miroschedji 1981b, 24f.; see also de Miroschedji



Inside of No. 331.



Detail of No. 331.

1980, 131). Thus, it is possible that the water god on the helmet may be tentatively identified either with Inshushinak or with Napirisha.

In addition to the above parallels, there exists a class of objects which establishes that this helmet is a product of an Elamite workshop, both because they are closely related stylistically and technically, and because examples of these objects have been excavated in Elam. They are small roundels made of a bitumen core overlaid with silver and gold and backed by bronze and decorated with a central motif encircled by a subsidiary one. At present two basic varieties of decoration are known. The first, the most important because of its archaeological contexts, consists of a central rosette encircled by six recumbent rams. Aside from more than a half-dozen strays

in collections or on the art market (Amandry 1965, 152, no. 21, pl. xxviii:2; Calmeyer 1972a, no. 18; Barnett and Curtis 1973, 124; two in the Metropolitan Museum: MMA 62.115⁴—Wilkinson 1965, 108, fig. 10, and Farkas 1973, 86, fig. 12—MMA 66.31.1; both are illustrated here, Figs. 16, 17), three have been excavated, one at Susa (Amiet 1977a, 64f., fig. 4; see also note 4 here) and two at Haft Tepe (Negahban 1973, fig. 12; see here note 7).

The second subclass of roundels is more closely related to the helmet here; it has at its center a male head en face encircled by six recumbent rams. The male's hair is rendered in fine horizontal lines. It is parted at the center, falling to either side in curls; there are two strands of hair curls on each side of his face. His beard is rendered with fine vertical lines, his moustache with dots (at least on one example: Fig. 18), and he has heavily outlined almond-shaped eyes and a small, full-lipped mouth. Differentiating the heads on the roundels from that on the helmet are the lack of curls at the bottom of the beard, the dotted moustache, the lack of ears, the doubled side curls, and loops of hair on the forehead.⁵ Nevertheless, these differences do not significantly detract from the mutually shared details and the staring cast of the face. Six examples of this subclass of roundel are known to me, none deriving from excavations (Amandry 1965, 152, n. 21, pl. xxviii:1; Barnett and Curtis 1973, 124; Harper in Muscarella 1974a, no. 151: here Fig. 18; Amiet 1977a, 63f., figs. 1–3).⁶

Thus, on the basis of objective evidence resulting from excavations, we are able to tie to Elam the unexcavated roundels and, by extension, the Metropolitan Museum's decorated helmet.

Every scholar who has discussed the roundels has claimed that they derived from northwestern Iran, in particular from the Caspian shore region, following information from the vendors.⁷ To be sure, the recumbent rams seem on first viewing to be decorated in the same fine style and manner as some of the animals represented on vessels from Marlik, but one need only look more closely (cf. Amandry 1965, figs. 1A to 1B) to see the differences. Further, the technique of metal overlay on bitumen does not, to my knowledge, occur on any objects excavated in the Caspian region. Indeed, the use of bitumen itself is a strong argument in favor of an Elamite attribution (Börker-Klähn 1970, 88). And it was also the dealers' attributions that deceived scholars into assigning the helmet to a Caspian site (e.g., Wilkinson 1965, 107f.; Porada 1975, 389; *Trésors* 1966, no. 536; Sadegh Behnam 1977).⁸

Concerning the chronology of the helmet we have no difficulty, for the roundels excavated at Haft Tepe and the assembled stylistic parallels date to a time in the fourteenth century B.C. Regarding its function, we can

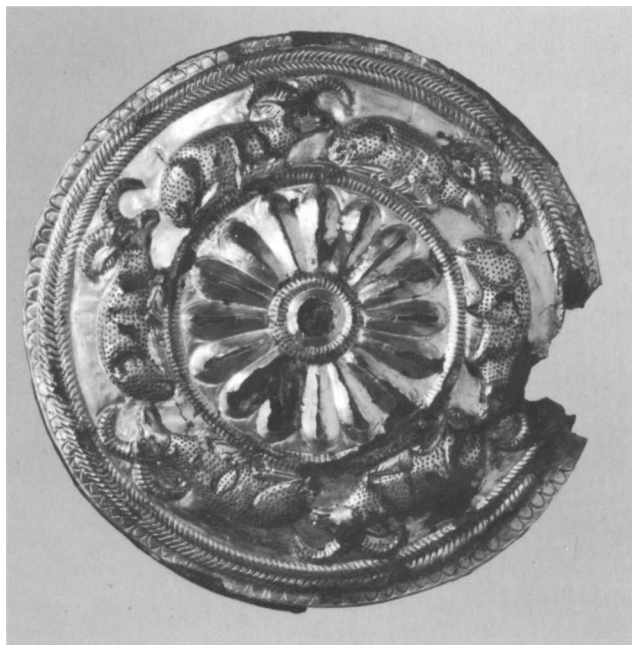


FIG. 16. Roundel, MMA 62.115.

only speculate. Wilkinson (1965, 107) rightly stated that the helmet must have been worn by a person of high rank and that it was functional; it was surely also symbolic. This would mean that a person of high rank wore it to battle for both practical and divine protection, although we might assume that he would have risked its damage by his being in the forefront of the battle. That more than one of these helmets exists indicates that more than one person was issued such equipment.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

MMAB 22, 2 (1963), 78; Wilkinson 1965, 107f., fig. 9; Crawford 1965, 215, fig. 7; Crawford et al. 1966, 24, fig. 37; Nickel 1969, 11; *MMA Guide* 1972, 47, fig. 11; O. Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament* (Cologne, 1972), pl. 1 B; G. N. Kouratchkine, "A propos de l'interprétation de certaines figurations de l'Âge de Fer initial provenant du territoire de l'Iran septentrional," *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* 1974, no. 2, 45, fig. 4; Porada 1975, 389, pl. xxxvi; H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), 51, no. 98; P. Amiet, *Art of the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1980), fig. 540; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 21, no. 20.

NOTES

1. This technique is not readily apparent to the naked eye, which sees only the bitumen and gold; see Wilkinson 1965, 108. For the technique, see W. A. Oddy et al., "Diffusion-Bonding as a Method of Gilding in Antiquity," *MASCA Journal* 1, 8 (1981), 239–41; see also the Schimmel roundel (Fig. 18), where only the bitumen is now preserved.

2. I find it puzzling that the execution of the figures on this particular helmet seems, on the basis of the photograph, to be so poor in comparison to the Metropolitan Museum helmet: viz. the faces, eyes, arms, and hands, vertical lines and horizontal tier divisions on the garments, the lack of curls on the beard, the hair lines. I must there-



FIG. 17. Roundel, MMA 66.31.1.



FIG. 18. Roundel, collection of Norbert Schimmel.

fore reserve judgment regarding the authenticity of this helmet until I see it. Would a forger have applied gold over a bitumen core extant on an original helmet? Was the original gold reworked? Or is it a genuine but crudely made work? The helmet is now in Teheran (Sadeh Behnam 1977, cover: with negative reversed). See also note 6.

3. Susan Pattullo has called to my attention a Mitannian-like (?) cylinder seal in Geneva (M. L. Vollenweider, *Catalogue raisonné des sceaux cylindres et intailles I* [Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, 1967],



FIGS. 19–21. Roundel, MMA 64.63.

61, no. 62, pl. 32:2) that depicts a bird with outstretched wings hovering over a human-headed bull; it is dated to the third quarter of the second millennium B.C. The bird's hovering position is the closest parallel I can find for the bird on the helmet. (Susan Pattullo has, in addition, discussed the helmet with me and given me valuable comments, especially regarding the mountain background of the three figures.)

4. Amandry inadvertently listed this roundel as having a bearded head in the center. A Frankfurt dealer (Motammed) at one time had three roundels with the central rosette, one of which seems to be Calmeyer 1972a, no. 18. For other examples of bitumen roundels with different central motifs excavated at Susa, see Amiet 1977a, figs. 5a, b, and 6; see also note 6 here. Amiet says that on his fig. 5 there are mouffons, but the drawing seems to show other animals—a bull?, a lion?

5. The hair pattern of three spiral curls on each side of the head associated with the frontal face is a standard motif for representing the Hero in Near Eastern art from the Early Dynastic III period down through the first centuries of the first millennium B.C.: R. M. Boehmer, "Held," in *RLA IV* (1972–75), 296ff., esp. nos. 24, 47, 50, 53, 54, 59, 60, 73, 75, 81. Hair loops on the forehead occur elsewhere in Elamite and western Iranian art (Amiet 1966, figs. 310, 325[?], 413).

6. I know of three other objects made in the form of this subtype of roundel: but instead of the continuous frieze of six rams around the central head motif, there are but two at the top and two at the bottom, separated and heraldically arranged. One is in New York City, one is in Texas, and the other is in Los Angeles. The latter alone has been published, by Moorey (1981, no. 608), who notes that it has been repaired in modern times, and that "it is no longer easy to establish by eye how much of it is ancient." I have examined the New York example (it belongs to a dealer) and believe that the bitumen backing may be ancient. All are crudely executed and if not completely modern, they have been reworked to the point that they have no art-historical value. Two other roundels of this subtype have been published in sales catalogues, in *Nouveau Drouot*, Paris, 24 September 1981, no. 165, the other in *Drouot Rive Gauche*, 11 July 1979, no. 13. While both are canonical in form and details, I have not personally seen them and cannot comment further on them. There is yet another form of roundel that is surrounded by cloisonné decoration inlaid with paste and stone. The presence of the protome and cloisonnés distinguishes this form from the repoussé examples discussed in the text, although the nature of their form and material interrelates them. Amiet has published two examples. One, formerly in the Foroughi collection and now in the Louvre, has a bitumen lion protome overlaid with gold and silver (Amiet 1977a, 65ff., figs. 7–11). The other is in the Metropolitan Museum (64.63; Amiet 1977a, 67f., figs. 13, 14; here Figs. 19, 20, 21); Amiet suggested that the cone of this example may have served as a support for a bitumen protome, such as a lion.

7. Amiet 1977a, 65, left open the possibility that the unexcavated roundels could have been found in the north, and if so, that they were imported in antiquity from Elam: a conclusion that places dealers' hearsay over archaeological activity. Note also that, pace Negahban, the Metropolitan Museum helmet has absolutely nothing in common with an example represented on a gold vessel from Marlik (Negahban 1983, 32, G15).

Now see E. O. Negahban, "Haft Tepe Roundels: An Example of Middle Elamite Art," *AJA* 88 (1984), 3–10, received too late to include in the above discussions. Negahban publishes a second bitumen roundel from Haft Tepe, one with central rosette and recumbent rams (pl. 1, fig. 4). He is apparently insecure with the Los Angeles roundel (pp. 5f.) mentioned here in note 6, but draws no conclusions. Negahban also gives an incomplete list (only twelve) of the

known bitumen examples in existence, but he arrives at the same conclusion concerning their Elamite origin as presented in the text here.

8. A gold vessel purchased by the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran, has kneeling figures holding vessels with flowing water in a lower register and in the upper lions attacking stags (*Archaeologia viva* 1 [1968], 66, fig. 81, pls. xxvi, xxix); the vessel is assigned to Gilan, in the north. Calmeyer in 1973a (203f., n. 436b) saw it as "stark elamisch beeinflusst," and in 1982 (342 and n. 36) claimed it to be "ein offenbar elamischer Goldbecher. . . ." He compared it to the Untash-Gal stele (Amiet 1966, figs. 282–85), obviously because of the flowing water, and the ear and hair style of the kneeling figures. Yet the upper register animals seem northern in form and style (note the body markings) and the kneeling figures' physiognomy differ from those on the Untash-Gal stele. Perhaps, then, Calmeyer's first perception of Elamite influence is the better interpretation for the artistic background of this vessel, whose findspot remains forever unknown. Note that other stray vessels of precious metal cited by Calmeyer (1973a, 203f., n. 436) as depicting Elamite influence are said by their vendors to derive from northern Iran.

332. Pair of Standard Tops

57.13.1, 2; purchase; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1957
Bronze; height of each 29.8 cm, widths 12.1, 11.5 cm

THE STANDARDS, exactly the same in all details, are composed of a hollow ring cast with a figural group. Each ring is decorated on both sides with four groups of ridges; every other ridge is engraved with chevrons that alternate directions from ridge to ridge. The four plain areas that separate the groups of ridges are decorated with an engraved rosette. The figural group is cast in the round on the upper part of each ring. The striding male figure is bearded and he wears boots with up-turned toes and a plain, belted, knee-length garment; his plain hair projects forward over his forehead. He holds an unidentified object (an animal?) close to his chest with his left hand, while the right is held forward with open palm in a gesture of supplication; the right hand of No. 332b is broken at the wrist. A snake's head supports the front foot of each man, a short plinth the rear; although the area between the feet is solid, the rear leg is left free. On either side of the figures is a solid cast recumbent ram whose seemingly peaceful posture is compromised by a crouching dog that bites its haunch. The interior curve of each ring has a slot on both sides that once held a central ornament. A socket at the base of each ring holds a tang by means of a rivet; the lower end of the tang is bent.

P. R. S. Moorey (1977a) has recently assembled and studied a total of eight pieces of this type, all unprovenanced. In addition to the two examples here, there is a second pair, of which one is in Hamburg, the other at one time (and perhaps still) on the art market. Each

of these standards has a twisted ring with cutouts on which rests a recumbent hollow ram, also with cutouts, that is attacked from the rear by a lion (?) while a hollow bird faces him. Four loops, two on each side, one of them serving as a plinth for the lion's rear legs, complete the decoration. These two standards are identical except for the position of the creatures, which face in different directions on each unit (Moorey 1977a, 144, fig. 3—with fig. 2 caption; *Trésors* 1966, no. 540, fig. 35). A single example in the Schimmel collection (Muscarella 1974a, no. 137; Moorey 1977a, 143, fig. 2—with fig. 3 caption) has six loops around the hollow cutout ring and the same cutout recumbent ram as on the preceding pieces, but no lion or bird. A sixth standard, in the Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1977a, 142, fig. 1), has a ring with a unique openwork decoration in the form of curves and holes, six loops, and a tang in the socket. An object, now missing, but restored as a rattle by Moorey, once existed at the top of the ring; it surely was not a ram. This standard is further distinguished by having an openwork rattle held in place by four tangs in the central opening. This central feature relates the Ashmolean Museum standard to those in the Metropolitan Museum, but what object existed in the ones here is, of course, unknown.

Finally, there are two identical and rather extraordinary examples, one in the Louvre (Calmeyer 1969a, 51, fig. 51), and one in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (Sarre 1941–44, 197): they are unique and stand out within the group. The ring is in the form of cast, closely bound wires that probably represent water for the six ducks that rest on it; a recumbent animal is at the top and there are no loops. The ring rests on the backs of two addorsed bulls that in turn allegedly rest on a wood shaft held by a separately made socket formed of three standing male figures in the round holding hands.¹ In the central opening these standards have four kneeling interlocking men clothed in a belted garment who hold hands (or vessels: Moorey 1977a, 144). While certainly related to the other standards by their form and function, and in part by their decorative conception, they stand out as the most elaborate and iconographically complex of the group. Calmeyer, followed by Moorey, dates the pair to the Babylonian period on the basis of the iconography of the central scene.²

Features shared by all the standards are the ring shape, the placement of the figures and loops on the ring, and the fact that six examples have a socket and tang. Five examples share a recumbent ram, and five have a central ornament. Their form and iconography suggest that they probably functioned as standards in some cultic or otherwise charged event during which they were placed in a position where they could be viewed from all sides.



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The existence of three pairs that have survived the turmoil of the art market—Metropolitan Museum, Hamburg—art market, and the Louvre—Royal Ontario Museum—suggests both that they were placed together as pairs, and that the Schimmel and the Ashmolean Museum standards once had duplicates. In ninth-century B.C. Assyrian art, standards are represented singly (Strommenger 1962, pl. 206 top, 213 and 214 bottom;



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Hrouda 1965, pl. 30:4, 5; Calmeyer 1974b, pl. 13:2, 3: battle scenes) or in pairs (Hrouda 1965, pl. 52:4; Madhloom 1970, pl. XI:1: cult scene). However, as Calmeyer has noted (1969a, 51f.), the figures depicted on these Assyrian standards are placed within the ring, not on it. An actual example of an Assyrian standard, but of a type not represented in art, was excavated at Assur (Preusser 1954, pl. 19). Other standards of a distinct type are known



332a

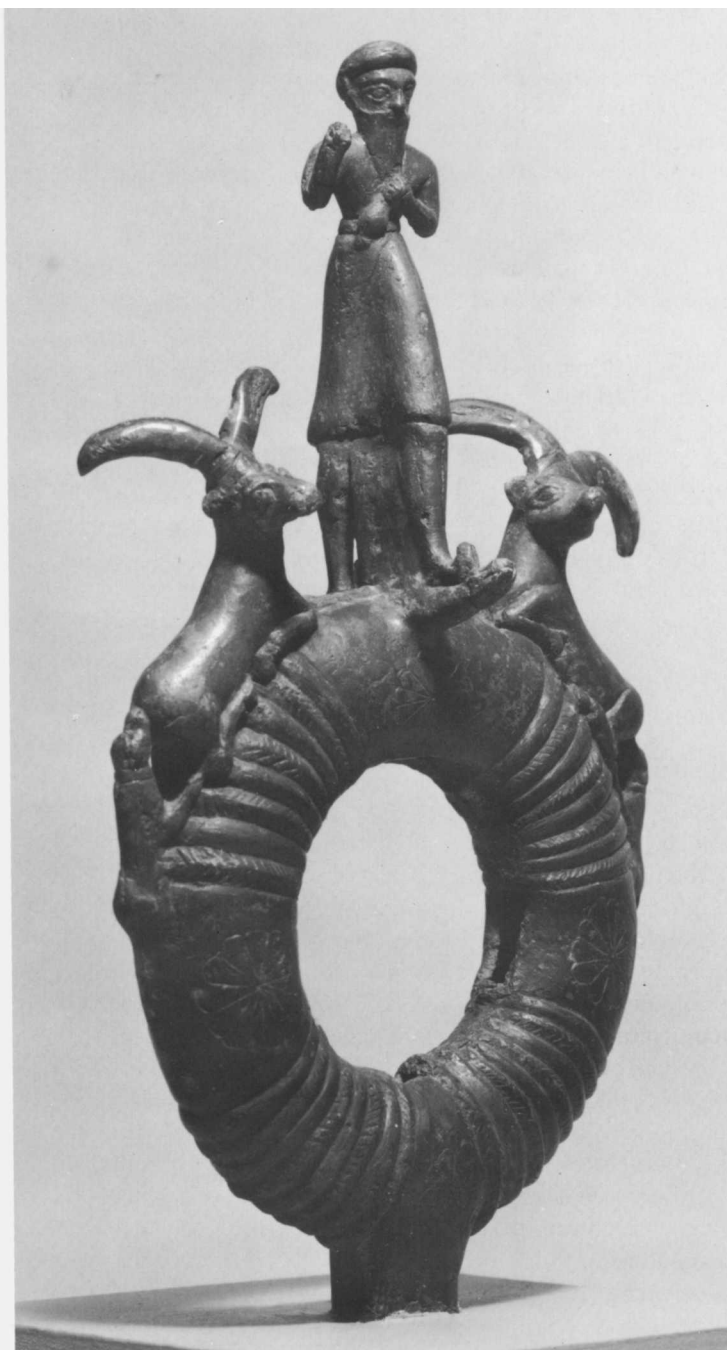


332a

from the third-millennium B.C. site of Alaca Hüyük in Anatolia (Bossert 1942, nos. 297–306). They, along with the Assyrian examples and those discussed here, indicate the wide geographical distribution and long chronological range for the use of standards.

Although not a single example of the type of standard under discussion here has been excavated, scholars have attempted to assign possible proveniences or sty-

listic backgrounds to them. Thus the Metropolitan Museum pair and the Hamburg–art market pair have been assigned to northwestern Iran (Harper 1960, 254; *Trésors* 1966, no. 540). In his study of the standards, Moorey investigated their style and suggested some conclusions regarding proveniences. He has rightly recognized the obvious Elamite characteristics of the male figure and the snakes on the Metropolitan Museum pair (e.g., Amiet



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1966, figs. 233, 318, 319, 321), but because of the kilts and the boots with upturned toes, which he claims are not paralleled in Elamite art, he has attributed these standards to a "provincial, rather than a metropolitan, Elamite workshop . . .," more specifically to a "Zagros workshop" (Moorey 1977a, 144). For the probable home of the Old Babylonian Louvre–Royal Ontario Museum pair, he concluded that one must look "deep into the

central Zagros region where the standard-tops were probably [*sic*] found in the 1890's" (Moorey 1977a, 144; see also Moorey 1977b, 150).³ As for the four others, he tentatively concluded that, on the basis of the open-work and the rattle, they were probably made either in northwestern Iran, in Azerbaijan, or in the Transcaucasus (Moorey 1977a, 145).

Concerning the suggested proveniences of the Met-

ropolitan Museum and the Louvre–Royal Ontario Museum pairs, I believe that Moorey's conclusions need not be accepted as the only viable possibilities. The kilts and boots with upturned toes on the former pair do occur in Elamite art (Amiet 1966, 404f., fig. 305), and there is no reason to assume automatically that upturned toes must signify that a mountain people are being depicted. Nor can one exclude the possibility that the latter pair, objects of apparent Babylonian origin or influence, came from a central Elamite site, or from Mesopotamia in modern times. However, Moorey's conclusions (1977a, 144ff.) that the other standards exhibit features best paralleled at present in the Caucasus are cogent (leaving aside dealers' attributions). Farkas (1970, 54, no. 23) also recognized these Caucasian elements on the Schimmel standard and considered it to derive from Transcaucasia. If we follow Moorey, we have the standards deriving from a number of separate areas within Iran, from the northwest or Transcaucasia, and from the Zagros mountains in the south, where at least one workshop was geographically close to Elam.⁴

If we follow stylistic analyses alone and reject dealers' claims, we may isolate three basic groups within the class, one Elamite in style, the second Caucasian or Caucasian influenced, but with no postulated proveniences. Moorey himself did not resolve the problem of ultimate origin, although he implied that the Caucasian style standards are late ("a fresh cultural influence"), which would give priority to the Elamite contribution, at least within Iran. As for the third group, because we do not know where the Old Babylonian Louvre–Royal Ontario Museum pair was found, let alone where it was manufactured, we are not able to speak about a Mesopotamian or Iranian origin or place of final deposition.⁵

Moorey dated the Metropolitan Museum pair to the second half of the second millennium B.C., a date justified by the relevant parallels. And it is probable that the Hamburg–art market pair and the Schimmel standard were made during the same period; the Ashmolean Museum example may be the latest in the series. If this general chronology is correct, we must then recognize that there is a significant chronological gap between these six standards and the Old Babylonian pair.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

MMAB 16, 2 (1957), 49; Harper 1960, 257, fig. 17; Glubock 1963, 37; Ghirshman 1964, 62, 422, fig. 78; listed as on the art market; *Treasures* 1970, 35, no. 21; *Treasured Masterpieces of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Tokyo National Museum and Kyoto Municipal Museum, 1972), no. 5; Moorey 1977a, pl. 11a; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 39.

NOTES

1. Sarre (1941–44, 196) and L. Heuzey (in *RA* 5 [1902], 103) identify the animal on the ring as a stag; E. Borowski (in *Archaeology* 5, 1 [1952], 23f.) calls it a calf; Calmeyer (1969a, 51) simply calls it a quadruped.

It is surely of some importance with concern for their iconographical integrity to note that these standards have no tang below the addorsed bulls and, further, that only the Louvre example is associated with a separately made socket. Both Heuzey and Sarre (and presumably others who have discussed these standards) assumed that the socket held a wooden shaft that fit into the space between the bulls. One is obliged to ask whether the socket is an ancient component of the Louvre standard (and assumed to be missing on the other), or is a dealer's addition.

2. Heuzey (in *RA* 5 [1903], 104) dated the standards to the Parthian period, while Dussaud (1938/1964, 262f.), Sarre (1941–44, 195ff.), and Potratz (1963, 125) considered them to be Luristan bronzes. Farkas (1970, 54, no. 23) thought them to be actual examples of Assyrian standards; and Borowski (in *Archaeology* 5, 1 [1952], 24) dated them to about 800 B.C., Sarre (1941–44, 198f.) to about 1000 B.C., both on the basis of alleged parallels to the Assyrian standards. All these conclusions are without merit.

3. But the Louvre piece was acquired in 1893, the Royal Ontario Museum piece in 1897/98, both purchased from dealers, the latter in Teheran. In other words, the pair was acquired a few years apart and they have no archaeological provenience, Zagros or otherwise (the dealer claimed that the Royal Ontario Museum piece came from Hamadan: Sarre 1941–44, 198). We may, of course, accept the assumption that they were found together: but whether in Iran, or in Iraq and brought east by modern traders, is not known to us.

4. My reading of Moorey is that he speaks of two Zagros workshops, one for the Metropolitan Museum pair, another for the Old Babylonian pair.

5. As for the function of standards in the Near East, we know little except for their presence in art, see Nylander 1983, *passim*, esp. 22f.

333. Votive Figurine

51.159; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1951
Bronze; height 12.5 cm

DRESSED IN a long garment that just touches her exposed bare feet and with a mantle over her shoulders, a female holds both arms before her in a gesture of supplication. Her head is covered with a neatly pleated turban that leaves carefully coiffed hair visible over the forehead. Her face is calm but alert, almost archaic Greek in pose. Two holes, one below the left arm, the other at the rear above the hem, may have held pins to secure gold leaf (Harper 1960, 254). A tenon supports the figurine and once held it securely in a base.

In style and deportment the figurine is typically Elamite, dating to the last centuries of the first millennium B.C. (cf. No. 331).¹ The female is a votive, probably meant to represent a particular individual in permanent supplication before a god. Excavations at Susa have yielded votive figurines of the same style and general posture, some with tenons, and made of various



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materials (de Morgan et al. 1905, pls. xv, xvi:1–10, esp. 9, xvii:2, 3; Amiet 1966, figs. 220, 315–17, 326; see also Amiet 1966, figs. 233 and 299 for the same posture and hand position). The Metropolitan Museum figurine probably derived from Susa or another Elamite center.

An unexcavated bronze figurine similar to ours, but cruder in execution, is in the Lands of the Bible Archaeology Foundation (Heim in Muscarella 1981a, 202, no. 162).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Harper 1960, 254ff., fig. 16.

NOTE

1. Odd, however, to me are the seam/fold lines on the front and back of the garment and the folds around the bottom.

334. Axehead

49.23.5; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1949

Bronze;¹ greatest width 10.2 cm

THE RELATIVELY long, round socket is reinforced at its base by a molding. The upper end of the socket is concave. It has a vertical shaft with a rounded top at the rear that is a continuation of the reinforcing molding around the socket and to which the thongs binding the axe shaft to the socket were tied. At the front of the upper end is a short, curved rise. A protuberance on the rear of the socket is set near the top below the upper molding. The blade projects from the upper part of the socket; its reinforced upper and lower rear concave edges curve out and back to form a crescent-shaped cutting edge, which is not sharp and is chipped in one place, but otherwise shows no signs of use.

Axes of this type have been excavated to date at only three sites, all in Iran: Susa and Tchoga Zanbil in Elam, and Chekka Sabz in Luristan;² none is reported from areas to the west of Iran. While a good number come from Susa (the exact number is not known; Calmeyer 1969a, 46f.; Börker-Klähn 1970, 21, pls. 3, 11:3–5), only one derives from Tchoga Zanbil (Ghirshman 1966, pls. LIII:5, LXXXIII:G.T.Z. 166). One of the Susa axes is inscribed with the name Addakhushu (or Attapakshu) (Deshayes 1960, no. 1397; also no. 1407, a variant type), as are two unexcavated examples (Calmeyer 1969a, 47, Group 23D, E; Pope 1934, 19f., fig. 1, which is Amiet 1976, 19f., no. 28, and also Calmeyer 1969a, 47, Group 23D). Addakhushu was an Elamite prince (*sukkal*) at the time of the Mesopotamian Old Babylonian period and was apparently contemporary to Sumuabum, the first king of that dynasty (nineteenth century B.C.; for commentary on this synchronism, see Nagel 1963, 43, and Calmeyer 1969a, 46, n. 158; Börker-Klähn 1970, 204ff.). However, although the inscriptions supply firm evidence for dating the axes, the excavated evidence is less clear, and its interpretation has led to differences of opinion concerning the length of time within which the axes may have been in use.

Stratigraphical underpinnings for dating the axes at Susa are almost nonexistent, but Calmeyer (1969a, 47, 48) nevertheless has concluded that, based on associated finds, at least six examples date to the Old Babylonian period. Chekka Sabz remains unpublished, and so we have no information about the dates of the material found there. One axe at Susa, however, derives from the Shilhak-Inshushinak hoard, deposited in the twelfth century B.C., and the example from Tchoga Zanbil comes from a thirteenth-century deposit. Both are uninscribed. Thus, we have the following situation: all the inscriptions on the axes are nineteenth century B.C. in date; some axes at Susa are Old Babylonian in date; one at Susa is from a twelfth-century context; and the one from Tchoga Zanbil is from thirteenth-century context. As a result of this mixed evidence, Maxwell-Hyslop (1949, 100f.), Deshayes (1960, I, 173), Moorey (1974a, 36—but cf. 1971a, 46), and Amiet (1976, 20) have claimed that the Addakhushu-type axes were in use for most of the second millennium from the nineteenth to the twelfth centuries B.C. Calmeyer (1969a, 47, 48) has challenged this view of long life, citing the firm evidence of both the inscriptions and the six Old Babylonian examples from Susa, and further arguing that the Shilhak-Inshushinak deposit contained other material demonstrably earlier than the twelfth century B.C. (see also Herzfeld 1941, 130; Moorey 1971a, 46; de Miroschedji 1981b, 20). Concerning the Tchoga Zanbil axe, he argues that the combined evidence pointing to an early

date suggests a view that either it was an heirloom or it was a recently discovered find added to the deposit. Porada (1979a, 399) seems to support his interpretation. While in the final analysis one may not know which opinion best serves reality, Calmeyer has presented good arguments to support the conclusion that perhaps all the axes were made in the early second millennium B.C.

The existence of Iranian and Luristan proveniences is documented and clear. All the excavated pieces come from Elam except for one from Luristan, and none are from Mesopotamia. But practically all the many strays have been attributed by dealers, and accepted by scholars, as deriving from western Iran, in particular from Luristan (viz. Pope 1934, 19f.; Calmeyer 1969a, 46ff.—Group 23A: “Tepe Giyan”!; Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 100f.; Amiet 1976, 19; De Waele 1982, 20f., no. 12);³ Potratz (1968, 74) thought some, but not all, the strays came from Luristan (see also Potratz 1963, 128). Calmeyer even went so far as to chide Deshayes for not recognizing that more of these axes derived from Luristan than even Deshayes recorded: although he himself was apparently not aware of the excavated example from Chekka Sabz. This latter axe documents a Luristan provenience for at least one example of the type, and it documents a bona fide contact relationship between Luristan and Elam in the early second millennium B.C.

NOTES

1. Cu: 87.0%, Sn: 11.2%, As: 1.00%, Pb: .247%, Zn: .033% (1986).
2. See A. U. Pope, in *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology* 4, 3 (1936), 120; while the site is not mentioned by name here, records in the Metropolitan Museum identify it as Chekka Sabz. The axe is mentioned by Schmidt, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 53, 2 (1937), 121, and by Schaeffer 1948, 493.
3. That the only possible meaning of provenience is still misunderstood and abused is classically illustrated by De Waele (1982). He cites two axes of the present type (p. 21) as “du Luristan,” basing the alleged provenience on the statement of a scholar who himself published unexcavated examples as from Luristan, and who in turn cited as his authority other scholars who made arbitrary and unverified claims. Neither De Waele nor the authority he cites mentioned the excavated example from Chekka Sabz. Verification of provenience seems, then, an unnecessary task for those claiming to write archaeology: if a scholar says a stray artifact derives from a particular area, it is to be accepted as a given, a received datum, and therefore an archaeological reality.

335. Axehead

65.145.1; Gift of Nuri Farhadi and Habib Anavian, 1965
Bronze;¹ width 12.7 cm

THIS AXEHEAD is clearly the same in socket form and general blade shape as No. 334, the Addakhushu-type axe, with some modifications: the blade issues from the mouth of a creature (cf. Nos. 304, 306) that projects from the socket, the unit at the back of the socket that



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held the binding thongs is curved backward and ends in a bird's head, and crests or wings extend downward from the back of the socket. The axe is also elaborately decorated with neat incisions that were added after casting: sharp teeth of the monster are incised on both sides of the blade; the socket has incised horizontal lines on two sides at its base and around the upper molding; the crest/wing has a lozenge pattern above a featherlike herringbone pattern. It is possible that the niche at the tip of the crest is meant to give the impression of layers. The blade has a beveled edge that shows no signs of wear.

Four parallel pieces, also strays like the one here, are known to me: one is in the Foroughi collection (Deshayes 1960, I, 439; II, pl. 11:3088; Börker-Klähn 1970, 21, pl. 11:4); another is in the Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1971a, 46, no. 11); a third is in Los Angeles (Moorey 1981, no. 13: according to Moorey it is possibly an aftercast, presumably because it seems to be an exact mate to the Ashmolean example; see note 1 here); and the fourth is in the Louvre (de Miroschedji 1981b, pl. 11:4). This latter axe has a horned creature and a snake coiled around the socket. Only the Foroughi axe apparently lacks the zoomorphic juncture. This piece is decorated with a herringbone feather pattern on the crest or wing, but it is not certain whether the three others are similarly decorated. As a result of reference and comparison to related examples (cited above and below), it is almost certain that the creature at the juncture is a serpent, and the crests or wings suggest that it is a serpent-dragon.

Deshayes, Börker-Klähn, Moorey, and Calmeyer (1969a, 48, Group 23p) have rightly recognized that this axe form is a typological variant of the Addakhushu group, which allows us to date it to the same general period of time, about nineteenth century B.C. At the same time these axes are related in both form and ideology and continue a tradition of earlier Elamite hammer-axes or standards known from Susa and as strays. The best parallel from this group is the hammer-axe from

Susa that is inscribed with the name of Shulgi, the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (see No. 435; Amiet 1966, no. 176; Börker-Klähn 1970, 21, pl. 10:2), which has birds that are the same as the one on our axe placed on either side of the socket's rim, and with crests/wings pendant from the socket. Dated to the twenty-first century B.C., this object helps date another well-known and related silver hammer/standard from Susa, one with a serpent-dragon head and pendant crests/wings (Amiet 1966, no. 175); for strays of this group, including one that is almost a duplicate to the Shulgi example, see Calmeyer 1969a, 38f., figs. 38, 39 (Calmeyer rejects, mistakenly, I believe, their Elamite background; cf. Börker-Klähn 1970, 21f.).

Also typologically related, both to the above-mentioned group, although perhaps later in date, and certainly to our axes, is an example from the Shilhak-Inshushinak deposit at Susa. This axe—closer to an axe in form and function than to a standard—has a horned serpent-dragon with a blunt blade projecting from its mouth and crests/wings on the socket (Amiet 1966, no. 307; de Miroschedji 1981b, 20, pl. xi:3).²

Of specific concern here is that the Metropolitan Museum's axe and its mates utilize both formal and iconographical features of earlier Elamite axes/standards, as well as the Addakhushu form. Collectively, these data allow us to conclude that the group is almost certainly of Elamite manufacture. De Miroschedji (1981b, 20f.) believes that at least the Louvre and the Susa examples originally came from Kerman (that is, to him, from Shimashki), in part because of what he sees as a parallel inspiration with a distinct group known from the Kerman area (Calmeyer 1969a, 182f., figs. 151–54; Hakemi 1972, pl. xx A).³ To my mind, the relationship of the Kerman group to the one presently under discussion must surely be perceived as a result of the intimate cultural connections between Elam (the west) and the Kerman area, a connection carefully noted by de Miroschedji (1981b, 21ff.). In any event, the Metropolitan Museum axe and its mates did not derive from Luristan (*Trésors* 1966, no. 277; Calmeyer 1969a, 48, Group 23p).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

MMA Selections 1983, no. 38; now see Pittman 1984, 76ff., fig. 37.

NOTES

1. Cu: 81.9%, Sn: 11.0%, As: 2.0%, Pb: 1.2%, Zn: not detected. Was the arsenic added with the tin or was it a natural component of the copper ore? In 1973 Moorey reported in a personal communication to me that the Ashmolean axe was analyzed and has a high zinc content, which makes it suspicious and probably modern (an aftercast?). Thus, he indicts both the Ashmolean and Los Angeles axes as being presumably modern castings. Of the five examples cited then, this leaves three—Metropolitan Museum, Louvre, and Foroughi—as probably ancient.

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2. On this Susa piece the blunt blade also represents unequivocally the serpent-dragon's tongue, as indicated by a similar creature's tongue depicted on a coiled serpent throne from Susa (Amiet 1966, no. 286; de Miroschedji 1981b, pl. ix). Thus, it is possible that the Susa object could have functioned as a weapon and simultaneously, or independently, as an iconographic model in the round, as a standard.

3. Note, however, that unexcavated examples of these eastern axes have been casually attributed to Luristan: A. Godard 1931, 59, pl. xxiv:70; Herzfeld 1941, 132; Amiet 1976, 21f., no. 29; Moorey 1981, no. 23. Potratz (1960, 34; 1963, 128) correctly realized that they were not from Luristan but he incorrectly considered them to be forgeries: see Calmeyer 1969a, 140.

336. Axehead

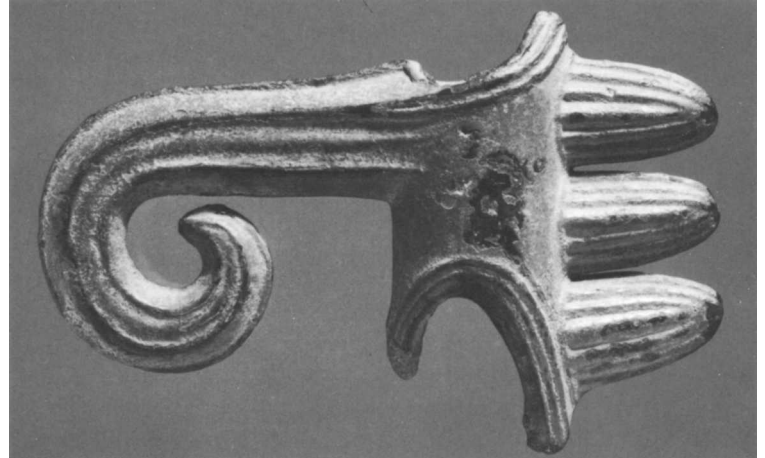
65.32; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1965
Bronze;¹ length 12.5 cm

ASIDE FROM the blade form, what characterizes this axehead is the vertical socket with reinforced moldings at the top and bottom edges that are obliquely cut away, the lower in a more pronounced manner, and the three strong, blunt spikes at the rear. The blade is unusual in that, instead of projecting horizontally and ending in a point, it is curled back into a neat volute.

Both Calmeyer (1969a, 25f., Group 9) and Moorey (1971a, 63f., nos. 33, 34) have considered all axeheads with the same vertical cutaway socket and three or four spikes as one class or type, whether the blade is straight or curves into a volute; Deshayes (1960, I, 167; II, 71, nos. 1366–69, Type A5d) and Maxwell-Hyslop (1949, 106, Type 16) knew only the former. The only places these spiked axeheads have actually been excavated are at Ur, where a conventional example was found in an Akkadian grave (Woolley 1934, pl. 224, U.9680), and at Susa, where a volute blade example like the one here was found (A. Godard 1962, 75, fig. 103; Calmeyer 1969a, 25, Group 9h, fig. 23); all the other known examples are strays.

Aside from the present example, at least four others with volute blades are known to me: the one from Susa, one in the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran (A. Godard 1962, 75; Calmeyer 1969a, 26, Group 9 i), one in the Sarre collection (Potratz 1968, 12, pl. xi, fig. 53; Calmeyer 1969a, 26, Group 9k); and one on the art market (sale catalogue, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 153); none is objectively known to derive from Luristan (but cf. Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 105f.; Potratz 1968, 12; Calmeyer 1969a, 25f.; Moorey 1971a, 64: “they probably represent. . . Elamite influence in metalwork” of Luristan; in this regard cf. Nos. 334, 515).

Both Potratz (1968, 12) and Calmeyer (1969a, 26) have concluded that the volute blade on these axeheads eliminates them as functional weapons. However, representations of the spiked axes on seals show that the spikes themselves were used as the fighting edge (Maxwell-



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Hyslop 1949, 105, pl. xxxvi:1; Herzfeld 1941, fig. 246, right). And on an unexcavated bronze beaker dated to the early second millennium B.C. there is depicted a warrior wielding a weapon similar to the one here in that, although the striking edge is a fenestrated blade (cf. No. 510), the rear has a curved-back “spike” (Schlossman 1974–77, 158 and 144, fig. 2),² demonstrating that it was not used as the striking edge. Thus, the present axehead and its mates could easily have been used as actual weapons, with the spikes functioning as the fighting element (we may also assume that the blunt, volute section could have served as a striking edge, too, in the manner of a mace).

Based on dated seal representations (Calmeyer 1969a, 25) of the conventional examples and the piece from Ur (the Susa example is dated by A. Godard 1962, 75, as 2200 B.C.), as well as the distantly related example on the bronze beaker, it seems safe to date the Metropolitan Museum axehead to the Akkadian period or perhaps to a slightly later time, to the last centuries of the third millennium B.C. (as Moorey 1971a, 64; cf. also No. 513 for an axehead with a similar socket, dated to the same time period, a relationship also noted by Moorey 1971a, 64). And given the fact that no volute examples are known west of Iran, that one occurs at Susa, and that others are reported to derive from Iran (less significant, to be sure), it is possible that our axe was of Elamite origin.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Schlossman 1974–77, 158, fig. 22.

NOTES

1. Cu: 89.9%, Sn: 7.7%, As: 0.9%, Pb: 0.7%, Fe: 0.1%, Zn: not detected.

2. Although the weapon depicted on the beaker has a curved spike, it is not a volute, and the blade is a different type; therefore it is not “matched by a bronze ax from Luristan,” i.e., the Metropolitan Museum axehead, as maintained by Schlossman (1974–77, 158).

GENERAL IRANIAN OBJECTS

337. Bird Standard

65.64; purchase; Schimmel Foundation Inc. Gift, 1965
Copper;¹ height with pin 12.7 cm, length of bird 8.5
cm, width at wing tips 21 cm



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A BIRD, probably a raptor, with a long beak, drilled eyes, straight projecting tail, and large outspread wings, is pierced through vertically by a pin that is bent back at the top. The bird is cast in the round; the wings are formed of a single piece of sheet metal that passes through a slit in the bird's body. The pin is flattened at the bottom end and seems to be complete.

Four formal parallels are known to me, three of which derive from excavations. One was excavated at Xabis, five kilometers east of Shahdad in southeastern Iran, dating to the mid-third millennium B.C. (Hakemi 1972, 10, no. 300; Porada 1975, 380, pl. xxxiii). The Xabis example consists of a long thin handle, 1.19 meters in length, at the top of which is a bird in the round similar to the one here, with long beak and outstretched wings; the wings are of proportionately normal size (and may have been cast with the bird, but this is not clear). Attached to the handle below the bird is a copper/bronze rectangular plaque decorated with a banquet scene in repoussé. From the published photographs (and drawings: Amiet 1974a, 103, fig. 7) it seems that the bird is not pierced by the handle, which, along with the normalized wings of the bird, distinguishes it from ours.

The second and third excavated examples derive from the Early Dynastic "Kleiner Anten-Tempel" at Tell Chuera in northeastern Syria. Both are the same, birds with outstretched wings cut from single pieces of copper sheet metal, and with holes through their backs for

the insertion of now missing pins (Moortgat and Moortgat-Correns 1975, 28ff., fig. 14).² They are considered to be wands or "Bekrönung einer Standarte oder eines Feldzeichens . . ." (see also Nylander 1983, 23). While formally the same as the example here, they differ in the technique of manufacture.

The fourth example is the closest in form, style, and technique of manufacture to the Metropolitan Museum's example and like it, unfortunately, is also a stray (Borowski collection: Musée Borély 1975, 52, 55, no. 163); it is casually, but incorrectly, attributed to Luristan. That example consists of a bird cast in the round with separately made, large outstretched wings (25 cm in width) attached through a slit in the bird's body. The bird is pierced by a short pin that is bent back at the top.

The Metropolitan Museum and the Borowski birds are attributed by the vendors to Iran, and given the fact that both are cast in the round and relate more closely to the Xabis example than to the Tell Chuera examples, it is possible that the attribution is correct. Tentatively, then, we may place them in Iran, to the southeast, rather than further west. Both the Xabis and Tell Chuera examples are dated to the mid-third millennium B.C., which suggests the time period within which we may tentatively date the Metropolitan Museum and the Borowski birds. Of cultural interest is the occurrence of birds in flight used as standards at approximately the same time in two separate areas of the Near East.³

NOTES

1. Cu: 96.3%, Sn: .535%, As: 2.14%, Pb: .100%, Zn: .048% (1986).

2. For a reconstruction of the birds, which were found very corroded, see Moortgat and Moortgat-Correns, *Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien: Vorläufiger Bericht über die achte Grabungskampagne 1976* (Berlin, 1978), Beil. 1, 2.

3. For a recent publication of No. 337, now see Pitman 1984, 24f., fig. 5.

338. Bronze Tablet

52.119.12; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1952
Bronze;¹ height 9 cm, width 11.5 cm

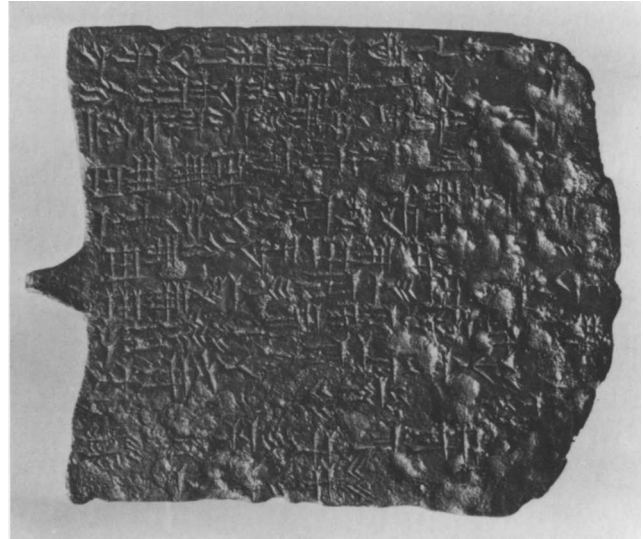
THE TABLET is flat and has upper and lower edges that are almost horizontal, a convex right edge, and a concave left edge which has a short solid tang. A cuneiform inscription fills one side and part of the other. One side has incised in the lower right area a bearded man facing an eight-pointed star. His position is such that he would

be seen as though lying down when the tablet was properly held to be read. The figure wears a fez-like head-dress with an oblique line and a narrow band at the top decorated with vertical lines, and a long, belted garment decorated with an oblique band across the chest. His left hand is held clenched before him,² his right arm behind, and his thighs are parted, both features indicating that he is striding;³ the area where feet may have been is damaged (Fig. 22).

The inscription is written in the Babylonian language (Herzfeld 1938, 162; Herzfeld 1968, 245; Diakonoff 1978, 65) and has been published several times with different interpretations. To Herzfeld (1938, 159f.; 1968, 239f.) the text records that a dream of the king of Abadana led him to exempt forever an Assyrian merchant from previously required payment of taxes. The exemption was witnessed by the Semitic gods Ishtar, Shamash, and Enlil, and a celebration was held to commemorate the event. Diakonoff (1978) rejected this interpretation in part after having seen the tablet cleaned, which he claimed allowed him to read the signs more clearly. To him the text does not refer to the king of Abadana, but rather to a king named Shilisruh, probably from the city of Bit-Ishtar, who had the dream and who freed his "men" from the obligations. Shilisruh then warns various peoples, including the men of Abadana and the Assyrians, against interference in his affairs. The document is witnessed by the gods, and the freeing of obligations is for all time.

Both Herzfeld and Diakonoff agreed that the text refers to events and areas within Iran, and both gave their views concerning where the ancient cities mentioned were to be located. However, although there is no doubt that the tablet refers to matters taking place in western Iran, and derives from there, by itself we learn nothing about Iranian geography. The tablet was acquired at Hamadan (Herzfeld 1930, 117; 1938, 159; 1968, 238), although Herzfeld stated specifically (albeit without documentation) that it was not found there, but derived from "a place north" of the city (cf. Herzfeld 1930, 117; also cf. Calmeyer 1972b, 65; Calmeyer 1974a, 113). Thus, the provenience of the tablet is not known (Muscarella 1980b, 32).⁴

The date of the tablet must be determined from internal evidence alone, which is not easy. Because the text suggested to Herzfeld (1968, 245f.) that an Assyrian paid tribute to an Iranian king, he concluded that it must have been written at a time prior to Assyrian penetrations into Iran, to a time pre-850 B.C.; he dated it to the thirteenth century B.C. Calmeyer (1973a, 187f., n. 354)



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FIG. 22. Drawing of the figure on one side of No. 338 by Elizabeth Simpson.

accepted Herzfeld's political analysis and added appropriate stylistic parallels for the incised figure from the Isin II period (also Calmeyer 1972b, 65), and dated the tablet to the twelfth–eleventh century B.C. (in Calmeyer 1974a, p. 113, he was more cautious, merely stating that “leider sind Text noch Bild genauer datierbar . . .”).⁵ Diakonoff (1978, 66), mainly on the basis of orthography, dated the tablet to a time from the eleventh to the ninth centuries B.C. (on p. 51 he mistakenly claimed that Herzfeld dated it to the ninth century). It is more than probable that the tablet will continue to occupy the thoughts of scholars and that the last word, especially with regard to dating, is still forthcoming (see also No. 339).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Herzfeld 1930, 117; Herzfeld 1938, pl. 1; Calmeyer 1973a, 188, fig. 135; Calmeyer 1974a, 113, fig. 1; Diakonoff 1978; Muscarella 1980b, 32, fig. 9.

NOTES

1. Cu: 94.8%, Sn: 4.00%, Pb: .957%, Zn: .041% (1986).
2. No object or document is visible in the hand, pace Herzfeld 1968, 245.
3. Drawings of the tablet that have been published are always shown with the figure upright, the tablet turned 90 degrees, but see the photographs here on page 239 for the correct position. The drawings published by Herzfeld 1930, 117, and Calmeyer 1973a, fig. 135, exhibit minor errors: concerning Calmeyer's figure 135, on the tablet, the belt area is broken away and no rosettes are visible; the oblique line on the *hāt* ends at the ears, which are not clearly drawn with a double line; the tip of the beard is pointed, not square, and it rests on the chest; the eye is more oblique, and there is less of the right arm preserved than drawn. An edition of the inscription will appear in the fourth volume of *Cuneiform Texts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, edited by Ira Spar.
4. Herzfeld (1938, 176f.; 1968, 241, 244) placed Abadana in the Bijar area, northwest of Hamadan; Diakonoff (1978, 65) placed it between Sanandaj and Hamadan; Calmeyer (1972a, 65) sees it as near Hamadan; and Reade (1978, figs. 2, 3; 1979, 176, 180) placed Abadana north of Hamadan, specifically seeing an equation of the name with this city. Thus, all are agreed that Abadana lay north of Hamadan: a conclusion still to be proved.

Now see Calmeyer 1984, 144, n. 48, where, *inter alia*, he argues that in Muscarella 1980b, 32, I did not understand what he meant in his reference to the tablet, that it is “das älteste sicher einheimische Denkmal” from Hamadan (Calmeyer 1972b, 65) or from its “Umgebung” (Calmeyer 1974a, 113). But I believe I did understand his meaning, especially in those two articles, the 1972 one concerning Hamadan, and the 1974 reference to the Median heartland. Calmeyer does not comprehend the issue I stressed in Muscarella 1980b that no one knows—pace the acquisition of the tablet in Hamadan (a fact apparently known to both of us!)—where in Iran the object derived, that is the site whence it was plundered, where indeed it was “einheimisch” before it came to Hamadan to be sold (see here Nos. 503–505, note 1).

In the same note 48, Calmeyer (1984, 144) further argues (in inappropriate language) that I misrepresented his views (Muscarella 1980b, 31; Calmeyer 1972b, 65) concerning the specific proveniences of the material acquired by de Morgan (1896) at Hamadan and in its “environs” in 1890. But did I? In Muscarella 1980b (31–35) I addressed the problem concerned with the true find/purchase spots of

objects assigned by de Morgan (with no information about the methods of acquisition) either to Hamadan itself or to neighboring villages: that is, which objects were actually excavated at these places, and which may have been purchased—and are therefore suspect with regard to local (Hamadan or nearby) provenience. In 1972b (65, left column), Calmeyer refers to seals which he says derived from Hamadan “oder der Umgebung”; he then discusses in two following paragraphs other objects (one the bronze tablet) in a context that to me apparently refers to Hamadan itself. He then discusses together five objects, two actually excavated at Hamadan in 1914 (Muscarella 1980b, 31), and three objects acquired by de Morgan, with no reference to “Umgebung” and in a context that suggested to me that Hamadan is being discussed.

It was this position of Calmeyer that I argued “was too secure given the inadequate information available.” The reader will decide for himself.

Calmeyer is correct in challenging my claim that he did not raise doubts about the Hamadan provenience of certain objects in Teheran and the Metropolitan Museum, and I note my error (see now my “Median Art and Medizing Scholarship,” *JNES* 46, 2 [1987], 123, n. 55). But although Calmeyer correctly noted that he raised doubts about the authenticity (age) of certain gold vessels (Calmeyer 1972b, 66; 1964a, 112, 116), he avoided stating explicitly (albeit ironically) that he believes them to be forgeries (see Muscarella 1977a, 184, no. 152).

5. Here Calmeyer (1974a, n. 16) cites a first-millennium B.C. scene on a quiver as “der nächste mir bekannte Vergleich . . .,” a relationship my eyes fail to see.

339. Copper Tablet

1973.26; Gift of Dr. Monroe A. McIver, 1973
Copper;¹ height 28.9 cm, width 17.6 cm, thickness
0.43 cm

THE FLAT plaque/tablet was purchased in the bazaar of Shiraz by the donor in the 1950s. It is rectangular with rounded shoulders and has a short pierced handle at the top (obverse side), indicating either that the tablet was meant to be suspended or was joined to a perishable handle. In two columns, on both sides, is an inscription in cuneiform; some lines are obscured, others apparently erased in antiquity. A black oxide suggests that the plaque has been burned, apparently in antiquity.

Despite intense examination by a number of cuneiformists, among them G. Cameron, H. Paper, and V. E. Crawford, the inscription remains an enigma, and is basically untranslated. According to Crawford (taken from his notes) the following information may tentatively be given: in four columns of cuneiform writing the same pattern consisting of three identical lines preceded by varying numbers and followed by an additional one, two, or three lines could be understood as Sumerian, and, if so, pertain to three varieties of sheep.² The additional lines, however, are clearly not intended as Sumerian, nor are they readily identifiable as any known ancient Iranian language. It would therefore seem that the text represents a genuine (all cuneiformists are

agreed on this issue) but enigmatic script, possibly of an unknown Iranian language. And it may be presumed, given its modern Shiraz provenience, that the tablet/plaque derives from somewhere in southwestern Iran.

Aside from the bronze tablet inscribed in Babylonian cuneiform, discussed above, and also acquired in Iran (No. 338), there exists another bronze tablet, larger than the one here, that was excavated at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, 64f., pl. 27). This tablet has two projections at each upper corner that were attached to a twisted bronze wire for suspension. It is inscribed in neo-Elamite, pre-seventh century B.C. in date, and was thus probably a curated heirloom, indicating its importance. Of interest is that our tablet came from a market not far from Persepolis, but unfortunately one can form no conclusion from this fact regarding its actual findspot.

That three bronze tablets, one inscribed in Babylonian, one in Elamite, and the third in an unknown Iranian (?) language, derive from Iran is of some interest. Yet, in none of the examples is there a clue as to why bronze was employed rather than baked clay, nor why a handle was needed. Perhaps they were all considered of such importance that a permanent material had to be employed to guarantee preservation of the texts, although terracotta would have served as well for this purpose.³

NOTES

1. Cu: 97.9%, Sn: .130%, Pb: .025%, Zn: .055% (1986).

2. An edition of the inscription will appear in the fourth volume of *Cuneiform Texts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, edited by Ira Spar.

3. Note also the Hurrian bronze so-called Samarra tablet (Thureau-Dangin 1912; provenience unknown), and the bronze tablet on the "Urkish" lion pegs (Parrot 1948; Parrot and Nougayrol 1948; Crawford et al. 1966, 10f., fig. 15; here No. 495). [Recently a bronze tablet recording a treaty from the Hittite period was excavated at Boğazköy: P. Neve, in *AA*, 1987, 405f., figs. 22, 23.]



340. Anthropomorphic Pinhead

52.119.11; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1952

Bronze; preserved height 3.8 cm

THIS OBJECT seems most likely to be the head of a pin, for below the molded tang are traces of a missing iron pin. Represented are two addorsed males in squatting positions with their long legs tucked up closely to their bodies. Their heads tilt forward to rest on their knees, which are also held by their hands. Pellet eyes, outlined brows, sloping relatively large noses, ears, and beards are evident. No clothing is articulated and one cannot conclude whether they are nude.

No parallels for this small but extraordinary and surely significant scene are known to me.¹ The closest, but by no means exact, parallel that I am aware of is a scene



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represented on four identical terracotta plaques of early second millennium B.C. date, none of which was excavated. On these plaques a female with two infant (?) heads at her shoulders and a suckling baby is framed by two squatting nude males who hold their cheeks in both hands while resting their elbows on their knees (Porada 1964b, 163f., fig. 9; Opificius 1961, 76, 210, nos. 224, 226; Barrelet 1968, 409, 412, no. 819). Apparently the female is a mother goddess, and both Opificius and Porada, accepting an earlier expressed suggestion of Van Buren, believe that the two seated figures represent unborn fetuses. Porada (1964b, fig. 11) also published a small steatite pendant depicting in the round a male who is squatting and holding his cheeks in the same manner as the figures on the terracotta plaques. She sees the pendant to be an amulet made to ward off death.

Although they squat and hold their legs close to their bodies, the figures on the plaques and the amulet hold their heads, not their knees, and on the former the two figures face each other, thus differentiating them from our pin. Therefore, it would be rash to conclude that our pin represents the same figures and what they may represent. We are left then with an object whose message eludes us, but one which because of the specific nature of the iconography must have had a special meaning, albeit not vouchsafed to us.

Porada (1964b, 165) had noted that squatting figures with tucked-up legs occur in the relief art of Luristan (de Clercq-Fobe 1978, 36, 38, 258f., fig. 13; and we may add A. Godard 1962, pl. 21). In the latter case, a disk-headed pin in Zurich, the squatting figure holds his knees and formally is the same as the figures on our pin. Herzfeld (1941, 155, fig. 275) claimed that our pin came from Luristan, but he revealed nothing concerning where and how he acquired it. Nevertheless, it is probable that he acquired it if not in Luristan, at least somewhere in Iran. This assumption does not of course signify that the pin must be Iranian, but, given the Luristan (Iranian) parallel on the Zurich disk-headed pin (for which no other parallel exists), and the knowledge that openwork bronze pins were very common in Iran, it is by no means impossible that our pin is a product of an Iranian workshop. However, there is no compelling reason to assume the workshop was in Luristan for there is no stylistic feature of the pin that suggests such an origin.

Concerning chronology, I am not sure whether the first-millennium B.C. iconographical parallel on the Zurich disk-headed pin by itself furnishes a date for our pin. The figures are not the same in style and the heads on our pin seem to reflect an earlier background. However, one may be sure that the figures were made in the first millennium B.C. because of the iron pin, a crucial characteristic of pin manufacture at that time.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Herzfeld 1941, 155, fig. 275.

NOTE

1. Actually there is a formal parallel in the round known to me, but it is one difficult to discuss as a bona fide ancient work, given the context of its occurrence. In "Du bon usage des faux," *Syria* 42 (1965), 227ff., J. Nougayrol discusses a stone bricklike object with a false (modern) cuneiform Lamashtu inscription. At the top of the object are two seated monkeys (to Nougayrol) in the round, back to back and with their legs tucked up to their chins (see Nougayrol, in *Syria* 43 [1966], 332f.: in this article Nougayrol thought the monkeys were a Pazuzu head, since he had at hand only poor photographs). Further, on the other face of the brick is an incised scene depicting Lamashtu with some accoutrements, which Nougayrol accepts as an ancient incision (*Syria* 43 [1966], 333): "ce revers fait bien meilleure impression que la face." To my eyes, however, this scene is very crudely and poorly, in fact incorrectly, executed, and it is possible that it may have been drawn as recently as the inscription on the other side was written. I cannot judge whether or not the brick with the monkeys is ancient and merely embellished in modern times.

For the most recent work on Lamashtu plaques, see W. Farber, "Lamaštu," in *RLA* VI (1980–83), 439ff.; see also No. 475.

341. Decorated Plaque

59.178.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1959
Bronze; length 14 cm

THIS THIN plaque has concave upper and lower edges and convex side edges, the latter pierced with seven non-uniform holes punched from the front. It is bordered with a continuous framed double triangle pattern, incised before the holes were made. The space within the border is divided at the middle by a complex but regular design consisting of double lozenges with projecting rays framed by a double tongue pattern itself framed by hatched vertical bands and then circles. The two panels thus created are filled, on the left, by a goat fleeing left and turning its head toward a barefooted archer kneeling in the right panel. The goat has just been struck in one horn by an arrow, and the archer is in the process of shooting off another arrow. He wears a kilt and a short-sleeved jacket, and he has a dagger in his belt from which projects a tassel; a quiver is also depicted. A row of circles runs along the inside of the right border and extends along the top, ending at the archer's head; no circles decorate the left-hand panel. The decoration is all incised, not repoussé.

Plaques of this type have been studied and discussed by Calmeyer (1964a, 28ff.; 1973a, 109ff.) and Moorey (1971a, 258f.); together they had accounted for about twenty-one examples: aside from the one here, there are three in Berlin, two in Copenhagen, and one in the Ashmolean Museum, as well as a number in private collections; to these now add three from Los Angeles (Moorey 1981, nos. 447–49); two in Adana (Taşyürek 1980, 213, pl. XII);¹ and two in Japan—if not previously

counted (Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1983, no. III:25). All are the very same type of object by virtue of shape and technique and the scheme of decoration. They differ among themselves in part in the number of holes at the side edges or in the type of scene depicted in the panels or the motif on the border and central division. Thus, while some plaques have seven holes to a side, others have six or seven on one and two or four on the others; all—or most—apparently had iron loops and iron plates on the side with the six or seven holes, and a single large bronze loop with twisted ends on the side with two or four holes (viz. Calmeyer 1964a, nos. 59–62; Moorey 1971a, 258, no. 494A, fig. j; Moorey 1981, nos. 448, 449; Buhl 1974, 97, no. 88). No traces of iron or bronze remain on the example here, but we may assume it too had iron loops. The panel decorations consist of four basic scenes: a bull and lion facing each other across the dividing motif, by far the most common scene—at least sixteen of the corpus; confronting bulls, two of which are known; a fleeing goat and archer, like ours, of which three are recorded; and a multi-petaled rosette in each panel, of which five are known. The border and dividing motif is usually a continuous guilloche pattern, recorded on those plaques with bull and lion and those with the rosettes, and the triangles and complex lozenge and tongue pattern reserved for the hunt scene. It is probable that some, if not all, were made as pairs because of similarity of design and placement of the bronze loop at opposite ends (Calmeyer 1964a, 28; 1973a, 109; Moorey 1971a, 259; Moorey 1981, 91).

As noted, there are presently known only two plaques with the hunt scene in addition to the Metropolitan Museum's. One was in the Barbier collection (Barbier 1970, no. 26) and is exactly like ours in every detail except that it has only two holes on its right side, which holds a bronze loop in situ; it is unclear if our piece had a bronze loop. Very probably, the Barbier and Metropolitan Museum plaques were made in the same workshop. The other plaque is mentioned by Moorey (1971a, 258) but is otherwise unknown to me.

Not a single one of the twenty-eight or so plaques presently available for study derives from an excavation but all were sold as coming from Iran. Calmeyer (1964a, 28ff.; 1973a, 109) believes that all come from one site near Kermanshah, Kizil Kuh, and two in the Barbier collection were assigned to Luristan (Barbier 1970, 10f.). While these attributions, based on dealers' statements, are without archaeological value and should be ignored, it is very probable that the plaques indeed derive from some region in western Iran. The reason for this postulation is that both the types of pictorial scenes depicted and their style of execution are remarkably similar to those depicted on decorated bronze nipple beakers, which almost certainly derive from western Iran (Calmeyer



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1964a, 28; Calmeyer 1973a, 109f.; Moorey 1971a, 258). On the beakers one also finds similarly organized hunt scenes, where the archer kneels, wears a kilt and dagger, and is barefoot, and where the goat also has an arrow sticking into its horn or head, which is turned back; and scenes where lions and bulls face each other in the same stance (Calmeyer 1973a, 46ff. [Group F], 78f. [Group M]; see also here Nos. 342, 343).

Using the chronology of the beakers as a basis, we may fairly securely draw conclusions concerning when the plaques were made. Calmeyer (1964a, 28) dated the plaques between the twelfth and ninth centuries B.C., and Moorey (1971a, 258) originally dated them to the eleventh–tenth centuries B.C. if not slightly later, both using the beakers as a chronological guide. Later Moorey (1981, 91f.) and Calmeyer (1973a, 227f.) and the present writer (Muscarella 1974c, 248f.) dated the beakers to the tenth–ninth centuries B.C., which surely supplies the chronological range for the plaques. However, the fact that iron loops and plates are present might indicate a ninth-century B.C. date as the earliest time within which the plaques could have been created (Pleiner 1969a, 34; vanden Berghe 1973c, 25; vanden Berghe 1973f, 4; Pigott 1977, 218, 223, 226, 231; Pigott 1980, 444–49).

Concerning the function of the plaques, one is able only to echo what the other writers have already stated, namely that they were tied by the loops to some other object and that they may have been used in pairs but we know nothing else.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

B. Goldman 1964, 139, fig. 8, for a drawing of the archer; Nickel 1969, II; Calmeyer 1973a, 110, no. 82r, pl. 8:2.

NOTE

1. Taşyürek records these objects as having derived from an Urartian cemetery near Patnos, in eastern Turkey. Although his source was a dealer, the claim is accepted and used to document Iranian imports to Urartu.

[Now add a slightly concave, “celt shaped,” example with a lion and bull design on the art market: sale catalogue, Sotheby's, New York, 8 June 1984, no. 105: known to me only from the poor photograph.]

342. Decorated Beaker

48.178.1; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1948
Bronze;¹ height 13.5 cm

343. Decorated Beaker

1971.129; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1971
Bronze;² height 16.5 cm

BOTH VESSELS are in the form of beakers with gently curving concave sides and a tapering base that terminates in a nipple. Both have been published in some detail elsewhere; thus here a summary description and discussion will be presented.

No. 342 is decorated with a hunt scene in which a kneeling archer is about to shoot at a fleeing bull. The archer is barefoot and he wears a kilt and a short-sleeved jacket, both richly embroidered. His hair, beard, facial

features, and body muscles are highly articulated and finely executed. The bull flees to the right over rocks, indicating a mountainous terrain, and turns its head to face his pursuer; an arrow has already pierced his head. The body and tail hair, the head and muscles, and the body divisions are vividly depicted and superbly executed. The vessel's lip is decorated by a guilloche and tongue pattern, the base by a framed tongue pattern that borders a rosette the center of which is a nipple. Modern restorations exist in parts of the base and the left knee and leg of the archer.

No. 343 has basically the same lip and base design as No. 342. Here the scene depicts two identical striding, winged, human-headed bulls facing each other over a stylized plant; a second plant is suspended from the upper border above the creatures' rear ends. The finely executed heads have beards and animal ears as well as typical divine-type horned turbans or helmets; wings, body



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details and hair, muscles, and other details are elaborately executed. The tails of both creatures bend under their bodies and create a symmetry matching that of their heads.

All the decoration described on both beakers is executed in high relief with a generous use of fine and heavy chasing to indicate body hair, joints, muscles, veins, and so forth.

The two Metropolitan Museum beakers belong to a well-known and much-discussed group of beakers that exists by the many score in a large number of museums and private collections. In the past they were sometimes called *situlae*, but this term should only be used for buckets with handles (see Nos. 7–9, 499); beaker, or nipple beaker (*Knopfbecher*), is a more appropriate term. Because of the variety and richness of the motifs and scenes depicted and the high quality of their execution, a number of scholars, namely Amandry, Maleki, Porada,

have studied them over the years; the most recent studies are those of the present writer (Muscarella 1974c, 239ff., n. 4 for references; Muscarella 1977d) and Calmeyer (1973a), who has presented the most comprehensive discussion to date. Calmeyer has divided the scenes on the beakers into fifteen categories or groups, the most numerous of which are banquet scenes and hunt scenes. Thus, our beaker No. 342, with its hunt scene, belongs within Calmeyer's Group F, although the beast usually hunted is a goat (cf. No. 341; Moorey 1981, no. 431), sometimes an ostrich or bustard (add to the repertory, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 11 December 1980, no. 90), which makes our beaker unique. And the heraldic human-headed bulls (No. 343) fit into Calmeyer's Groups H and L, where three good parallels exist, a beaker in the Foroughi collection (Calmeyer 1973a, 74f., no. 13; Muscarella 1974c, 242, pl. 50, figs. 19, 20), one in the Abegg-Stiftung Bern (Calmeyer 1973a,



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66f., no. H9; Muscarella 1974c, 242, pl. 50, figs. 21, 22), and a third in Los Angeles (Moorey 1981, no. 436).

To my knowledge only one decorated nipple beaker has been excavated. In his work on the beakers, Calmeyer published a small but distinct fragment of a beaker that he recognized as being part of a banquet scene and which is in the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran, there listed merely as coming from Luristan (Calmeyer 1973a, 32f., no. A24). Actually, although it was not revealed to Calmeyer by the museum staff, this fragment was excavated at Surkh Dum in Luristan by Erich Schmidt in 1938 (Sor 1712), as is known from the records in the Oriental Institute, Chicago (Muscarella 1981b, 329f.). This find is significant, for, even though only one piece is involved, it establishes a Luristan provenience for the sole excavated beaker known to date. Even without

knowledge of the Surkh Dum example, the decorated beakers as a class have generally been attributed to Iran, where indeed the great majority have been purchased and where scholars have seen a few (Muscarella 1974c, 243f.). Inasmuch as none has been excavated outside of Iran (cf. Calmeyer 1973a, 112f., 172, no. 4w, where a beaker in the British Museum is assumed, on tenuous grounds, to have come from southern Mesopotamia), a significant fact, and that one does derive from there from an excavation, plus the circumstantial evidence of their prevalence in the Iranian antiquities market, it seems a fairly firm assertion that the beakers as a class do indeed derive from Iranian sites, one at least from Luristan.

The only problems remaining are those of cultural attributions and chronology, and here the Surkh Dum fragment is of little help; one must therefore be con-

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cerned primarily with the representations on the beakers themselves. In this regard several scholars have correctly noted the close stylistic and iconographical relationship between the scenes depicted on the beakers and those represented in Babylonian art, especially on kudurrus, or boundary stones, and cylinder seals (Muscarella 1974c, 244, with references; Calmeyer 1973a, 207ff.; Muscarella 1977d, 77). At the same time, attention has in the past been directed to the fact that nipple beakers, albeit plain, have been excavated in Iran (vanden Berghe 1979b, fig. 5:24; see No. 497), that a decorated Egyptian blue nipple beaker was excavated at Hasanlu, and that certain details of iconography and stylistic features of execution on the decorated bronze examples occur in Iranian art, namely the hunt scenes and the manner of depicting animal body hair and divisions (Muscarella 1974c, 245ff.). We now have the Surkh Dum beaker, and further, as stated, no decorated beakers have been reported or seen outside of Iran. Thus the collective evidence strongly suggests that the beakers were made somewhere in western Iran under both Babylonian and local Iranian influences. It is assumed here that the Surkh Dum example is not necessarily a local product of Luristan.³

The stylistic and iconographical parallels between the beakers and the dated Babylonian kudurrus and generally datable Iranian elements and, more important, the existence of inscriptions on some of the beakers allow one to date with some certainty the floruit of the beakers to the tenth–ninth centuries B.C., a conclusion reached by a number of scholars (Muscarella 1974c, 248f., n. 64; Calmeyer 1973a, 224ff.; Muscarella 1977d, 77; vanden Berghe 1981, 62; cf. Akurgal 1968, 86ff., who dates them to the late seventh century).⁴

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 342: Wilkinson 1949, 194; Calmeyer 1973a, 48ff., no. F5; Muscarella 1974c, 240, pl. 47, figs. 7 and 7A. No. 343: Muscarella 1974c, 239, pl. 46, figs. 1–3; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 50.

NOTES

1. First test—Cu: major, Sn: 8.3%, As: 0.02%, Pb: 0.03%, Fe: 0.16%, Zn: not detected. Second test—Cu: major, Sn: 6.2%.

2. Cu: major, Sn: 6.6%, As: 0.02%, Pb: <0.02%, Fe: 0.11%, Zn: not detected.

3. A nipple “alabastron” with a concave neck distinct from the body was excavated at Marlik (Negahban 1983, 75f., no. 48). While it has a nipple base it is not the same shape as the beakers under discussion here; Negahban (1983, 75) discusses the two types of vessels as if they were formally the same.

4. In vanden Berghe 1979b, 149, and also in vanden Berghe 1981, 35, a beaker is mentioned as having a late ninth–early eighth century B.C. inscription of a Babylonian king; this beaker is discussed by Calmeyer 1973a, 147, where it is demonstrated that the name is not that of a king; the vessel is also plain, not decorated.

In Muscarella 1974c, 249ff., and 1977d, 78f., I discussed the problem of forgeries of decorated beakers. Since then I have located two

more examples in print that are, without any reservations, to be considered forgeries: N. Egami, “On the Figure of the Iranian Goddess Anahita . . .,” *Acta Iranica*, ser. 1, I (Leiden, 1974), 221–28, pl. xxiv, figs. 14–16. This vessel is decorated with a Sasanian-like motif executed in recent times, pace the unfortunate historical conclusions of the author. This article is a classic (but not unique) example of how stray, dealer-derived objects that are also forgeries are used to document or reveal major historical and cultural issues. The other example is published in the Tokyo catalogue of the exhibition of alleged ancient Persian art (*Iranian Art Exhibition* [Japanese Committee for the 2,500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire, Tokyo, 1971], no. 99); it is clearly a modern creation.

Orthmann (1982, 29) takes me to task for suggesting in Muscarella 1977d, 79, that his number 97 (which is Calmeyer 1973a, no. A15) is (along with others) either a forgery or “at least suspicious.” Orthmann does not speak fully to the nature of the evidence to hand, to the drawing published by Calmeyer (without a photograph), which shows a strange gourdlike object on the banquet table, and a strange, unparallelled rectangular object held inaccurately by the servant standing behind the seated figure. On the basis of these features supplied as a bona fide representation of the beaker I correctly raised doubts about it. I admit that had I seen the photograph of the beaker now offered by Orthmann, I would not have challenged the piece (I note, however, that the poor photograph does not clearly show what is on the table, nor what is held by the rear servant: an area I suggest be further examined to see whether restoration has occurred here). Note also that in my review of Calmeyer 1973a (Muscarella 1977d, 79), I specifically stated my views were tentative, that “I am fully aware that some of these objects [the suspicious beakers] may ultimately turn out to be genuine,” and that “they be temporarily excluded until further research and analysis may allow us to feel more secure about their authenticity and age.” In the same review (p. 78) I also called attention to the problems generated from publishing bad drawings: for why publish them if they do not accurately reflect and depict the Antiquaria, body details and features, etc.? So, it is probable that number A15 in Calmeyer 1973a is indeed genuine, which conclusion in no manner compromises my original challenge to it, and to others, and which conclusion resulted from “further research and analysis” (and from the publishing of a photograph, rather than from a poor drawing).

In addition to the above, Orthmann (1982) also takes issue with my challenge of his number 99 and two other beakers placed in one workshop by Calmeyer (1973a, 101ff., nos. 3a', 3b', and 3c'). I would appreciate more than an undocumented opinion against mine before I agree to withdraw the charge. Number 3a': Are the heads and hooves of the animals goats, ibex, or bulls; why is only one ibex (*sic*) horn shown (b' and c' have two horns); where is the beard of the right animal; what parallels exist in excavated (or bona fide ancient) art for the neck and body decoration, and for the shoulder and penis outlines? Number 3b': Note the mixing of animal body forms and decoration, cow, bull, and caprid, the position of the right front leg and its shoulder; the uncanonical presence of the plant and the dress both of the animal handler and the seated figure, their strange beards and hair, the too forward projection of the seat of the throne, and the lack of a vessel held by the seated figure. Number 3c': Note again the position of the shoulder outline and the leg, and the problem of identifying the creature as a bovine or caprid; the head, hair, beard, and dress of the archer are untypical for the class; also the animal's head is not turned back to face its attacker. Aside from these details, the crudeness, in particular numbers 3a' and 3c', noted by Calmeyer, must be taken into consideration, and not necessarily as an indication of the style of an ancient “grobplastische Werkstatt.” I also continue to suggest that these beakers do not derive from a single workshop, whether ancient or modern. And I will continue to have “Bedenken”

about the date of these unexcavated, unparalleled objects until conclusive evidence demonstrates otherwise.

Actually, number 3b' deserves special laboratory analysis as the details of execution seem in general to conform to those examples I consider to be genuine, an issue that was on my mind when I decided to list it for further study. The motif of "Darbringung" in Iranian art deserves a special study. Calmeyer (1973a, 160) says it is "gewiss iranisch," but to my knowledge the scene occurs only on unexcavated material available only on the art market.

I present here another problem, one I have yet to resolve. In Muscarella 1977d (79) I also challenged, in the same spirit mentioned above, the scene on a globular vessel with a flaring neck (Calmeyer 1973a, 66f., no. n8). This challenge was based both on the nature of its iconography—note, for example, that the griffin carries the bucket in his right hand, which is not normal—and on the basis of the drawing published. In September 1983, I briefly examined the vessel in Tokyo (in the possession of K. Ishiguro: Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1983, no. 1:16) and found the execution of the drawing to be consistent with what is expected of an ancient work. Thus the paradox of the conflict (to my eyes) of the scene itself and the "good" macroscopic appearance of the drawing's execution. Here again, and at the risk of cliché, a thorough examination by a laboratory would be welcome: but in the meantime do we accept the scene as ancient? I do not know and prefer to leave the piece in limbo.

Concerning the real and putative provenience(s) of the ancient beakers, see Muscarella 1974c, 243f.; 1977d, 77; 1981b, 329f., and for my belief that they reflect a knowledge of Babylonian art see the text above.

344. Tondo

55.136; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Bronze,¹ diameter 36 cm

THE TONDO is divided into three areas, a narrow rim, a raised, repoussé-decorated field, and a raised central boss. Aside from pairs of holes directly opposite each other, the rim is plain and concave, although it may originally have been flat. The boss has a plain narrow outer band encircling one with a continuous tongue pattern, and the raised boss itself is decorated with rosette petals, of which every other one has incised small curved lines or commas. The main field is encircled by a neatly executed raised guilloché band consisting of a small raised center and two plain curves framing an incised one. This guilloché band forms the groundline for four fantastic creatures, a pair of winged bulls facing each other and male and female winged sphinxes, also facing each other. The bodies and heads of the bulls are completely covered with small incised commas, their necks, chests, and stomachs are outlined with double lines that enclose more commas, and a ropelike pattern forms the borders of the rear thighs. Because the heads are foreshortened they look more like calves than bulls, but the horns (on the left bull one projects forward, the other backward) indicate that the animals are adults. The thin back horns have incisions, the front ones are plain, and small swellings below the horns may be ears. The upper

legs and the front part of the wings are prominently outlined.

The sphinxes have a different type of body decoration, undulating rows of commas which form closed units, and instead of the undulating chest line of the bulls, the sphinxes have a smooth curve. The chest and stomach pattern consists of commas and a herringbone, and there is a wing-shaped lozenge pattern below the wings. The sphinxes also have the ropelike pattern on the rear thighs, but here it is drawn differently than it is on the bulls. The male is distinguished by his genitals and a beard and moustache, but his hair, nose, and eyes are the same as his female counterpart.

There are some apparent anomalies which deserve special mention: the heads of the bulls seem more feline than bovine, and only the left bull has a projecting front horn. While the sphinxes have bulls' hooves, their body decoration and tails seem to be those of lions. Calmeyer (1973a, 76, 119, 196) noted some of these features (he saw horses' feet and tails on the sphinxes) but he maintained that they did not compromise the authenticity of the object. In 1976 a laboratory examination led to the conclusion that the tondo's patina and intergranular corrosion were consistent with what one would expect of an ancient bronze object.

Just as one must consider the repoussé-decorated Luristan quivers to belong to the same stylistic and iconographical context that produced the hammered disk-headed pins (see Nos. 308–312), so one must consider this tondo to belong to the same cultural context that produced the many decorated hammered bronze vessels, in particular the beakers (see Nos. 342, 343). That is, one type of workshop produced the quivers and disk-headed pins, another type the tondo and the vessels and beakers. This conclusion comes from the recognition that all the pertinent parallels to the significant details on the tondo, which is otherwise unique, occur on the vessels. The most important parallel in both quality and quantity is the scene on an istikhan-shaped vessel, ex Ternbach collection (unpublished but known to me through the generosity of Joseph Ternbach), which depicts two bearded, striding male sphinxes facing each other (Fig. 23). The shape of the beard and its lower curls, the outlined front shoulder with a curl at its inner side, the leg-joint spiral curls, tail position and curvature, genitalia depiction, lack of neck, and the rear-thigh rope pattern are exactly the same on the tondo and on the Ternbach piece. The sphinxes on the Ternbach vessel also have a superb body pattern consisting of undulating narrow bands, every other one incised with fine lines, paralleling the tondo sphinxes in form if not detail; this is one of the finest executed patterns on any of the vessels. The wings of the Ternbach





Details of
No. 344.





Details of
No. 344.

sphinxes are more elaborate and intricately drawn than on the tondo, and the hair of the sphinxes seems to blend into the face area rather than being separated by the sharp horizontal line on the tondo. These differences notwithstanding, it is possible to speculate that both pieces were made either in the same workshop or in neighboring ones; the artist who made one was surely aware of the other.

Close stylistic and motif parallels are also to be found among the beaker-shaped vessels, in addition to the heraldic positioning that is characteristic of beaker representations of animals and fantastic creatures. An unpublished beaker in Los Angeles (ex-Heeramaneck) has facing winged sphinxes with the very same head and facial features as those of the tondo; beakers in the Louvre and elsewhere depict either facing male and female sphinxes or two males (Calmeyer 1973a, 64f., 66, 68f., 74f., nos. H5, H9, H11, L3; Muscarella 1974c, pl. 46, figs. 1-3, pl. 50, figs. 19-22); and facing bulls, some with wings, are common (Calmeyer 1973a, 62f., 64f., 74f., 77f., nos. H3, H6, L1, L2, L4). Further, the juxtaposition of the guilloche bands, the tongue pattern, and the rosette boss or nipple with alternating incised petals, all classic beaker motifs, consolidates the interrelationship between the tondo and the beakers. In fact, if the tondo were to be reshaped, aside from its size, it would form a typical beaker.

Calmeyer (1973a, 90, 105, 119, 140f., 196, 203), who has also discussed this interrelationship, has included the tondo within what he perceives to be a related workshop group. The other pieces are a tondo in Leiden

(Calmeyer 1973a, no. C1), a bowl and bucket in Berlin (nos. C3, F3), a beaker in Paris (no. F8), and a bucket in Cincinnati (no. C6). Aside from the fact that I consider numbers C1, C3, F8, and C6 to be problem pieces (Muscarella 1977a, 172, no. 9,² and 176, no. 70; Muscarella 1977d, 79), I do not see the quite close relationship suggested by Calmeyer for the remaining vessel (no. F3); as stated above, the Ternbach vessel and perhaps the Los Angeles beaker are the closest and the three may form a group.

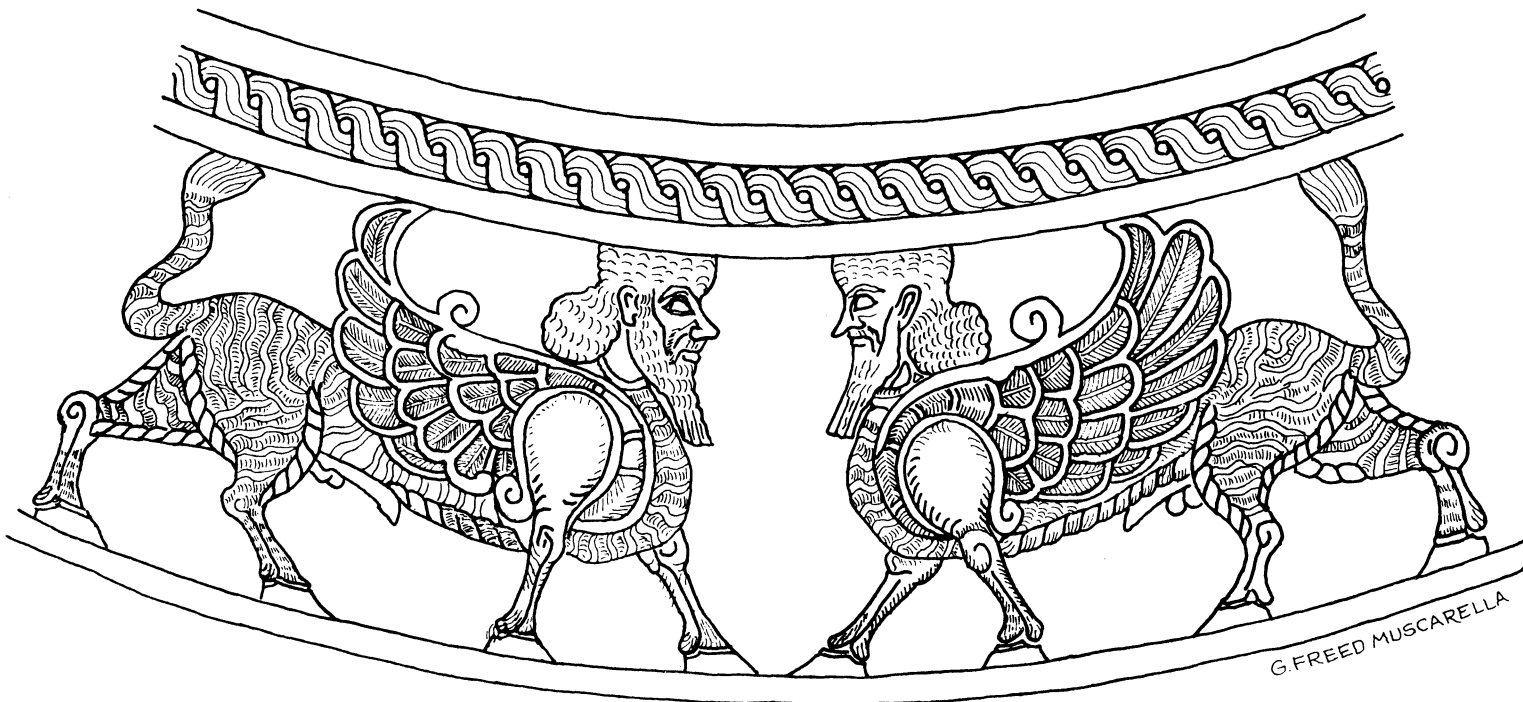
Calmeyer (1973a, 140ff.) had also collected together five tondi known to him. Aside from the Metropolitan Museum's and the Leiden example, he lists one in Teheran (Calmeyer 1973a, 140f., fig. 117: cited by me as suspicious, Muscarella 1977a, 177, no. 73; Muscarella 1977d, 79), relating it to the art of Ziwiye, and two others, not illustrated. Recently, another tondo, not ancient to my eyes, has surfaced in the art market (sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, no. 259, claimed as Achaemenian). Calmeyer suggests that tondi are not shields or shield buckles, an opinion I share, but rather decorative disks worn on the body. We do not really know how the present tondo was employed but it is obvious that it was meant to be hung or riveted somehow by the pair of holes.

As for chronology, we have to refer to the beakers, which have been dated to a time range within the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Calmeyer 1973a, 76f., no. L5, for a drawing (inaccurate in details).

FIG. 23. Drawing of sphinxes on istikhan-shaped vessel, ex-collection Ternbach, by Grace Freed Muscarella.



NOTES

1. Cu: 92.0%, Sn: 11.6%, Zn: not detected; As, Fe, and Pb appear as trace elements.

2. I noted here, along with Calmeyer, that the caprids on the handle of the vessel in Cincinnati (Calmeyer 1973a, no. c6) may have been added recently; I also considered it possible that the design on the vessel itself, a male mastering two caprids, may also be an addition. This design is puzzling to me, primarily because of the drawing of the male figure, especially his head and the lack of feet, and the mastering of caprids. The drawing and execution of the caprids, however, seems consistent with ancient technique and form. If laboratory analysis demonstrates that the design is indeed ancient, I will not be surprised, but I feel obliged to note that this unexcavated vessel has oddities.

345. Theriomorphic Vessel

57.13.3; purchase; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1957
Bronze; length 11.5 cm, height 6 cm



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THIS SMALL vessel, cast in the form of a boar's head, apparently served as a drinking cup, probably for a liquid that required a small quantity to satisfy personal needs. It is fairly realistically executed and has few stylistic characteristics except for a thick, crescent-shaped eyebrow and a short, flaring neck. I know of only one close parallel, equally unexcavated, a cast cup in the Art Museum, Princeton University; it is almost a mate to the one here, except that the eyebrows are hatched and the neck is slightly larger and has a more pronounced flare.

The Metropolitan Museum vessel has been published as from Azerbaijan and dated to the sixth century B.C. (Wilkinson 1960b, 266, fig. 31), as well as from Luristan and dated to the eighth–seventh centuries B.C. (Ghirshman 1964, 79, fig. 105; Ghirshman also claims that the cup was found together with a vessel, fig. 106, which is

No. 602 here), another example of how unexcavated objects acquire multiple proveniences and chronologies as they travel from dealer to dealer via modern market routes. I find both the Metropolitan Museum cup and the Princeton cup difficult to attribute and date except to point out that the crescent eyebrow reminds one of Achaemenian examples, where both solid and grooved brows occur (see No. 325; also Ghirshman 1964, figs. 191, 192, 286, 333), and that boars are commonly represented in Iranian art (Moorey 1971a, 120, 224f., 305; see Nos. 266, 267). Tentatively, then, I would place this vessel in Iran, to a pre-Achaemenian, or possibly the Achaemenian, period.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Wilkinson 1960b, 266, fig. 31; Ghirshman 1964, 79, fig. 105; *5000 Years of Art: An Exhibition from the Collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Whatcom Museum of History and Art, Bellingham, Wash., 1976), 41, no. 16.

346. Pyxis

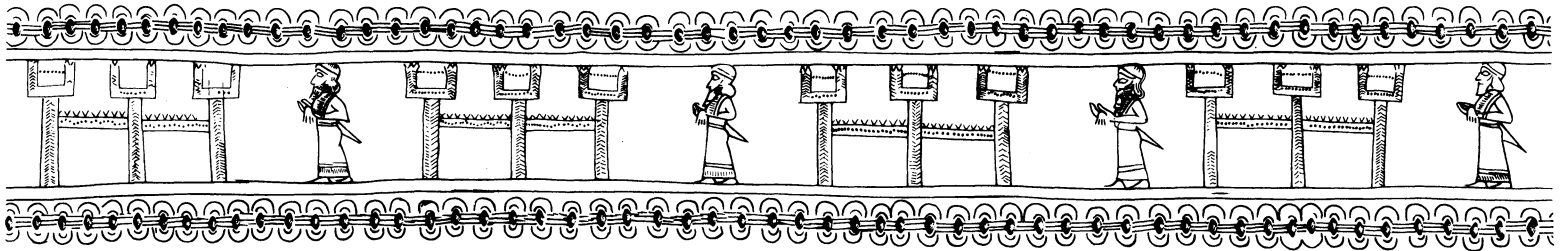
62.52; Gift of Yris Rabenou, 1962
Bronze; diameter 10.2 cm, height 5.6 cm

ENGRAVED ON the slightly concave walls of this vessel is a design consisting of a fortress with three towers flanked by bearded males walking left. There are four fortresses and four figures alternating, creating a continuous frieze around the vessel. Each figure has shoulder-length hair held by a fillet and wears a long gown with a sword at the belt; both hands are held clasped before the chest. The figures seem to be courtiers and they also appear to be walking to the fortresses, each on diplomatic or official duty. The three towers of the fortresses are decorated with a herringbone pattern and the tops of the walls have triangle-shaped crenellations (see Fig. 24).



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FIG. 24.
Drawing of decoration around
No. 346 by Elizabeth Simpson.



Whether one city or four separate cities (for the fortress must surely represent a city, not a single building) are intended to be represented is of course a matter of interpretation. Traces of the design are discernible on the interior wall; the base is flat.

At present only one parallel vessel is known, and it is significant for two reasons. In the first place, it was excavated; in the second, it is formally and stylistically an exact parallel in shape and decoration to the pyxis here. In an Iron Age III period tomb at War Kabud in Luristan, vanden Berghe (1967, 58, 61; 1968b, 133ff., 169, pl. 35, fig. 30:4) excavated a bronze pyxis of approximately the same size as ours. It is decorated with four fortresses each flanked by a sphinx with a scorpion's tail, i.e., four fortresses and four figures alternating, in the same scheme as on No. 346. The War Kabud fortresses have only two towers, plain below and hatched above, but they have triangular crenellations. Moreover, the scene is bordered with the same linked ovals as on the Metropolitan Museum's pyxis.

Another vessel may be brought forth as a relevant

parallel, both to our pyxis and to the one from War Kabud. This is a situla that was also excavated by vanden Berghe (1977a, 61), this time at the Iron Age III site of Chamzhi-Mumah in Luristan (a drawing of the vessel was sent to me by the excavator). Although the situla is of a different shape, it has an obviously Assyrian-style scene framed by the same linked ovals that occur on the other two vessels. On the situla a fortress with four towers and a large gate is connected to a classic battle scene: prisoners en face being led away from the fortress, a chariot with the horses' feet extended overriding a fallen enemy, and cavalry and foot soldiers in the field. While the Metropolitan Museum's pyxis depicts a peaceful scene and the War Kabud one has sphinxes, the presence of fortress cities represented in the Assyrian manner, the Assyrian nature of the courtiers and the battle scenes, and the border decoration connect the three vessels to one another with certainty. Perhaps the number of towers indicates the relative importance of the cities represented, the Chamzhi-Mumah situla, in this view, being the most important.

Given the interrelationship of the three vessels and the fact that two were excavated in Luristan, it may be accepted as a strong possibility that the Metropolitan Museum's pyxis also derived from Luristan, or from somewhere in western Iran (see below). And it is equally probable that all three were made in the same workshop or center, one that was active in the late eighth century or early seventh century B.C.¹

The motifs and style on the three vessels are manifestly Assyrian in all essentials: the crenellated, towered fortresses, the walking courtiers with hands clasped before the chest, and the battle scene (although the sphinxes on the War Kabud pyxis remind us of the North Syrian examples from Nimrud and Hasanlu). What seems certain is that the three vessels (including ours on the assumption that it too came from Iran) were locally made in Iran, for the en face posture of the Chamzhi-Mumah situla prisoners² and the border decoration suggest this conclusion. And the vessels give important information concerning some form of artistic relations between Iran and Assyria in the years around 700 B.C.

The date of 700 B.C. is within the general period of Assyrian involvement in western Iran, possibly into part of Luristan (if Ellipi; Levine 1972, 3ff., 28ff.; Moorey 1982a, 96). Whether or not Assyria conquered part or all (or none) of Luristan is irrelevant to the fact that its military and "cultural" influences would have been perceived to some degree. The excavated vessels with their Assyrian formulae might reflect this "influence."³ On the assumption that the vessels were made in Iran, at the very least it may be concluded that they are concrete examples of provincial Assyrianizing workshops functioning in western Iran: but where in Iran?

The scenes suggest an Assyrian bias, a point of view that seems to reflect both Assyrian conquest (the Chamzhi-Mumah situla), and peaceful activity with courtiers and cities not under siege (the Metropolitan Museum and the War Kabud pyxides). This could suggest that artists (either Assyrians or Iranians) were executing within Iran political scenes glorifying or at least recording the Assyrian conquest and subsequent control. Stated another way, the vessels were created as messages publicizing that control, by warfare if necessary, but also peacefully. These messages would presumably have been distributed as gifts, if not by trade, and surely not solely within the Assyrian sphere but elsewhere. Thus, although it is a fact that vessels "written" with messages from the Assyrians have been excavated in Luristan, we do not know their center of manufacture or how they got into the Luristan graves. We do not know that they were made locally in Luristan, and we have no cause to reject the viable possibility that the vessels were made in western Iran to the north of Luristan, where Assyrian penetration and control were

more evident (Levine 1972). From there the vessels could have been imported to Luristan as exotic items via normal trade or, indeed, presented by northern authorities as gifts to local (independent) chiefs to secure their allegiance/alliance, or their reluctance to fight. I am not arguing against the existence of a Luristan workshop creating the vessels, I am merely stating that there is no compelling evidence that one was present. The vessels display no Luristan elements, but it is arguable that these elements would not be expected on a consciously made Assyrianizing object, whether executed by an Assyrian or an Iranian.⁴

I leave this issue open for further discussion except to note that the Metropolitan Museum's pyxis is placed in the general Iranian section rather than with the Luristan material because of the problems of origin.

NOTES

1. A vessel, a deep bowl or cup, in the Bröckelschen collection (Calmeyer 1964a, no. 107, fig. 8, pls. 54–56) also has on its exterior wall an engraved Assyrian scene involving a fortress and a procession; there is also a zone of couchant, winged sphinxes. The border is a typical mountain motif and has nothing in common with the linked ovals on the three vessels discussed in the text. Whatever its origin, which remains unknown, it was made in a different workshop. This same conclusion obtains for another vessel in the Bröckelschen collection: Calmeyer 1964a, no. 106, fig. 7, pls. 52, 53. Calmeyer assumes that both vessels derive from Iran.

2. Glenn Markoe called my attention to the en face position of the prisoners, a noncanonical position in Assyrian art. [Now see Markoe, in *Iran Antiq* 20 (1985), 43–54; the Metropolitan Museum vessel is published in pl. iv.]

3. I do not perceive from the published material deriving from the Luristan cemeteries in the west or from the material known in the east that an Assyrian conquest, military or cultural, occurred there.

4. The problem is that we have no insight into the Luristan attitude concerning the vessels and their putative message. For on the one hand the vessels might have been recognized by the Lurs as deriving from the Assyrians, and perhaps bearing a message, and on the other merely as pleasant, exotic foreign objects, traded as any other luxury item, and innocent of a message: which would be only foreign decoration.

347. Spouted Vessel

47.32.1; purchase; Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1947
Bronze;¹ height with handle 24.4 cm, width with spout 19.7 cm

THE HAMMERED body is globular with a narrow, ringed neck and a flat, everted lip. A separately made tubular handle, its seam visible on the underside, is secured to the outside of the lip by two rivets with hemispherical heads. A large, rounded pouch covers a prepared hole in the body of the vessel and is secured to it by a circle of thirteen rivets with large hemispherical heads. These rivets and the ones on the lip have double shanks, apparently bent back against the interior wall. A round



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hole at the center of the pouch is filled by a disk that is the base of the cast S-curved spout terminating in a lion's head with a round mouth for the pouring hole.² The disk is flanged into the pouch, and a raised ring masks the join. The lion head has hollow eyes, perhaps originally inlaid, and prominent, projecting ears. The vessel is plain except for hatching on the neck and pouch rings. On the back of the vessel is a cast and engraved plaque of a winged male figure, bareheaded and dressed in an

ankle-length garment. He is bearded and has a prominent nose that is joined to a wide band—eyebrows or hair—across the forehead and from which ears or hair curls project; his mouth and eyes are quite small. His feet are together and his arms extend across his wings. Three rivets, one at the tip of each wing and one at the lower edge of his garment, hold the figure to the vessel. Except for minor damage to the body and handle, the vessel is intact.



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Vessels of this form are a subclass of a group of bronze spouted vessels that are well known, having been published or discussed often (Rexroth 1932, pl. 41:2; Potratz 1955a, 220ff.; Boehmer 1965, 811ff.; Calmeyer 1969a, 99ff.; Calmeyer 1974a, 113f.; Moorey 1971a, 276ff.; Musée Borély 1975, nos. 156, 158). These vessels share a globular body distinctly offset from the neck, a prominent hollow pouch joined to a hole in the body, and a vertical hollow tube projecting from the pouch and bent

horizontally to form a pouring spout at the level of the neck. The pouch is encircled by large rivets with hemispherical heads that hold it to the body. The vessel itself, the pouch and spout, and the rivets are separately made units; and sometimes a separately made plaque is added to the back of the vessel. Liquid contents flowed from the vessel into the pouch and out through the spout.

A number of metal spouted vessels have been excavated, thus furnishing objective data concerning both

provenience and chronology. Perhaps the earliest examples of the type occur at Marlik Tepe, where a total of seven, five of bronze and two of silver, have been excavated (Negahban 1983, 16f., 73ff., nos. 16, 17, 43–47); they are all unbridged of Iron I period shape, and some have pouches, others do not. Negahban's numbers 44 and 47 come from Tomb 52, which contained a second-millennium B.C. gold vessel (G15). Number 44 has no pouch and is similar in body shape to a pottery spouted vessel from an early Iron I burial at Dinkha Tepe, near Hasanlu and to the west of Marlik (Muscarella 1974b, 39f., fig. 3, no. 237). Number 47 has a pouch and surrounding studs, as well as "eyes" in relief on the pouch (cf. Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xxiii:2, 5; Moorey 1971a, nos. 523, 524; Moorey 1974a, no. 137: all with bridged spouts).³ Tomb 27 contained numbers 43 and 45, the latter with a small pouch but no studs. Tomb 45 contained number 46, and numbers 16 and 17, both of silver, and all three with pouches but no studs. Tomb 45 also contained the so-called unicorn (young bulls? Calmeyer 1982, 343) vessel of gold (G9), which I tend to believe could be dated early in the first millennium B.C. (Muscarella 1972, 42; cf. Calmeyer 1982, 348 and n. 45; see No. 145) except for its presence in a tomb with unbridged spouted vessels. Finally, attention must be directed to the spouted vessels, without pouches, carried by male and female figurines made of terracotta (Negahban 1964, pl. xi) that derive from Tomb 36 (grid xviii c), of late eighth or seventh-century B.C. date (see No. 52, note 3); they attest to the long life of spouted vessels at Marlik.

Other examples with the characteristic pouch derive from Tepe Guran (Meldgaard, Mortensen, Thrane 1963, fig. 30; Muscarella 1974b, 51, 82), and from Sialk B (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xxiii:2, 5, and pl. xii:2 in terracotta), and an imported example comes from Samos (Jantzen 1972, pl. 74; Boehmer 1965, fig. 6). Examples are also said to come from Khurvin and Tepe Giyan (vanden Berghe 1964, pl. xxxvi:249; Herzfeld 1941, pl. xxv), in both cases without verification. At least two related bronze vessels were excavated in 1962 at Hasanlu (unpublished). They have a spout that curves upward from the body to which it is directly joined, with no intervening pouch. The join area is encircled by hemispherical rivets and there is a basket handle joined to the rim by the same type rivets. Their typological relationship to both the present example and those with simpler spouts is self-evident, in spite of the lack of a pouch.

The Marlik examples establish a late second-millennium B.C. date for the earliest bronze spouted vessels with and without pouches; the Hasanlu examples attest to a late ninth-century date for related forms; and the Tepe Guran and Sialk B examples, and the Marlik terracotta vessels from Tomb 36, document a general late

ninth–eighth, possibly seventh century B.C. floruit for those with and without pouches. Further, the basic shape with bridged spout and pouch (or "beard") is the classic Iron II ceramic type in northwestern Iran (T. C. Young 1965, fig. 6:8; Muscarella 1968a, figs. 8–10, 12; Muscarella 1974b, figs. 26, 27, 32, 37, 39, 44, 51), reinforcing a general ninth-century B.C. date for the possible existence of bronze bridge-spouted vessels with pouches; the shape may have continued for a longer period in the south.

To return to the Metropolitan Museum's vessel, there is but one excavated parallel known to date, a vessel found in fragments at Hamadan. It matches the present example in all details: neck rim ring with a riveted basket handle, hemispherical studs that encircled the pouch, and a winged male figure plaque; the vessel body has disintegrated. Its spout is assumed to have disintegrated; it has been restored on paper with a typical vertical-horizontal shape (Ghirshman 1964, fig. 122). Also excavated at Hamadan is a cast S-shaped spout terminating in a lion's head, just like that on the Metropolitan Museum's vessel. Le Breton and Amiet have concluded that this S-shaped spout belonged to a second vessel not otherwise recovered (Muscarella 1980b, 31, n. 16). But, judging from the fragments excavated (Calmeyer 1974a, figs. 3–5; Muscarella 1980b, figs. 7, 8), it is possible to conclude that in fact there was only one vessel recovered, one exactly paralleling the example here.⁴

A bronze vessel without provenience in the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran, with a thick, obliquely oriented spout but no pouch or figured plaque, belongs to the same subtype as our vessel (vanden Berghe 1968c, 115, fig. 137). There are also metal vessels of different shapes than those under discussion here that have a cast S-shaped spout terminating in a lion's head (Moorey 1971a, no. 519; Moorey 1974a, no. 139; Amiet 1976, no. 93; sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, no. 376).⁵

The Hamadan find has no chronological information; the only way to date the elaborate examples of our subtype is by reference to the other spouted forms, those in metal and terracotta. On this basis it seems fairly safe to suggest that they fit into a general ninth–eighth-century B.C. background. And inasmuch as no other area in the Near East has yielded bronze spouted vessels, as well as the fact that the winged figures and the lion's head on the spouts are stylistically at home in Iran (Moorey 1971a, 276), it is certain that all the varieties or subtypes of this class are products of western Iranian craftsmen working in different areas but in close association or knowledge of one another. Whereas the Tepe Guran find indicates a Luristan provenience for at least some of the simpler forms, the Hamadan evidence indicates another provenience for at least one, or some, of the more elaborate forms.⁶

In 1969a (99ff.) Calmeyer charted (in part) the geo-

graphical distribution of the metal spouted vessels, accepting, along with the excavated examples mentioned above, both a Luristan provenience for many strays, and the alleged Tepe Giyan and Khurvin proveniences, thereby creating a distorted distribution map (Calmeyer 1969a, 104, fig. 107). Both the chronology, eighth century B.C., and the "räumliche Verteilung" of the vessels compelled him to believe that the Medes or one of their "unterworfenen Stämme" were in some way associated with these objects (Calmeyer 1969a, 149f.). In 1974a (114) Calmeyer played down the "Luristan" provenience, stressed the elaborate figured example from Hamadan, and concluded that the area where the vessels were found ("gesicherten Fundorte") is a "Gebiet, das im 8. Jahrhundert nur medisch sein kann," calling attention again to the alleged distribution map that he published in 1969a (which, indeed, included non-secure *Fundorte*). With regard to the simple examples, they are clearly too widely distributed to permit archaeologists to assign them to one particular people; many other peoples and cultures existed in western Iran and it is highly probable that multiple manufacturing centers existed. And inasmuch as we do not know except for the Hamadan find the distribution of the unexcavated figured vessels, nor enough of the cultural-stylistic differentiation of many western Iranian artifacts, even excavated ones, it is impossible to securely claim this vessel form as Median, as opposed, say, to pre-Achaemenian Persian (see now my "Median Art and Medizing Scholarship," *JNES* 46, 2 [1987]).

Moorey (1974a, 157), Calmeyer (1969a, 103), and Amiet (1976, 49) have discussed terracotta figurines of males and females that are hollow, and thus vessels, and that carry spouted vessels, similar to those discussed above, which functioned as the pouring unit. Some have been excavated (Hasanlu: Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. c:3; Ghirshman 1964, figs. 24, 335; Marlik: Negahban 1964, pl. xi [see above], of eighth/seventh-century B.C. date; Baba Jan, level I, seventh century B.C., with broken spout: Goff 1969, pl. IIIa, b; Goff 1978, fig. 13); others are strays (Ghirshman 1964, figs. 26, 391, which is Calmeyer 1969a, 105, fig. 108; *Sept Mille Ans* 1961–62, no. 260; Belloni 1969, no. 13; Goff 1969, pl. IIIc; Barbier 1970, no. 117, metal).⁷ These figurine vessels surely served ritualistic purposes and suggest that spouted vessels were used at such ceremonies. Surely the vessel here, with its protective winged apotropaic figure and elaborate form, was not used for normal household functions.⁸

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Calmeyer 1974a, fig. 7.

NOTES

1. Cu: 89.7%, Sn: 9.64%, Pb: .075%, Zn: .027% (1986).

2. Calmeyer (1969a, 102, Group 47cd; and 1974a, n. 27) questions whether the spout on our vessel is original. Based on macroscopic examination there is no indication that it is not ancient; see also the same spout excavated at Hamadan, discussed in this catalogue entry.

3. Calmeyer 1969a, 101, Group 47al, listed vessel number 47 from Tomb 52 as deriving from "Grab xxiii c" (the c should be g): but the Roman numeral references originally given by Negahban were confusingly not for tomb designations, but rather for the excavation grids of five meters square (other scholars were equally misled in the tomb-grid designations, e.g., Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 190ff.). On page 104, Calmeyer claimed that "Grab xxiii c [g]" was one of the latest burials at Marlik, when in fact it might be second millennium in date (see No. 12, note 1): if the gold bowl G15, which seems manifestly early, was not an heirloom when deposited. It will have been noticed that the similarity of the pouch and "eyes" on number 47 is remarkably similar to the Sialk B vessels. However, the Marlik vessels have an unbridged spout, the Sialk ones are bridged, features that conform to the distinction between Iron I and II shapes as recorded at Hasanlu, and not, to my knowledge, contradicted anywhere. Presumably then, the motif pouch with "eyes" continued over a period of time.

4. It would be useful to know whether all the Hamadan fragments were found together or at widely separated areas. If the vessel as restored in Ghirshman 1964, fig. 122, is indeed the original shape, it is paralleled by an example in the Louvre (Ghirshman 1964, figs. 522, 523 ["Luristan"?]). For other vertical-horizontal spouted vessels with figured rear plaques, see Calmeyer 1969a, 100, fig. 104, ca, 102, au; Waldbaum 1978, 9, figs. 2, 3; Amiet 1976, no. 90. Others have plain plaques, Wijngaarden 1954, no. 92; B. Goldman 1957, figs. 7, 8; Barbier 1970, no. 6. See also *Enjoying 7000 Years of History: The World of Persian Pottery*, ed. J. Gluck (Otsu, Japan, 1980), no. 66, which (if genuine) has some plaque at the rear.

5. Moorey (1974a, 158f.) considers his vessel number 139 to be Achaemenian, because of its calf-head handle and the upright lion on the spout. In style, however, the spout is not Achaemenian: it would be helpful if the spout and vessel were subjected to laboratory examination to see whether they belong together; note that the base has been restored.

6. Moorey 1974a, 72, correctly compares the figured plaques on the rear of the spouted vessels to a similar figure holding animals at bay on a non-Luristan cheekpiece, Moorey's no. 37A; see No. 354.

7. I am not sure whether the example published in the sale catalogue, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 24 September 1981, no. 11, is genuine; it is very crudely executed. As noted by Orthmann 1982, 30f., his number 103 has a modern spout in the form of a lion's head which looks like the present example.

8. Of some interest is the strongly expressed opinion of Piotrovskii (1962; 1967 ed., 42) that the winged male appliqué on our vessel is "very similar to the cauldron mounts [sirens] . . . and it is scarcely possible to doubt that they are connected." This opinion was apparently also independently reached by Herrmann (1966a, 137, n. 1; see also P. Amandry, in *Gnomon* 41 [1969], 799). This idea surely deserves more study, but the placement of the Iranian winged figure facing out on the rear of a spouted vessel rather than on the rim of a cauldron, as well as the different form of the figures, must be taken into consideration. Equally to be considered is the fact that winged figures were common for many centuries all over the Near East, and they were often placed on vessels (see Nos. 6, 351). The Iranian manifestation may readily be interpreted, without forcing the issue, as an independent local development of a generally held concept, one not specifically related to North Syria, where winged sirens were placed on cauldrons (Muscarella 1962; Muscarella 1970, 110f.; see No. 6, note 4).

348. Vessel

52.119.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1952
 Ex-collection E. Herzfeld
 Bronze; height 8.2 cm

THIS VESSEL, probably used as a cup or bowl (Potratz 1968, 69), has a relatively high, slightly flaring neck and everted lip above a round, bulbous body; incised lines decorate the shoulder.

Both Calmeyer (1969a, 115, 135) and Moorey (1971a, 264) distinguished vessels of this type from those with segmented profiles (see Nos. 349, 350), although they share the high, flaring neck and bulbous body. Based on excavated evidence, scarce as it is, it seems that examples of the present type were made earlier than the others and may have been the models.

To my knowledge, no exact parallels for the example here have been excavated although two vessels of similar shape are known from excavations; they document an Iranian background for the type. One came from Tepe Giyan, Tomb 16 (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pl. 11:4) of early first-millennium B.C. date (T. C. Young 1965, 66); this example has a higher neck than ours. The other example is from Tepe Guran, Grave 4, in Luristan (Meldgaard, Mortensen, Thrane 1963, 129, fig. 30, right), also of early first-millennium B.C. date; it has a shorter neck that is less high than ours.¹ Of interest is the fact that the Tepe Guran vessel was found alongside a bronze spouted vessel (cf. No. 347) of similar body shape but with an appropriately narrower neck. Years ago Potratz perceptively recognized the similarity of the body shapes of the two vessel types and suggested that the spouted vessels developed from the plain examples (Potratz 1955a, 220, figs. 29 [misprinted as 31], 30). It may be suggested that from a chronological point of view vessels of the present type fit into a time period perhaps slightly later than the Tepe Giyan and Tepe Guran examples and earlier than those with segmented profiles; this suggestion agrees with the conclusions of Calmeyer and Moorey. Note also, as pointed out by Potratz (1955a, 220), that vessels of this shape are not too dissimilar from some of those with spouts.

For unexcavated vessels of the present type, see: Moortgat 1932, pl. x:32–34; Speleers 1933a, 91, fig. 42; Arne 1962, fig. 15, top; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. xiii:82, 83; Potratz 1955a, 220, no. 1, fig. 29 (misprinted as 31); Potratz 1968, pl. XLVI:274–77; Basmachi 1963, pl. 19; Calmeyer 1969a, 135, nn. 438, 439, lists eleven more examples than Potratz, including the present Metropolitan Museum vessel (actually listed twice, in n. 439 as in the British Museum); Moorey 1971a, 262ff., nos.

496–501: the latter is an exact parallel to ours; Orthmann 1982, 28, no. 96 (dated too early).

A number of apparently genuine examples have been tampered with in recent times: Wijngaarden 1954, pl. xiv:88, has a bird perched on a handle that seems to have been recently added; Hanfmann 1954, no. 92, has two added units, a pouch from a spouted vessel and an animal protome (also published as genuine by B. Goldman 1957, 261, fig. 20; challenged by Muscarella 1977a, no. 83); two other examples, one in Berlin, one in Brussels, have a spout and pouch added, correctly cited as pastiches by Calmeyer 1969a, 139, nos. 1 and K (see Muscarella 1977a, 177, no. 79); an example has two Luristan harness rings added as handles, cited as a pastiche by Calmeyer 1969a, 139, no. 1; and three examples have been added to stands, all cited as pastiches by Calmeyer 1969a, 138f., nos. F, G, and H (G was also challenged by Amiet 1976, 51, and H was challenged by Muscarella 1977a, no. 77; for a parallel stand for G, see Barbier 1970, no. 18). Another example has a recently added lion-mask (Moortgat 1932, 13, pl. x:26).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Herzfeld 1941, pl. xxv, upper right.

NOTE

1. Note a terracotta vessel from neo-Elamite Susa (de Miroschedji 1981c, 155, fig. 48:9) that is very similar to our metal example in neck and body form and configuration. This parallel reinforces an Iranian attribution for the shape.

349. Vessel

53.128; Gift of E. Safani, 1953
 Bronze; height 7.7 cm

350. Vessel

58.8; Gift of Khalil Rabenou, 1958
 Bronze; height 8.9 cm

THESE TWO vessels, probably cups, are very distinctive in that the body is divided into two units of bulbous swellings separated by a pronounced constriction. The neck with its everted lip is also clearly distinguished from the body so that in profile the vessel has three divisions or “mehrfach gegliederte[s] Profil” (Calmeyer 1969a, 115, Group 53). Variety among the various examples known consists basically of differences in the widths and heights of the bulbous areas. Note that the frieze of birds—cocks—on the upper bulbous area of No. 350 seems to be ancient, not a modern addition added to enhance the value of the vessel¹ (which is the reason a similar vessel cited by Calmeyer 1969a, 116, fig. 119, has a false inscription).²

Vessels of the subtype under discussion have been excavated in three distinct areas, in Iran, in Mesopotamia, and on the island of Samos. The majority come from Iran: three are from late Elamite levels at Susa (de Mecquenem 1943, 50, fig. 42:4, 6; de Miroschedji 1981a, 34, fig. 40:12, pl. xii:22), two come from War Kabud, one from Djub-i Gauhar, one from Karkhai, and one from Chamzhi-Mumah, all sites in Luristan dated to the late eighth–seventh centuries B.C. (vanden Berghe 1967, figs. on pp. 60, 61; 1968b, pl. 34a, b; 1973c, fig. on p. 26, bottom left, and fig. 28:4; 1975a, fig. 16:3; 1977a, fig. on p. 60, top right; 1980, 38, fig. 10:9). In neo-Babylonian graves at Uruk, three examples were excavated (Strommenger 1967, pls. 32:7, 8, 48:4, 49:5); and from the island of Samos, post-eighth century in date, came one example (Kopcke 1968, 294, no. 124, pl. 127:1). Many stray, unexcavated examples are also known in the literature, all attributed to Iran (viz. Moortgat 1932, pl. x:30; Herzfeld 1941, fig. 232, bottom; Wijn-gaarden 1954, pl. xiii:84, 85; Calmeyer 1969a, 115f., figs. 119, 120; Barbier 1970, no. 13; Moorey 1971a, 264ff., nos. 503, 504; De Waele 1982, 221, 223, nos. 375–78). An example in the Hamlin collection has, I believe, two recently added handles (Muscarella 1979a, 8, no. 5).

Aside from the unexcavated examples published, there are good excavated parallels for No. 350 at Susa, War Kabud, and Karkhai; I could find no close parallels among the excavated examples for No. 349 (but cf. Moorey 1971a, no. 502).

Based on both the quantity and diversity of the excavated Iranian finds it would seem that these vessels are of Iranian origin, from either Luristan or Elam (de Miroschedji 1981a, 34), and that they were manufactured from the late eighth through much of the seventh centuries B.C. This conclusion means that the Uruk examples were probably imported from Iran. As for the Samos example, although I believe that it ultimately derived from Iran, it cannot be determined whether it came directly from there or indirectly from Mesopotamia, given the Uruk evidence (Muscarella 1977b, 40f.). Note that the occurrence of this vessel type in both Elam and Luristan objectively attests to interconnection between the two areas (see also Muscarella 1981b, 349ff.).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 349: Muscarella 1977b, fig. 20.

NOTES

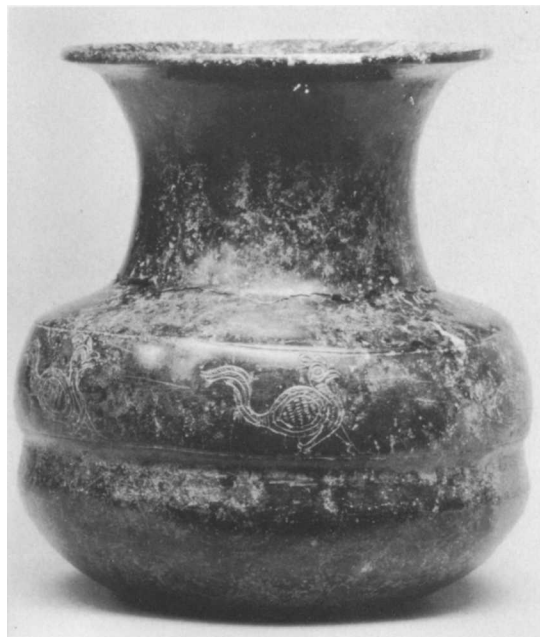
1. I was skeptical, of course, about the presence of the decoration and examined the vessel under a microscope. The incisions look “good” and so does the style of the execution. Further, a blob of good corrosion overlays the tail of one bird, obviously a good sign. It therefore seems probable that the decoration is ancient. Cocks appear in the Near East in the first millennium B.C. in Luristan (viz.



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Nos. 231–237, 252; see also vanden Berghe 1968b, 43, no. 7). They also appear on two unexcavated gold vessels: *Sept Mille Ans* 1961–62, no. 67b, pl. vii (now in Cleveland), and Calmeyer 1973a, 206, fig. 139. While I am perplexed by these two pieces (Muscarella 1977a, nos. 172, 173), I have more doubts about the Cleveland vessel (for a stylistic parallel to the Calmeyer vessel, see Hakemi 1968, pl. xxxiii, from Kaluraz). If ancient, the date of these gold vessels will be sometime early in the first millennium B.C. The only other example of Near Eastern cocks in art occurs on a late-second-millennium B.C. Assyrian ivory pyxis (Moortgat 1969, fig. 84). For cocks in the round attributed to the South Caspian area, but unexcavated, see Barbier 1970, nos. 175, 176.

2. In *Iran* 10 (1972), 161ff., P. R. S. Moorey published a bronze vessel of the type under review here. It bears a Babylonian inscription on the neck that is accepted as ancient, and which view suggested to Moorey that perhaps the inscription maligned by Calmeyer (here on the body of the vessel) merits “re-investigation” (*Iran* 10, 162, n. 114). The odd feature of the inscription discussed by Moorey, that it is written backwards and derives from a seal, is interpreted by W. G. Lambert in an added note (*Iran* 10, 162–63) to have resulted from an illiterate ancient Iranian craftsman copying the inscription as engraved (backwards) from a seal (*Iran* 10, 162f.). It seems to me, a nonspecialist, that this interpretation is a little disingenuous. See also Lambert’s note in *Iran* 13 (1975), 165, for another cylinder seal inscription engraved in reverse on a bronze bowl “from Iran.” Here, as in 1972, Lambert states as historical reality that “Iranian” bronzes were engraved with Mesopotamian inscriptions in ancient Iran by an “Iranian craftsman,” which conclusion is not possible in archaeological research inasmuch as the data consists of unexcavated material (see also Nos. 385, 386, note 4). The vessel published in 1972 is a type that occurs not only in Iran but also in Mesopotamia (see discussion in this catalogue entry), and the bowl in the 1975 note is not, pace Lambert, “an Iranian bronze” (its only known provenience is “the London fine art market”). From the photographs it seems that, whereas the inscription on the 1975 bowl looks “good,” the one on the 1972 vessel does not. However, where (and even when) both inscriptions were engraved is unknown, and thus cannot inform us about ancient Near Eastern history or trade.

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351. Cauldron Attachment

67.106; Gift of H. Dunscombe Colt, 1967

Bronze; length 13.9 cm, wingspan 15.7 cm

THIS ATTACHMENT is one of a pair; its mate, the same in all details, is in the Norbert Schimmel collection (Muscarella 1974a, no. 153). Because the piece has been published in detail elsewhere (Muscarella 1968b), only a summary description and discussion will be presented here. The cast attachment consists of the head and neck of a bull joined to the wings and tail of a bird; a loop on the back holds a free-swinging ring handle. Horns and ears project forward, the muzzle, nostrils, and mouth are indicated, hair is represented by hatching and incisions for the forelock, for the mane with ribbonlike incisions on the back, and at the chest. The wings and tail are covered with a plain feather pattern; each wing has a rivet that once held the figure facing inward to a large hammered cauldron; a fragment of the cauldron is still attached.

Winged-bull cauldron attachments of various types and techniques of manufacture have been excavated in Phrygia, North Syria, and Urartu, as well as in the West, at Greek sanctuaries, demonstrating their widespread use and value over a large area (Muscarella 1968b, 7ff., figs. 6–12; 1970, 111f.). None of the Near Eastern examples predates the late eighth century and none seems to have been made after the seventh century B.C. Because of the technique of its manufacture, and other de-

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tails, namely the fact that the whole unit was cast in one piece, that it has a free-swinging handle, and that it faced into the cauldron rather than out, our attachment is clearly related to those Near Eastern examples from Phrygia and North Syria, and not to those from Urartu.¹

The findspot of the attachment, along with its mate, is not known, although the dealer claimed they were acquired in Teheran. While this in itself does not of course guarantee an Iranian provenience, there is no archaeological reason to argue against it, and I tentatively accept the attribution. Unfortunately, no cauldron attachments of any kind (aside from those from Guschi and Alishar in the north, in Urartian territory, and of Urartian manufacture) have been excavated in Iran. However, in the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran, there is a cast bronze cauldron attachment in the form of a winged griffin (Muscarella 1968b, 16f., figs. 15, 16; Muscarella 1970, 112ff., fig. 6; Calmeyer 1969a, 109, fig. 112), which is related to the Metropolitan Museum's attachment in its technique of manufacture and in the loop for a free-swinging handle, as well as in its general stance and proportion. The Teheran museum authorities claim it was found in Iran but offer no further information. Its existence within Iran makes it easier—but not certain—to accept an Iranian attribution for the bull attachments.

With regard to dating, it appears that the attachments are pre-Achaemenian in style, and their relationship to the excavated ones from farther west limits them to a time within the late eighth and the seventh centuries B.C. More probably, they were made sometime within the seventh century, which is the same date Calmeyer (1969a, 109) assigns to the Teheran griffin. Their occurrence in Iran (if indeed such was the case) indicates an example of western Near Eastern influence in western Iran during the period of Median hegemony of that area (see "Tepe Nush-i Jan," note 5, above, and No. 347).²

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1968b; *Treasured Masterpieces of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Kyoto Municipal Museum, 1972), no. 9.

NOTES

1. Vanden Berghe and De Meyer (1982–83, no. 174) publish a stray bronze cauldron that has three bull-head attachments (ex-Yeganeh). While the attachments are canonical for Urartu, in style and technique of manufacture (head made separately from wing-tail apparatus), one attachment is obviously missing (but cf. a terracotta vessel with three bull-head protomes from Karmir Blur, van Loon 1966, 35, pl. 1; and another on the art market, vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, no. 194). This cauldron seems to be much restored, including the attachments' positions.

There are at least two more stray bronze cauldrons with Urartian bull-head attachments, both on the Japanese antiquities market (Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1982, pls. 1, 11). One (pl. 1) has only two attachments, the other (pl. 11) the canonical four: whether the first is re-

stored and incomplete, or indeed original, cannot be resolved without physical examination, and thus remains suspiciously unique in its present composition (Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1982, pl. 11, may be *Apollo*, April 1981, advertising p. 13).

Vanden Berghe and De Meyer also publish a bronze cauldron in Berlin with two bull-head attachments (1982–83, no. 175), and two isolated winged bull heads (nos. 177, 178), all of which are assigned to Urartu (see also sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 September 1980, no. 383; two examples and mates to vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, no. 177). So far as may be determined on the excavated data, none of these bull heads can be firmly labeled as Urartian, not in style, and not in technique, for the head and wing-tail apparatus in all cases appear to be cast as one unit. Furthermore, with concern for number q1 175 in vanden Berghe and De Meyer, while it was characteristic for the Urartians to attach four bull heads to a bronze cauldron, in western Anatolia and in North Syria it was usual to attach only two heads (Muscarella 1968b, 10ff.). Another cauldron, also not manifestly Urartian (although labeled as such), exists on the art market (sale catalogue, ARETE Gallerie für Antike Kunst, Zurich, no date, no. 21, which is *Antike Kunst* 25, 1 [1982], pl. 15:4). This cauldron has four bull-head attachments, each cast in one piece with the wings and tail; two of them have a raptor bird (or a griffin?) on a loop ring (which is not characteristic of Urartian attachments), both facing inward while the bulls face outward. We must look farther west, perhaps to North Syria, for the provenience of this piece. And until excavations document that the Urartians made bull attachments in the solid, one piece form, one should withhold an Urartian attribution for the many stray examples recently surfacing on the art market: these cauldrons could easily derive from elsewhere in Anatolia.

For a stray, isolated, Urartian bull-head attachment, see *Animals in Ancient Art from the Leo Mildenberg Collection*, ed. A. P. Kozloff (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1981), 30f., no. 18.

2. G. Puldeko (*AfO* 9 [1933–34], 87) incorrectly labeled as Median a typical Urartian bull attachment then in Berlin. This example is one discussed by Hanfmann 1956, 207f., no. 2. We, of course, do not know whether the Metropolitan Museum's bull attachment may be associated with the Medes.

352. Animal Protome

51.72.8; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1951
Bronze; height 10.8 cm

THE PROTOME depicts the head and chest of a goat, identified by the spacing of the knobbed horns. Because of their size and graceful curve, these horns are the most characteristic feature of the protome. The face is one of calmness, with large round eyes, gently curving snout, and indented nostrils, and the beard seems to double as a strut; ears are prominent, projecting out from the head. The protome is cast with a flanged rim pierced with holes for attachment to another object.

The object to which the attachment was joined is unknown; we do not know if it was a piece of furniture with this piece one of a pair, or whether it stood alone (cf. the Achaemenian ram head, No. 325). What is clear is that it was not the handle of a whetstone (see Potratz 1955a, 204), although the best parallels for the animal protome with its large horns and ears occur on the many



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whetstones attributed to Luristan (see Nos. 298–301). Nothing in style specifically connects the protome to the art of Luristan, although there seems to be a reflection of an Iranian background. A date in the first millennium B.C., probably, but not certainly, pre-Achaemenian, seems to define the time when the protome was made. I know of no other examples.¹

NOTE

1. P. R. S. Moorey has called my attention to Bossert 1951, no. 1347, an Arabian lamp with a handle in the form of an ibex protome, which he suggests is a possible parallel to the Metropolitan Museum's piece. He may be right, but differences exist between the two objects: the Arabian ibex is more naturally rendered and the front legs project out in the round. The Arabian example does have the same flanged rim as the present example, but the one here is pierced for attachment, apparently not to a lamp. I leave the question of origin open, with the view that Moorey's suggestion is not to be ignored (cf. Nos. 476 and 477).

353. Horse Cheekpieces

60.137a, b; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1960

Bronze; heights 13.4, 13.6 cm

THIS TYPE of cheekpiece, where the curved bar is pierced with three holes for attachment to reins, belongs to a fairly common group excavated in Iran, the Caucasus, Urartu, and southern Russia. Characterizing this type is the animal-head protome on the upper end of the bar. On the present examples the animal head seems to be that of a horse, with projecting ears and a ridged mane; two of the holes on the bar are oval, the other round; the canon is missing.

To my knowledge only one site in Iran has yielded a similar type. Excavated at Hasanlu from Period IV (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 68, fig. 14), it consists of curved pieces with unaligned holes (cf. No. 94), each top end of which is decorated with double snake heads; the canons, cast together with the cheekpieces, are twisted (cf. No. 92). A fragment of a bronze cheekpiece with unaligned holes and a stylized bird's-head terminal has been attributed to Ziwiye (A. Godard 1950, 55, fig. 46; Potratz 1966, fig. 94d), but it is unexcavated and has no verified provenience. Several unexcavated horse bits with each of their cheekpieces decorated by a stylized animal head on both ends are attributed to Luristan (A. Godard 1931, pl. XL:166; Dussaud 1938/1964, pl. 39A; Potratz 1968, pl. LV, fig. 131). Inasmuch as the style of the heads is that of the Luristan bronzes, such an attribution seems justified.

Outside Iran curved examples apparently with all four ends decorated with animal heads—bull, horse, and eagle—have been excavated at Altintepe in Urartu, dating no earlier than the late eighth or seventh century

B.C. (T. Özgüç 1969, 68, pl. xxv:2; Azarpay 1968, 43; see also Özgüç 1984, 103, fig. 28). Still others with animal heads at the ends have been found in the Caucasus and areas farther north (Potratz 1966, fig. 94a–c).¹ And a rare and superb example was excavated on the island of Samos (Jantzen 1972, 64, pl. 61:B951): a complete bit with curved cheekpieces each terminating at both ends in rams' heads and with three large holes for holding the reins. This piece is surely Iranian or Caucasian in origin (Muscarella 1977b, 41, nn. 38, 39). It is neatly paralleled in form to the Hasanlu example mentioned above, and it is paralleled by the Altintepe and Luristan examples by the fact that all four ends are decorated with animal heads.

A distinctly later, seventh-century B.C. example of this animal-head type, but made of bone and with a Scythian-style animal, has been excavated at Hasanlu from Period III (Dyson 1964a, 372, fig. 3; Dyson 1965, 211: originally, and incorrectly, published as from Period IV—see Muscarella 1974b, 79, n. 16; and Nos. 94 note 2, 328, 329 note 3). The same forms occur at Çavuştepe in Urartu, late seventh or sixth century B.C. in date (Hauptmann 1983, 258, 267, fig. 5:15, 16; cf. the plain bone examples from Karmir Blur, Barnett and Watson 1952, 146, fig. 22). Other bone examples of similar date are reported from areas farther north (Sulimirski 1978, 18, fig. 10). Stray examples have also casually been attributed to Kaplantu, near Ziwiyé (Porada 1965, fig. 73; Sulimirski 1978, 17, fig. 9; Hauptmann 1983, 258, 267, fig. 5:14), but with no verification (cf. the “Ziwiyé” bronze example mentioned above). These examples may have been created by Scythians but perhaps derived from the earlier bronze examples.

The Metropolitan Museum's examples probably derive from Iran, if so in the north, and they are to be dated in the late eighth or in the seventh century B.C., i.e., later than the Hasanlu example, which is so far the best, and the earliest, example of the type known.

NOTE

1. In Kellner 1976, 83, no. 211, two examples are attributed to the Transcaucasus; in vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, no. 60, they are conveniently moved to eastern Turkey; see also Özgüç 1984, 103. They were not excavated and are not readily assignable to any specific area.

354. Addorsed-Birds Cheekpiece

30.97.15; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze;¹ width 8.9 cm, height 4.5 cm

TWO CREATURES with beaks curving down and in are fused together back to back; the central hole for the mouthpiece gives the impression of separating them.



353a

353b

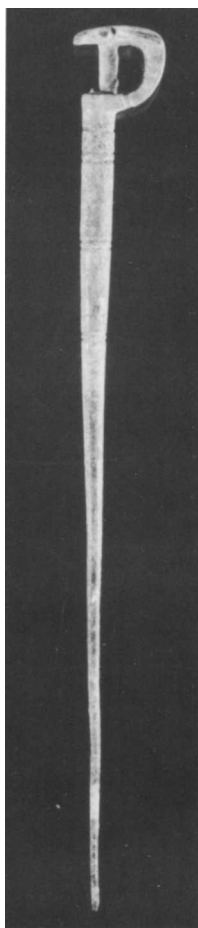
Their heads and bodies are cast relatively flat except for prominent eyes and a neck collar, which is apparently connected to a rein loop on the top of their necks. A small projection in front of each of the loops may be ears, and cutaway areas at the base may be an attempt to represent feet. Two spikes are on the reverse. The creatures seem to be birds, but the collars, “ears,” and “feet” make the identification ambiguous.

Although lacking a sharp V shape, this piece is functionally and formally the same as No. 252: both are horse cheekpieces in the form of addorsed creatures. However, the present example does not readily reflect Luristan style and probably did not derive from that area. More probably its place of manufacture should be sought somewhere else in western or northern Iran, in an area that maintained cultural contacts with Luristan. Its uniqueness and the lack of presently known parallels prevent a closer attribution.

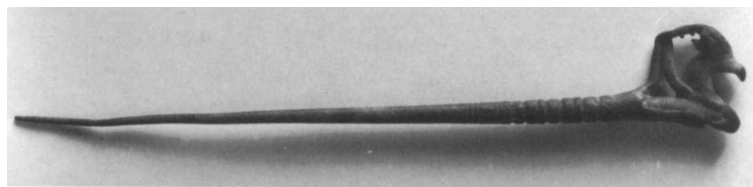
In the context of attribution one should also call attention to another addorsed-animals cheekpiece that is



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neither V shaped nor typical of Luristan style, one with a human torso holding the animals at bay at the juncture (Potratz 1952, 30, pl. XIII, fig. 49, which is Moorey 1974a, 71f., no. 37A). Moorey (1974a, 71f.) originally believed that this cheekpiece was a product of Luristan, made under northern influence, but he later changed his mind (Winter 1980, 18f., n. 91), suggesting correctly that it was made in an area other than Luristan. Moorey also perceptively connected the figure on this cheekpiece to those bronze human-figure plaques attached to the rear of certain bronze spouted vessels (see No. 347), and which are not from Luristan.² Thus, I believe we are able to isolate a small group of addorsed-animals cheekpieces, distinct from the V-shaped Luristan examples (No. 252), and attribute them elsewhere in western Iran, probably north of, but not far from, Luristan (see Nos. 147, 148).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Potratz 1952, 30, pl. XIV, fig. 53; Potratz 1966, 138, no. 4; D. Carter 1957, pl. 28b.

NOTES

1. Cu: 90.2%, Sn: 8.76%, Pb: .118%, Zn: .047% (1986).

2. Note the same side hair curls, heavy nose, and triangular chin/beard.

355. Zoomorphic Pin

68.121; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles K. Wilkinson, 1968

Bronze; length 33.3 cm

THE HEAD of this long pin is in the form of a stylized horned animal head with pellet eyes and long thin ears in relief on the horns; it is aligned in the same plane as the shank. The animal's neck is quite thin and is offset from the top of the shank, while the horns curve back to join the shank, thereby forming a loop. The top third of the shank is decorated with alternating bands of incised chevrons and triangles.

I know of no excavated parallels for this pin type except for one with the alignment of the head at right angles to the shank on a pin excavated at Marlik (Negahban 1964, fig. 131; cf. Schaeffer 1948, fig. 241, for a similar example claimed for Geoy Tepe, on the western shore of Lake Urmia), but the head is not stylized or offset from the shank (cf. also Moorey 1974a, no. 93). Several stray pieces that are parallel in the form of a stylized head and the curve of the horns touching the shank, but without the offset neck, are known to me: one in the Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1971a, 199, no. 338), one in Jerusalem (Merhav 1981, no. 66), and several from the art market (sale catalogues, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 34, and 30 March 1981, nos. 27, 29, 32); an example is also in the

British Museum (no. 135716). These pins have ridged upper shanks and some have a small animal in the round placed behind the horns. Although these pins are usually attributed to Luristan, this is surely a misattribution, as Moorey has noted; examples from Luristan are of a different style (see No. 288). It is more probable that the pins of this type derived from northern Iran, probably in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. The Marlik example cited above may supply a clue with concern for general area of distribution.

356. Animal-Headed Pin

32.161.35; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; length 16.5 cm

CAST IN ONE piece, the upper part of the shank consists of a beaded zone terminating in the forepart of a horned creature with a sharp, birdlike head. Its front feet are tucked under its body and an upward-curving section apparently indicates wings; a strip joins the wings to the shank and to the head. The fact that ears are depicted may indicate that the creature is not a bird, but an animal (cf. No. 354).

In general form, this pin is but one of a large number of animal-headed examples reported to come from Luristan. The shape of the animal's head on pins of the present form may vary, but they are clearly recognizable as a group (Speleers 1932, 101, fig. 26:7; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. XII:72; Nagel 1963, pl. LVIII:135; Potratz 1968, 135, 139—cf. 137; Moorey 1971a, no. 328).¹ To date none has been excavated, and because the animal is not a typical Luristan creature, it is uncertain whether the pins come from there or from somewhere else in western Iran. For a related but distinct type see No. 276.

NOTE

1. I am not sure where to place chronologically and geographically number 30 in the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, sale catalogue, 24 September 1981: it is certainly not from Hasanlu as claimed.

357. Lion Pin

1980.225.2; Gift of Ben-Zion, 1980
Iron; length 12 cm

HAMMERED or wrought from one piece of iron, this is a round, pointed pin with a terminal in the form of a couchant lion. A hole pierces the pin just below the lion.

In form and concept the pin is similar to the lion pins from Hasanlu (see Nos. 42–50), those with an iron pin joined to a bronze lion terminal, and also to one of bronze (No. 51). It also reminds us of the animal-terminal pins from Luristan (see Nos. 201–207, 277, 278, 281–283).

Other formal parallels are examples of bronze lion pins cast in one piece that are usually attributed to Luristan (A. Godard 1931, pl. XXXIII:136, which is De Waele 1982, no. 184; Amiet 1976, no. 163). On these pins the lion is more fully articulated in the round, a result probably of the fact that they are cast. Whether or not these pins derive from Luristan or another area of western Iran is not clear; equally unclear is the specific area of manufacture of the example here. In any event, our pin was most probably made in western Iran, in Luristan or elsewhere, and probably in the eighth or seventh century B.C.

358. Bracelet

61.184; Gift of Jerome M. Eisenberg, 1961
Bronze; diameter 6 cm

THIS PENANNULAR bracelet is lozenge shaped tapering to the terminals, and flat except for a raised central ridge. Decoration is simple, four grooves along each border and two framing the ridge. On either side of the opening are small nondescript projections and a dotted



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triangle framed by small knobs; if the terminals are meant to depict stylized animals' heads, it is not apparent.

The only other bracelets known to me that are lozenge shaped with a central ridge are a gold pair elaborately adorned with lions on either side of the ridge and lion heads at the terminals, which are usually assigned to Ziwiye (Wilkinson 1963, 281, figs. 11–13; A. Godard 1950, 50f., figs. 40, 41). The gold bracelets are to be dated to the eighth–seventh centuries B.C., and by virtue of this formal parallel, so perhaps should the present bronze example. Whether it derives from Iran is not certain, but it is probable that it did.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

J. Eisenberg, *A Catalogue of Luristan Bronzes and Early Islamic Pottery* (Athena Galleries, New York, April 1960), 17, pl. 10, lower left; Wilkinson 1963, 280, fig. 10.

359. Camel Figurine

53.117.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1953
Bronze;¹ height 8.9 cm

TWO HUMPS identify the creature as a Bactrian camel. The hollow-cast body is foreshortened, with the rear hump set unnaturalistically directly over the haunch and the front hump executed as a continuation of the front legs; both humps are also exaggerated in form and flattened at their tops. Incisions at the tops of the humps and on the raised areas over the front legs render hair clusters. The head also seems foreshortened although rendered fairly naturalistically, except for the ears and hair, and the overly large dewlap, which are stylized. The front feet rest on a small, flat T-shaped base, but the rear ones seem to be in a skidding position, perhaps only to fit them onto the base. The tail curls into a loop back on the body. Whether the camel functioned as a handle or an object in its own right is uncertain.

The camel is clearly distinguished stylistically from representations of camels in the Near East (Schauenburg 1955–56, 61ff.), in eastern Iran (Calmeyer 1969a, 182ff.), and in North Syrian and Assyrian art (Börker-Klähn 1973, 51ff., figs. 5, 6, pl. 26),² as well as from a lead example in the British Museum, considered to be from the Hellenistic period (Schauenburg 1955–56, 74, pl. 14:2). The closest parallel in a number of details, particularly the long dewlap, the exaggerated humps, and the skidding position, is a camel represented on a metal amulet apparently from Afghanistan (Sarianidi 1981, 245f., fig. 18: called to my attention by Holly Pittman). This camel has a different head and body structure than our example, but the other similarities are evident nevertheless (cf. also Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1983, nos. iv:5, iv:27). The amulet is dated to the early second millen-

nium B.C. Another representation of a camel, this one in the round on a pin (A. Godard 1938, 244, fig. 159; Ghirshman 1964, 75, fig. 99; De Waele 1982, 139, no. 204) and smaller than the one here, has two uniformly rendered humps, and a different body and head structure than ours. It is claimed by the pin's publishers that it was found in Luristan, although it has nothing in common with Luristan bronzes. Like the present example, whose vendor claimed it came from Azerbaijan, the pin has no known provenience. Still another Bactrian camel in the round, set on a flat base but of different style than the one here, and also claimed for Iran, was recently offered for sale (Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 76).

Given the parallels noted between the present example and the one on the amulet that is apparently from Afghanistan, it seems acceptable to entertain the possibility that the former is from the same region and time range. Further research and results of more excavation may clarify this tentative conclusion.³

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Glubock 1963, 39.

NOTES

1. Cu: 91.1%, Sn: 7.01%, Pb: 1.19%, Zn: .021% (1986).
2. This camel rider from Rhodes seems to be an Assyrian object, as Börker-Klähn claims. It should be added to the list of Assyrian objects reaching the West given in Muscarella 1977b, 47f., n. 67.
3. Note also Bactrian camels on buckles in the Foroughi and Godard collections that are incorrectly claimed for Luristan (*Sept Mille Ans* 1961–62, no. 473, pl. xxxi; De Waele 1982, 203, no. 341). [Now see Pittman 1984, 40, 42, fig. 11, for No. 359 (cf. fig. 10); Pittman, with supportive evidence, claims the camel is probably from Middle Bronze Age Bactria.]

360. Buckle (?)/Harness Ring (?)

30.97.14; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1930
Bronze; length 5.7 cm

CAST TOGETHER are two rings, with a dog or lion attacking a boar on the larger ring. This object is difficult to define functionally, but it belongs to a class of objects studied by Ghirshman (1958). Ghirshman, citing Herzfeld, catalogued similar objects into three related groups, interpreting them to be archers' rings (*Spannringe*), used to facilitate the stringing or arming of a bow (see Ghirshman 1958, figs. 6, 7, 9, for the proposed method of use; also Carless 1965, 29ff.). The present example best fits into Ghirshman's Group B, examples with a double loop (Ghirshman 1958, fig. 7).

In addition to No. 360, the Metropolitan Museum also possesses an apparently related object of silver, one that would fit into Ghirshman's Group C (Fig. 25; MMA 52.119.5). Ghirshman listed six examples of this group

(but omitting the Metropolitan Museum's silver example).¹ Only one of the six was excavated, at Susa, from a late or post-Achaemenian level. Since Ghirshman's publication two or more examples of this type have been excavated: one from Dailaman in northwest Iran (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1966, pl. LVI:7) of apparent Parthian date; and one from Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, fig. 93:6) apparently of late Achaemenian date. Note a related form, rectangular, from Zincirli of apparent seventh-century B.C. date; it is called a belt buckle (Andrae 1943, 101, fig. 123).

Moorey (1971a, 133ff.) made a separate study of all these objects and convincingly argued against designating them archers' rings. He noted that in all representations of bow stringing from various cultures and periods the hands alone are used. Moorey further demonstrated that the loop opening for Ghirshman's Group c is too small to hold a bow and that the protome figure was not secure enough to function as a handle (as Ghirshman argued) to grasp and to allow for a quick release. To Moorey the Group c objects like MMA 52.119.5 were most probably buckles (see also Crouwel 1972, 58, n. 5), while objects like No. 360, Group B, were probably horse-harness rings (cf. Nos. 257–263). These suggestions are indeed plausible, but in the final analysis we do not know securely what was the actual function of either of the objects discussed here. Parenthetically it might be noted that another group of objects, clearly from Luristan, also called archers' rings, "tendeur d'arc" (Barbier 1970, 15, nos. 60, 61), are in the same doubtful category with regard to function, although they seem to be buckles rather than harness attachments. Note that "wristlets" from Marlik (Negahban 1964, 20f., fig. 56) might have been used by archers to protect their wrists from the snap of the bow string; and see Bonnet 1926, 155, for a suggestion that an object carried by a bowman on a relief at Zincirli is a protective leather shooting glove.

Herzfeld and Ghirshman both claimed that the objects under discussion derived from Luristan. Yet, as noted above, not one of the three excavated examples of Group c (none like MMA 52.119.5) derives from Luristan and they are not specifically related to that area in style; the excavated evidence suggests that they were widespread across western Iran. The same evidence points to a late and/or post-Achaemenian period for the time of their manufacture.

Group B type objects (No. 360 here) may be somewhat earlier, although both Moorey (1971a, 136) and Calmeyer (1972a, no. 85) date them to the Parthian period (Moorey dates them early in this period; cf. De Waele 1982, 85ff., who dates them to the beginning of the first millennium B.C., which I think is too early). I



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FIG. 25.
Silver harness ring,
MMA 52.119.5.

leave the question of dating this group open (see also Orthmann 1982, 25).

For parallels to No. 360, see A. Godard 1931, pl. xxix:104 (plain); Ghirshman 1958, fig. 7, pl. III:2; Barbier 1970, no. 68; Moorey 1971a, nos. 147, 150; Calmeyer 1972a, no. 85; sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, no. 253; De Waele 1982, 85f., nos. 92–95; Orthmann 1982, 25f., nos. 86, 87a, b. For parallels to MMA 52.119.5, see Ghirshman 1958, figs. 9, 10, pl. III:5, 6; Moorey 1971a, nos. 144, 145; Orthmann 1982, 33, no. 110; De Waele 1982, 61f., nos. 65–67. For other examples, not illustrated, see Moorey 1981, nos. 186–89 and 674–82 (it is not clear which group is like No. 360 and which like MMA 52.119.5).



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PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 360: Dimand 1931, 49, fig. 2. MMA 52.119.5; Herzfeld 1941, 172, fig. 290, second from left, "from Tepe Giyan."

NOTE

1. A silver ring with two rams' heads facing in opposite directions, once in the Brummer collection (Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, 20–23 April 1949, no. 50) may also be the same or related object; it is not mentioned by Ghirshman or Moorey (I do not know its present location).

361. Addorsed-Animals Pendant

56.42.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1956
Bronze; height 8.9 cm

362. Addorsed-Animals Pendant

67.154.3; Bequest of Adra M. Newell, 1967
Bronze; height 7.5 cm

363. Addorsed-Animals Pendant

61.60.8; Gift of Burton Y. Berry, 1961
Bronze;¹ height 3.6 cm

THESE THREE pendants are the same in form, two addorsed animal heads sharing one body and four legs. While fairly large and capable of standing without support, the loops on the backs indicate that they served as pendants; perhaps they were used as both pendants and freestanding objects. The animals of No. 361 are stylized and unidentifiable; those of No. 362 are executed more naturally, and although they are doglike in appearance, a mane between the ears suggests that they may be horses; No. 363 is unidentifiable. All the animals wear collars; on No. 361 there are two each.

Objects of this type have been considered for some time to have derived from Luristan and dated to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (Moorey 1971a, 233, no. 428, for references; add Calmeyer 1972a, no. 68; Bach 1973, nos. 101, 102; Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 58; De Waele 1982, 170f., no. 261). Only two have been excavated, both of bronze: one from Susa, of undetermined date (Amiet 1976, 68, fig. 43; see also his unexcavated example, no. 138), and one from Masjid-i Suleiman (Ghirshman 1976, 97, pls. CI:8 and 27:87), of Hellenistic date. The former is close to No. 361 in style, the latter to No. 363.² Because of the chronological context of the Masjid-i Suleiman example, Moorey (1974a, 93f.) now believes that the whole group might not be earlier than the late first millennium B.C. (in Moorey 1981, nos. 692, 693, he dates them to the Parthian period in general). Inasmuch as the motif is an ancient one, known in different parts of the ancient world (Müller 1925; Muscarella 1977b, 43f., figs. 21, 22), it is

not clear whether all examples, including ours, are so late, especially given the different styles encountered. The question of chronology must therefore be left open: they may all be late Hellenistic, or very likely some may be earlier.

And because the two excavated examples do not derive from Luristan, we must also leave open the question of provenience.³ Note that if they are all late, then these particular objects might not have played a role in the creation of the first-millennium B.C. Greek examples of the form (Muscarella 1977b, 43f., for a discussion of this issue).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 361: Glubock 1963, 48. No. 362: Muscarella 1977b, fig. 22; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 46.

NOTES

1. Cu: 89.7%, Sn: 9.55%, Pb: .255%, Zn: .035% (1986).

2. No. 363 puzzles me with regard to its age. Two double-animal bronze figurines were excavated at Tepe Hissar from Period III, early second millennium B.C. in date (Schmidt 1937, 188, pl. XLVI:H5141; Schmidt, in *The Museum Journal* [Philadelphia] 23 [1933], pl. CXXXIV:H763; cf. pl. CXXXIII:H488, H489; also Heine-Geldern 1937, 10, fig. 5a), but they do not have the suspension loop. Whether No. 363 here is actually as old as those from Hissar remains unclear.

3. Maleki (1964, 15f., pl. VI:4) claimed that an inhabitant of Chesmeh Mahi in Luristan brought her four of these pendants deriving from local plunder. The pendants first appeared on the market as from Anatolia at the time of the first appearance of the Luristan bronzes: Heeramanek 1929, no. 310 ("chariot ornament"). Rostovtzeff (1931b, 55) claimed them for Lake Van-Armenia; see also E. H. Minns, in *Antiquaries Journal* 10 (1930), 1, 20f., who rejected the "South Russia" provenience given by a vendor and noted the alleged "Van" parallel.

364. Roundel

65.10; Gift of Habib Anavian, 1965
Bronze; diameter 14 cm

THIS FRAGMENTED thin roundel preserves a repoussé design of a fantastic animal with its forepart that of a galloping horse, and with a bifurcated spiral-like tail. Over the creature is an S spiral and in the field are raised dots; remains of three holes are extant.

A small number of these objects have surfaced on the art market over the years and continue to puzzle scholars, who find it difficult either to date them or to discover their place of origin (viz. Calmeyer 1972a, nos. 73–75). Some of the roundels, including the present one, are claimed by dealers to derive from northwestern Iran, but excavations have yet to verify this attribution. Calmeyer (1972a) suggested that the roundels probably date to the Parthian period in Iran because of the apparent relationship of both the roundel shape and the creatures to Roman objects (cf. *Master Bronzes from the*



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Classical World, ed. D. G. Mitten and S. F. Doeringer [Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1967], 161). Succinctly revealing the problems concerned with the origin of these roundels is the caption for an example (very close to one published by Calmeyer) illustrated in *Constant Companions* (University of St. Thomas, Houston, 1964), no. 42: "Probably from Azerbaijan or possibly Etruscan." I prefer to leave open the questions of both origin and chronology. For an example close to No. 364, see De Waele 1982, 210f., no. 349.

365. Plate (?)

57.179a, b, c; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1957
Bronze; diameter 30.2 cm, diameter of umbo 7.9 cm

THIS HAMMERED plate, if that is what it actually is, is fairly shallow with a low base. The interior has three sections, each divided from the other by a raised ridge, and each decorated with a continuous row of raised dots punched from the reverse. It is distinguished primarily by a high, hollow umbo in the form of a human face or mask executed in repoussé that is set snugly into a center cavity formed in the base, and held securely by a ring. The rim of the vessel is a separate band pinched on to the outer edge.

The face has thick vertical hair over a thick horizontal eyebrow that joins the nose. Eyes are oval with large pupils; they are framed by loop-shaped ears, which are seen as from the side. The beard is rendered in the same manner as the hair and a moustache juts out obliquely

from the nose, just above the nostrils. The lips are thick and have a curved raised line separating them from the beard.

There is one exact parallel to the face umbo known to me, from the art market. It is said to come from Luristan, while the vendor of the piece here claimed it came from Kaplantu, a site near Ziwiye in western Iran. Neither attribution has archaeological value and there is some difficulty in placing both the bowl and the face in a specific cultural environment; they are certainly not Mesopotamian.

The only approximately close parallels for the umbo face are wooden faces from Pazyryk in the Altai Mountains area of the Soviet Union (Rudenko 1970, pls. 91, 92). The wooden masks have the same thick vertical

hair and beards and the loop ears, but they lack the heavy brows and the mouths are different. It is therefore not clear whether the similarities are fortuitous or reflect a common background. Until more parallels surface, we can only note the Altai general parallels and accept an Iranian provenience for the bowl and the face as tentative. There seems to be no compelling reason to date the bowl and face before the first millennium B.C., probably close to 700–600 B.C. or even later.¹

NOTE

1. Note that whether the face actually belongs to the bowl in its original state is not clear to me. The mask fits snugly into the cavity but can be removed. Nor do I know whether the encircling, supporting ring is original. On the other hand, I do not think the face is modern.



366. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978. 514. 22; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; length 13 cm

367. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978. 514. 36; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; length 12 cm

368. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978. 514. 37; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; length 12.3 cm

EACH OF these three openwork rattle bells is the same in form, differing solely in the shape of the cutout patterns. The openings, or cutouts, are divided into two sections by a grooved or ridged center: No. 367, the simplest, has eight vertical cutouts and ribs; No. 368 has seven chevron-shaped cutouts and ribs; and No. 366 has an intricate geometric pattern, swastikas divided by vertical ribs. Each bell has two bronze pellets within its cage. What characterizes these rattle bells from other examples (see below) is their ovoid shape and the presence of two suspension loops, one at each end and at right angles to the other.

Three rattle bells, exactly the same as No. 367, were said to have been recovered within an early second-millennium B.C. (Couche IV) tomb at Tepe Giyan, just northeast of Luristan proper (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, 35, pl. 3, Tomb 105), while another, with chevron cutouts like No. 368, was found out of context among the tombs at the same site (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pl. 37:10). However, there is a problem with the contents of this "tomb" (as called to my attention by Susan Pattullo). The area of Tomb 105 was disturbed by modern plunderers, and no skeleton was recovered, and thus one must wonder whether the collected finds were indeed deposited together in one tomb, or represent detritus from several plundered ones (like the objects assembled in Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pls. 36 and 37, "objets trouvés en dehors des tombes"). No other excavated examples are known to my knowledge,¹ but strays similar to our examples exist: for No. 367, see Moorey 1974a, 99, no. 69; for No. 368, see Barbier 1970, no. 58, and Merhav 1981, no. 57. For general parallels of the type see also Speleers 1932, 95, 97, fig. 15G; Basmachi 1963, pl. 9, upper left; Moorey 1974a, 99, no. 70; Bouzek 1971, fig. 8:10; De Waele 1982, 88f., no. 102.



366



367



368

On the basis of the Giyan finds we may accept an Iranian source for these bells, but we do not know how widespread was their distribution. Their dating remains equally an open question because of the ambiguity of the integrity of Tomb 105. The best archaeologically dated appearance of openwork rattle bells occurs in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. at the sites of Hasanlu and Sialk B (see Nos. 96–101 and 369–371); they are of different shape and have only one suspension loop. Until further excavation evidence clarifies the issue of chronology, we are not able to conclude firmly that bells of the type here are from the second millennium, and are the predecessors of the ninth–eighth century examples, although this remains a possibility. Further, I think it would be rash to assume that Nos. 366 and 368, because they are more elaborate than No. 367, are therefore later in time.²

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 366: Spear 1978, 89, 92f., pl. 14.

NOTES

1. Moorey 1974a, 100, attributes one example to Zalu Ab in Kurdistan, citing A. Godard 1933, 138, fig. 18; but Godard states (1933, 132, 138) that the piece is unprovenanced and is in the Teheran museum. Herzfeld 1941, 142f., fig. 259 and pl. xxix, top, attributes the same rattle bell, one like ours, both to Luristan and to Tepe Giyan; presumably he purchased it.

2. I do not think sufficient evidence exists at present to definitively conclude that openwork cage bells originated in Iran, although there are no securely dated earlier finds. Bouzek's claim (1971, 81) that they originated in the Caucasus is not supported by the chronological evidence. Moorey (1981, no. 195) publishes a bell related to the present examples in Los Angeles that has studs at the top and bottom rather than loops, and subhuman faces around the central zone. It is unique.

369. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.7; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; height of bell 8.2 cm

370. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.17; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; height 7.7 cm

No. 369 is a conical rattle bell with eight vertical cutouts and eight ribs, and a flattened base pierced by three small holes. The suspension loop is thick (it is corroded and may be double); it holds one end of a complete bronze chain of sixty-four links, the free end of which is linked back onto the chain, creating a collar that fit over the neck of an animal. No. 370 is slightly smaller and has six cutouts and ribs, a flat base pierced by a single hole, and a large suspension loop. Both bells have a single bronze pellet enclosed within the cage.

Rattle bells of this form have been assumed to come from Luristan (Moorey 1971a, 137f., nos. 154, 156; De Waele 1982, 88f., no. 98), and from Khurvin (vanden Berghe 1964, 26, pl. xxxvii:256), but in either case not from observed excavations. So far as I know, they have been excavated at only two sites in Iran, at Hasanlu (see Nos. 96–101) and at Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xxv:5; corroded but apparently a rattle bell). On the basis of this evidence, the bells were not limited to one geographical area in Iran, and date to the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.; that they also occur in Luristan in developed, zoomorphic form is indicated by Spear 1978, 90f., fig. 90 (which is Merhav 1981, no. 53).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 369: Spear 1978, 70f., fig. 43. No. 370: Spear 1978, 83, 86, fig. 72.

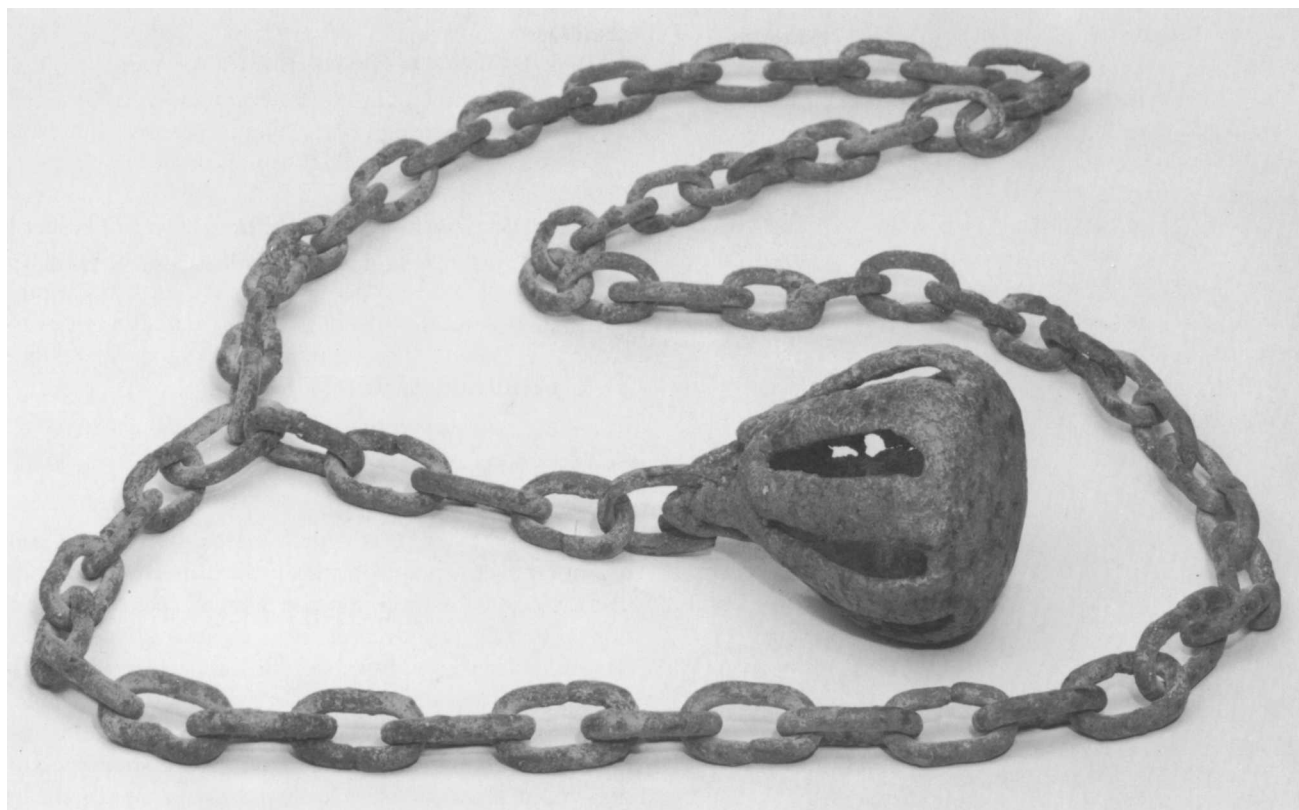
371. Pomegranate-Shaped Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.18; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; height 8.2 cm

THE OVOID openwork cage of this rattle bell is formed by nine vertical cutouts and nine grooved ribs. There is a thick suspension loop at the top and the calyx at the bottom indicates that the bell is in the form of a pomegranate.¹ Two bronze pellets are in the cage.

Pomegranate-shaped openwork bells have a slightly better excavation record than the closely related simple rattle bells (Nos. 96–101, 369, 370). They have also been excavated at Hasanlu (two examples, de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 71f., fig. 19a) and Sialk B (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xxv:6); in addition one was excavated at Marlik Tepe (Negahban 1964, fig. 132: no loop for suspension is visible in the photograph—is it broken or was it cut out of the photograph?), and one on the island of Samos, where it is clearly an import (Jantzen 1972, 75, pl. 74:B1161; Muscarella 1977b, 34, n. 9, fig. 5). A number have been reported to come from Luristan (A. Godard 1931, pl. xxix:107; Moorey 1971a, 137f.—for references, no. 155; Moorey 1974c, 192; vanden Berghe 1968b, fig. 7:4; vanden Berghe 1981, 89, fig. 26, no. 65; Bouzek 1971, fig. 8:3, 4; Spear 1978, 83f.), but they remain to be excavated there. In any event, the excavated evidence informs us that pomegranate-shaped rattle bells are found at some of the same sites which yielded the simpler rattle bells and that they are certainly Iranian products. The two types are contemporary, dating to the ninth–eighth centuries B.C. (the Marlik bell is not more precisely dated, and one must await more information on its locus before its date is known).²



369



370



371

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION
Spear 1978, 83f., fig. 63.

NOTES

1. See J. Börker-Klähn, "Granatapfel," *RLA* III (1957–71), 621, 627.

2. The bell is published in Negahban 1964 as deriving from grid XXI E (see also his fig. 38), but there is no tomb recorded from this square: could it be Tomb 47? Calmeyer 1973a, 137, no. d, gives the inventory of grid XXII E, Tomb 47: add Negahban 1983, 63 and color pl. 3 (swords), and Negahban 1981, pl. 61, fig. 12, illus. 7.



372

372. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.12; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; length 8.2 cm

373. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.16; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; height 8.3 cm

374. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.19; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; height 8.8 cm



373



374

RATTLE BELLS of this type, an openwork cage surmounted by animal protomes projecting from one side of the suspension loop, like the related types that follow in this catalogue, have yet to be excavated; all known examples are strays. In most publications they are usually assigned to Luristan because of the zoomorphic juncture, but as with most of the bells that share this feature it is often better to make general rather than specific geographical attributions (unless the animals are of obvious Luristan form).

No. 372 is ovoid in shape and has two horned animal-head protomes, eight cutouts, and a hole in its flattened base; two bronze pellets are inside the cage. No. 373 is conical and has two bird (duck?) head protomes, eight cutouts, and seven holes in its base; one pellet exists in the damaged cage. No. 374 has a single goat's head protome above its ovoid cage, ten cutouts, and a single bronze pellet within.

Certain examples of this type seem stylistically assignable to Luristan (e.g. Barbier 1970, no. 57; Bouzek 1971, fig. 8:1; Amiet 1976, no. 135 [also 136?]; vanden Berghe 1973e, pl. xxviii, top; see also Merhav 1981, no. 53). For others (including the ones here and apparently Moorey 1971a, no. 158; Moorey 1974a, no. 72; vanden Berghe 1973e, pl. xxviii, bottom; Amiet 1976, no. 134; De Waele 1982, 90, nos. 102, 104), a Luristan attribution is less certain, and it is possible that they derive from areas to the north or northeast of that area (cf. Nos. 375, 376). It is likely that none of the zoomorphic bells predate the ninth century B.C., and probably not the eighth.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 372: Spear 1978, 85, pl. 12. No. 373: Spear 1978, 89, pl. 13, right. No. 374: Spear 1978, 83, fig. 61.

375. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.3; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; height 7.5 cm

376. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.24; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; height 7 cm

THESE TWO bells are clearly related formally to Nos. 372–374 except that a complete bird or animal is depicted in simple form on a vertical stem and the cage is either spherical or biconical in shape. No. 375 is biconical with eleven vertical cutouts and ribs above and below a horizontal band; it has a narrow base and is surmounted by a bird on a pierced stem. No. 376 is a sphere with eight vertical cutouts and ribs, surmounted by an unidentifiable bird or animal. The space between the creature's legs forms the suspension loop. No. 375 has no pellet; No. 376 has a single irregularly shaped stone pellet.

These bells, even more obviously than Nos. 372–374, do not reflect a Luristan background but rather one from the north of Iran. This attribution becomes clear when one examines finds from Marlik. Here Negahban (1977, 99ff., figs. 19–27) excavated from Tomb 36 five bronze stamp seals, each with a vertical handle, four of which are topped by the figure of a bird or a zebu. Two of the birds (figs. 19 and 23) are exactly the same as that on No. 375, itself on a vertical handle. While indeed they are not on bells, Marlik birds on vertical handles duplicate the one here in style and arrangement, and thereby inform us of area of origin. A bronze bell published in Muscarella 1977b (38, fig. 17) has a zebu on a vertical handle, which is exactly paralleled by the zebu on one of the Marlik seals from Tomb 36 (Negahban 1977, fig. 26); it too must have derived from the Marlik–Caspian region of Iran.

Tomb 36 at Marlik is dated close to 700 B.C. (see No. 52, note 3), which date furnishes a chronology for Nos. 375 and 376 and related examples. For others, all strays, in collections see: Herrmann 1968, 32, nn. 118, 128; Barbier 1970, nos. 118, 119 (close to No. 375), 122, 128; Bouzek 1971, fig. 13; Moorey 1974a, 102, nos. 74, 75; Spear 1978, figs. 183, 184, 187.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 375: Spear 1978, 71, 73, fig. 48.



375



376



377

377. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.14; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; height 10.3 cm

378. Openwork Rattle Bell

1978.514.15; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; height 10 cm

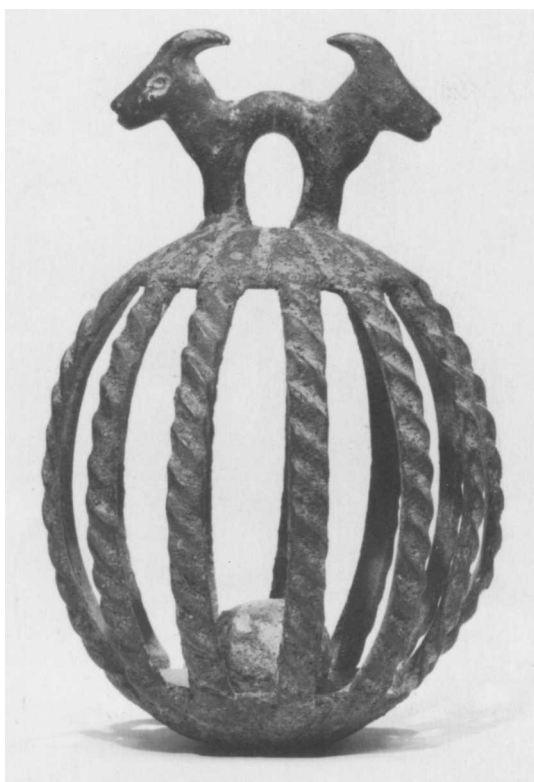
THESE BELLS are distinguished from other openwork examples with zoomorphic junctures (Nos. 372–376) primarily by the iconography of the suspension apparatus, which consists of two addorsed or confronting creatures joined to the loop at the sides, and to some extent by the shape of the cage. No. 377 has two recumbent confronting birds above a cage consisting of eight vertical cutouts divided in the middle by a band creating a biconical shape but reminiscent of ovoid rattle bells like Nos. 366–368; at the base is a calyx. No. 378 has a wide spherical cage with twelve vertical cutouts and twelve diagonally grooved ribs surmounted by two addorsed horned animal heads. Each bell has a single bronze pellet in its cage.

No. 377 is ultimately related to Nos. 380 and 381, formally sharing with them details of animal protomes and the pomegranate form with calyx, although not sharing cage shape and size. Both Nos. 377 and 378 are also related generally to the other rattle bells with animal protomes, Nos. 372–374, although the present examples seem to have been made in different workshops, judging from the execution of the animals and the cage form. There is no doubt that there is a polythetic corpus of forms among these bells, which all probably derive not from Luristan, but from workshops to its north, east, or northeast.

For confronting creatures at the loop, compare a rattle bell in the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran, that is claimed to derive (excavated?) from Pir Kouh in Gilan (*7000 Years* 1964–65, no. 422; see also Barbier 1970, no. 122; vanden Berghe 1973e, pl. xxviii, center).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 377: Spear 1978, 83, 88, pl. 13, left. No. 378: Spear 1978, 83, fig. 60.



378

379. Openwork Rattle Bell/Jingle

1978.514.13; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978

Bronze; height 10 cm

ABOVE A TANG is a biconical cage consisting of seven vertical cutouts and ribs divided in the middle by a thick band. A horned animal head projects from the top of the cage, and there are two bronze pellets inside. There is no suspension loop, but presumably the tang was inserted into a cavity for support.

I can find no exact parallels for this piece, which was probably set into a portable object; its form suggests that it probably derives from the same culture and workshops which produced Nos. 377 and 378.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 77, fig. 54.



379

380. Openwork Rattle Bell/Pendant

1978.514.4; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978

Bronze; height 5.4 cm

381. Openwork Rattle Bell/Pendant

1978.514.8; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978

Bronze; height 4.6 cm

THESE TWO small openwork objects have no pellets preserved (No. 381 is broken), and it is not certain they were rattle bells or jingles. They are characterized by an openwork cage with four cutouts and four relatively wide ribs with a calyx at the base, and on the top, addorsed animal heads on a stem or neck (No. 381) or a single stag head on a neck/stem (No. 380). They are thus interrelated to openwork rattles with pomegranate form and zoomorphic juncture (see No. 377; Barbier 1970, no. 121). Each has a small hole for suspension in the stem/neck and it is possible that the objects are pendants (cf. Nos. 157, 158, 295, 296).

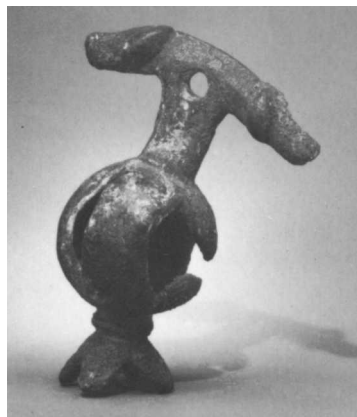
Nothing about the style indicates an attribution more general than western Iran, perhaps, like the others, from the north. I know of one parallel piece, Barbier 1970, no. 123.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 380: Spear 1978, 71, 73, fig. 49. No. 381: Spear 1978, 136, fig. 149.



380



381

382



382. Pendant Bells

1978.514.20; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; height 15.5 cm

383. Pendant Bells

1978.514.21; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; height 11 cm

THESE TWO bell clusters seem to be ancient compositions. No. 382 has a hemispherical bell decorated with concentric circles from which hangs a crosshatched sphere that holds three small bells from side loops and from a lower loop chain an openwork ovoid cage with a pomegranate-calyx base. This cage is attached freely to the chain by a ring, the ends of which are twisted firmly together in a knot. The knot, and the joining of the cage to the chain, is clearly ancient. No. 383 has the same crosshatched sphere with the same side and bottom loops, here suspending small bells but no cage; it also lacks the bell at the top. A few of the small bells preserve a corroded iron clapper held by thin bronze loops.

The two clusters are related typologically by the crosshatched spheres and the composition, and the cage suggests that the bell pendants are from first-millennium B.C. Iran.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 77, 80, figs. 55, 56.

384. Pendant Bells

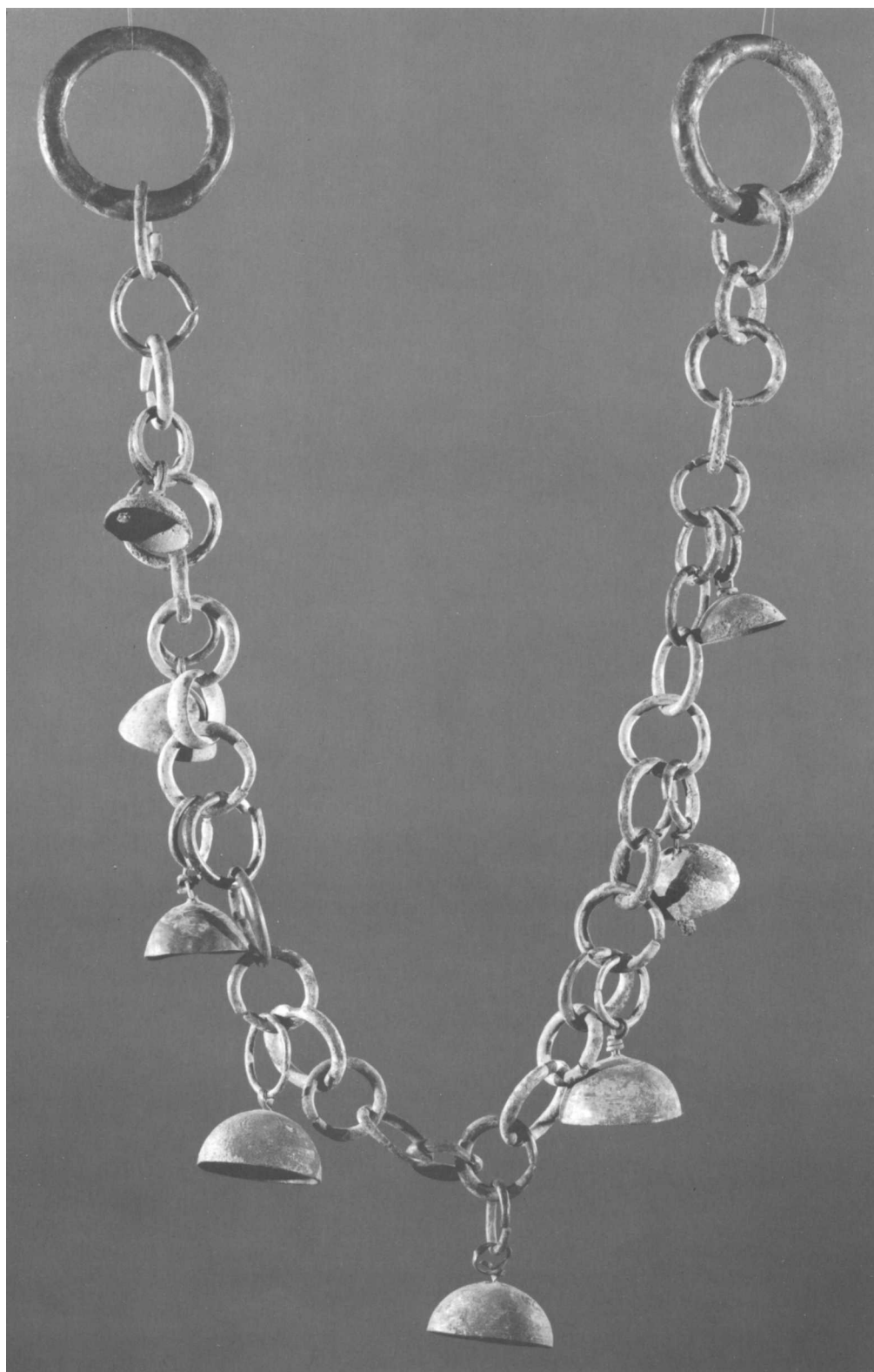
1978.514.27; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; total length 71.3 cm

THIS CLUSTER of bells attached by loops to a chain has nothing specific about its form to allow cultural or chronological attribution. However, there are incised concentric circles on the bells, which relates them to the similarly shaped and decorated bell on No. 382; thus we may tentatively assign the present example to an Iranian background.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

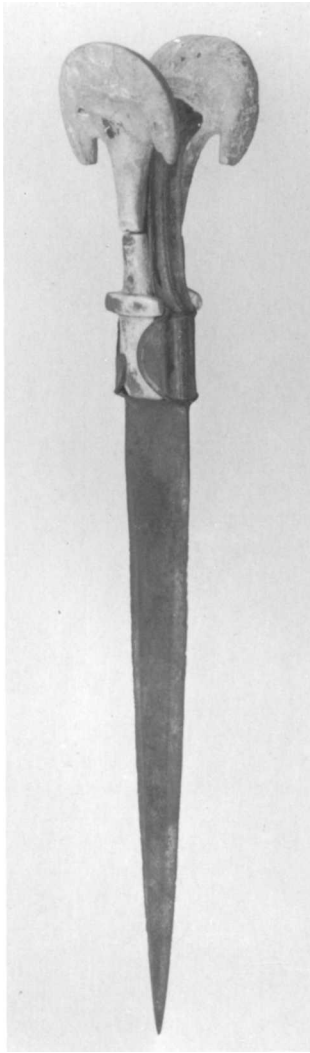
Spear 1978, 82f., fig. 59.

384

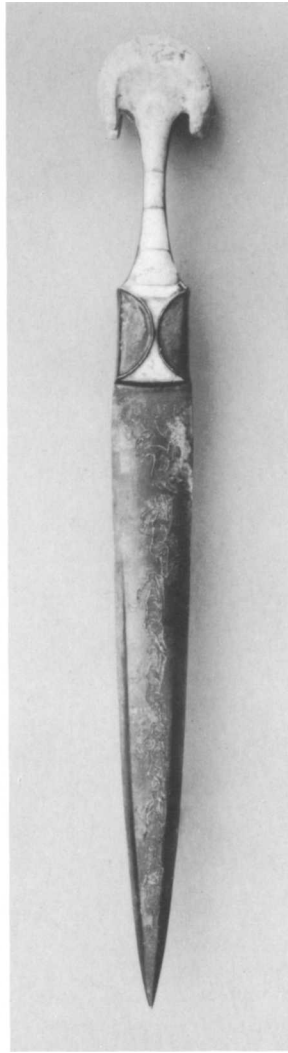


383





385



386

385. Dagger with Lappet-Flanged Hilt and Bifurcated Pommel

49.48; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1949
Ex-Brummer Collection (in Arms and Armor
Department)
Bronze; length 37.5 cm

386. Dagger with Lappet-Flanged Hilt and Bifurcated Pommel

61.265; Gift of H. Dunscombe Colt, 1961
Bronze;¹ length 41.3 cm

THESE TWO cast daggers are the same in all details. They belong to a type that is closely related to the simple flanged-hilt daggers (see No. 64) but are distinguished by the existence of a bifurcated pommel in the form of lobed "ears" or "fans" (*Fächergriffdolche*, *poignards en*

éventail) made of stone and added to the hilt, and by lappets to hold the inlay securely. There are several varieties known: one, in which these examples belong, has a grooved hilt with flanges running its length and crescent-shaped lappets at the base to hold an inlay usually made of stone, sometimes bone, and perhaps even wood (see No. 391); sometimes there are rivets to strengthen the security of the inlays (No. 386 has no rivets, No. 385 has two). The inlay is cut in one piece, with the lower part fitting into the hollow grip and the upper part projecting at the top to form the ears. Both examples here are further embellished by geometric decoration up over the narrow area of the hilt, between the stone inlays. No. 385 has a running zigzag, No. 386 has a guilloché pattern and at the top of the hilt a calf's head in low relief en face on both sides joined together by a raised herringbone-decorated band. Note, however, that the incised decoration on the blade of No. 386 is a modern addition (Muscarella 1977a, 177, no. 88, illus. 6).

A second variety has the same form as the first, but in this group the inlay is of bronze, not stone or bone (e.g., Calmeyer 1969a, 123, fig. 123). A third variety has the whole dagger including the "inlay" and ears cast in one piece, thereby imitating the first variety (see Nos. 387–389).

Daggers of the first type, like the ones here, have been known for some time and have been published often as deriving from Luristan or "Ardebil," but without verification (for references see Calmeyer 1969a, 122ff.; Moorey 1971a, 74f.; Boehmer 1972, 42ff.; Medvedskaya 1982, 72). Some still preserve the bifurcated stone ears and hilt inlay (Herzfeld 1941, pl. xxviii:e; Potratz 1968, I, fig. 3; Calmeyer 1969a, 122f., fig. 122; Barbier 1970, no. 198; Moorey 1974a, 56, no. 24), and some have geometric decoration around the edge of the hilt (Moorey 1971a, 73f., no. 50, and Copenhagen no. 14646; Amiet 1976, 35, no. 35; cf. Dyson 1964c, fig. 2:3, 4). Still others have designs on the blade which may be original (Calmeyer 1969a, 124f.; Moorey 1971a, 73).

In recent years two daggers of our variety have been excavated in Iran, which modestly strengthens the validity of the attributions for at least some unexcavated daggers to that region in general. One dagger comes from Tchoga Zanbil and is dated to the thirteenth century B.C. (Ghirshman 1966, 93, fig. 55 left, pl. LIV:1); its inlay and ears are still extant. (It is not clear if the loose stone hilt inlays recovered at Tchoga Zanbil [Ghirshman 1966, pl. LIV:5] derive from bifurcated hilted daggers or from other flanged types.) The second dagger was excavated by vanden Berghe (1973c, figure on p. 25, left) in Luristan at Kotal-i Gulgul, Tomb B3; the inlay and ears seem to be intact. The excavator dated the tomb to the Iron I–II period, originally considered to be late

second millennium B.C., but which date was later lowered to about 1000–900 B.C. (vanden Berghe 1973f, 4). Even though to date no other site in Iran (or elsewhere) has for certain produced bifurcated pommel daggers, it would be premature to conclude that they are specifically Elamite merely because of the Tchoga Zanbil provenience. Nor do I believe that we must accept as certain that those strays attributed over the years to Luristan in fact all came from there (see also Nos. 387–389), merely because of the Kutal-i Gulgul find.²

Clearly related but distinct types with inlay and ears and a solid square grip derive from Iranian Talish, and are reported from Iran in general. Inasmuch as the majority of these examples consist of a bronze hilt cast onto an iron blade (de Morgan 1927, fig. 251; Schaeffer 1948, figs. 223, 282; Pleiner 1969a, figs. 3:II, 4; Moorey 1971a, 80ff., nos. 61–63; Maxwell-Hyslop 1962, 129, pl. XXIX:1, 2), it would seem that they date to a period later than the thirteenth century B.C., probably to Iron II in northern Iranian terminology. This dating is supported by the presence of weapons of the very same cast-on form and bimetallic composition from Hasanlu IV (unpublished), which also affirm a northwestern Iranian presence for the type. Calmeyer (1969a, 123), Moorey (1971a, 83), and Amiet (1976, 34) have also noted the Iron II chronology.³ It should also be mentioned that a bronze sword (length 52 cm) with bifurcated pommel is reported to derive from the plundered sites in Afghanistan (Amiet 1977b, 110, fig. 17). Whether or not it is related to the western examples or to a separate development in India remains to be investigated.

It is significant with regard to the problem of differentiating these examples to note that at times a lappet-flanged dagger is encountered where the inlay has been lost. In these cases it is sometimes not possible to recognize whether the type is a simple flanged dagger with the inlay filling the grip alone, or whether it originally had a bifurcated pommel. Thus, it is possible that there may exist more examples of the bifurcated-pommel type in Iran than has hitherto been reported. Both Amiet (1976, 34, no. 36) and Calmeyer (1969a, 122, 125, Group 56c) have called attention to this problem; Calmeyer listed a number of daggers with missing inlays that he believes originally had the bifurcated pommel (Calmeyer 1969a, 124f., figs. 125, 126); and Boehmer (1972, 42, no. 233, fig. 22p) believes that an example from Tepe Giyan in Iran is of this type. Other possible examples of the bifurcated-pommel type include Nagel 1963, pl. XIII:27a (restored with ears in 28b); Moorey 1971a, 70ff., no. 50; perhaps Dyson 1964c, fig. 2:4; De Waele 1982, 40f., no. 30.⁴

Calmeyer (1969a, 122, 127) dated these daggers to the late second and early first millennium B.C.; he also

noted that the Foroughi collection has an example with a thirteenth-century inscription (Calmeyer 1969a, 124). Surely the chronology of the Tchoga Zanbil daggers plus the Foroughi example suggest that a late second millennium date is more accurate for the majority of examples, but the evidence from Kutal-i Gulgul suggests a longer life for the type in general. In Luristan iron swords do not occur before the Iron III period, eighth–seventh century B.C. It is claimed that bifurcated pommels are depicted on eighth-century Assyrian reliefs (Madhloom 1970, 48, pl. XXII:2, 3), but this is not certain.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 386: Nickel 1969, 11.

NOTES

1. Cu: 85.5%, Sn: 9.0%, As: 1.1%, Pb: 0.6%, Fe: 0.07%.

2. Moorey 1971a, 73f., reports an example (Copenhagen no. 14646, mentioned above in the text) that is “said to be from Shir-i-Shiqat in Luristan.” He also refers to information given to him about the “discovery.” However, inasmuch as information about this discovery (was it a local purchase or acquisition, or a witnessed find?) is not given, I mention the weapon parenthetically as a possible additional Luristan find.

3. Taşyürek (1980, 212, pl. x, left) publishes two swords of this form that were acquired by the Adana Regional Museum in Turkey (he does not state whether they are bimetallic). To Taşyürek, the swords are Luristan bronzes imported in antiquity into Urartu, to the Van area. As noted in the text above, these swords are archaeologically known from the Talish area and from northwestern Iran, at Hasanlu, and they could have reached Turkey in recent times; but there is no evidence that they derive from Urartian tombs: see S. Atasoy 1976–77.

4. De Waele (1982, 40, 52) records that this dagger (no. 30) and another, a simple flanged hilted form (no. 31), are both inscribed with identical neo-Assyrian signs that W. G. Lambert (in De Waele 1982, 40) professes he cannot read, and that “there is considerable difficulty surrounding this inscription.” On page 52, De Waele disingenuously explains this difficulty as caused by “le fait qu’elle [the inscription] ait été gravée au Luristan par quelqu’un qui n’en comprenait pas le sens.” Now, aside from the lack of a provenience for the swords (see “The Luristans Bronzes,” note 5), a *fact* that escaped the author, Lambert’s statement may be a warning to us that something is wrong with the signs—that indeed they were engraved by someone who did not understand “le sens,” by perhaps someone not from ancient Luristan! I cannot assert that the inscriptions are forgeries but suggest it is a possible conclusion. In any event, laboratory analysis would be of importance and should have been accomplished before the author used the inscriptions as evidence for “la présence assyrienne au Luristan,” and concluded that “sans doute” the weapons formed “une paire dans l’antiquité.” I further argue that if the signs turn out to be ancient, my claim about the lack of provenience and my wonder that the signs were copied by a foreigner or illiterate (assuming that is what De Waele means) in Luristan still obtain. If both inscriptions are genuine, it would be possible then to accept them as a possible pair in antiquity.

The detection of alleged forged inscriptions on metal objects is a tricky problem and is rarely resolved to the satisfaction of everyone—the cuneiformist and the archaeologist/art historian. The complexity of the detection is well illustrated by referring to the literature

concerned with Achaemenian inscriptions on weapons (all unexcavated) of a type earlier than the Achaemenian period. A bronze flange hilted dagger/sword of the same type published by De Waele (see also No. 64) bears in Old Persian on one side the name of Darius in the nominative form and without title, and on the other signs that are difficult to read. It was first published by Borger and Uhlemann (1963) and then by Eilers (1969, 42ff., pls. 1:4, IV), in both cases as genuine, and after careful consideration, and rejection, of the possibility that the inscriptions are modern, added to a stray from the art market. Nevertheless, Porada (1965, 235, n. 2) reserved judgment about the authenticity of the inscriptions, while Calmeyer (1969a, 137, 167, no. 92) and Moorey (1971a, 34, "Inscriptions . . ." no. 2) considered them to be modern. Eilers (1969, 9ff., 17ff., pls. 1:2, 3, II, III) also published a nondescript sword and a non-Achaemenian spiked mace with Old Persian inscriptions, the latter challenged by Calmeyer (1969a, 137). In addition, Moorey (1971a, 34, "Inscriptions . . ." no. 1; 39) also challenged as modern an Old Persian inscription with the name Darius on a third-millennium B.C. axe, originally published by Przeworski. The question facing us is whether the Old Persian inscriptions were added in the Achaemenian period to older weapons acquired in some manner (aside from the additional problem why the name Darius appears without title), or whether the inscriptions are modern additions. For the skill of modern forgers of Old Persian, see W. Eilers, in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 91 (1937), 419. To my mind, these weapons with their Old Persian inscriptions should be viewed critically, pace Borger and Uhlemann, and Eilers; and I note further that no excavated examples have ever surfaced (see also Schmidt 1957, 92, n. 95; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* [New Haven, 1950], 115; Muscarella 1977a, 154, n. 5; see also Nos. 349, 350, note 2).

387. Dagger with Lappet-Flanged Hilt and Bifurcated Pommel

55.60.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1955
Bronze; length 38.5 cm

388. Dagger with Lappet-Flanged Hilt and Bifurcated Pommel

60.82.2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1960
Bronze; length 35.4 cm

389. Dagger with Lappet-Flanged Hilt and Bifurcated Pommel

66.31.3; Gift of Jerome M. Eisenberg, 1966
Bronze; length 10.3 cm

THESE THREE daggers formally belong to the same type as Nos. 385, 386, the lappet-flanged hilt dagger with bifurcated pommel and ears. However, they represent a variety in which the hilt and "inlay" are cast in one piece to imitate the type with added inlays. As with the daggers that have the stone inlays, examples of the present type have been available on the antiquities market for some time and have equally been attributed to Iran or specifically to Luristan (Schaeffer 1948, fig. 265:18, 19; Potratz 1955a, 183ff., 185, no. 1, fig. 3; Potratz 1968,

1f., figs. 1, 2; Nagel 1963, pl. XIII:28a, b; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. II:4; Moortgat 1932, pl. 1:2; Arne 1962, fig. 6, upper right; Calmeyer 1964a, 25, no. 48, pl. 20; Calmeyer 1969a, 123, fig. 124, which is A. Godard 1931, pl. VIII:19; Pleiner 1969a, fig. 7:1; Moorey 1971a, 74f., nos. 51, 52; Medvedskaya 1982, 72; Waldbaum 1973, 8f., fig. 1; Orthmann 1982, 22f., no. 73; De Waele 1982, 43, no. 37; cf. no. 40; cf. elaborate varieties in Amiet 1976, nos. 37–39).

Moorey (1971a, 74f.) has suggested that the present solid-ear inlay daggers represent a later stage than those with separately added inlays, and he places them in a time range of "twelfth to ninth centuries B.C." While it is possible that this development is true in general, there is evidence that the former were being used at the same time as the latter. Vanden Berghe (1973a, 35, 43, 53, fig. 20:10; 1973f, fig. 9) excavated a solid bronze inlay dagger from a tomb at Bard-i Bal dated to the Iron I–II period, originally dated to the late second millennium B.C., about 1100–1000 B.C., but later lowered to about 1000–900 B.C. (vanden Berghe 1973f, 4), i.e., seemingly contemporary to the tomb at Kotal-i Gulgul that contained a dagger with separately added ear inlays (see No. 385). To my knowledge, only one other example has been excavated to date.¹ In the Surkh Dum collection at the University Museum, Philadelphia, there is a bronze dagger hilt cast with a bifurcated pommel. The blade is missing and it is possible that it exists somewhere among the scattered division of the Surkh Dum material, or that the hilt alone was deposited in the sanctuary as an heirloom. At the same time a related type of cast bifurcated pommel, one hitherto known from the Persian Talish region (de Morgan 1927, 270, fig. 251:2–4), where the ears are not fully isolated from the solid pommel top, and which has a solid squared guard projecting onto the blade, has been excavated at Hasanlu, Period IV: bronze hilt, iron blade (Wever 1969, 26, top illus. c; cf. Moorey 1971a, 80ff., nos. 61, 62, all bronze). The combined evidence from Bard-i Bal and Hasanlu indicates that one cannot be far off in assigning a tenth–ninth century B.C. date for the daggers here, agreeing in general with Moorey, especially since they are bronze, not iron. The Surkh Dum hilt, given its fragmentary nature and the possibility that it was an heirloom, is not easily dated, even if we eventually learn something about its stratigraphical context (which is not pre-ninth–eighth century B.C. at the earliest: Muscarella 1981b, 332).

No. 387 has a palmette design incised on both sides of the blade just below the guard, a feature also found on other daggers of this type (Calmeyer 1969a, 125, figs. 127–29; cf. Amiet 1976, no. 36: ancient?). No. 388 has a lion's head on each side of the base of the hilt that reminds us of the couchant lions on the guard of swords

like Nos. 303 and 390. One should note that the hilt on this dagger is quite thin and that it was broken at some time in its history. The hilt is, by the nature of its large ears with pointed lobes and the presence of the lions, undoubtedly related to the well-known T. E. Lawrence silver hilt with iron blade in the British Museum (Calmeyer 1969a, 126, fig. 130; a parallel noted by Moorey 1971a, 75, for the type in general, his nos. 51 and 52, which are exactly the same as the present example except for the lions). On the Lawrence hilt the lions are rendered in relief on the hilt, not as protomes, but their presence on the same hilt type indicates a connection not only with regard to typology, but surely also with regard to conceptual meaning (see also No. 303).

Miniature weapons, such as No. 389, apparently functioned as models for the actual weapon and may have had some cultic purpose inasmuch as some have been recovered from graves (Moorey 1971a, 66, 69). Aside from miniature daggers (see also No. 393), a number of miniature axes were also manufactured in antiquity (Bonnet 1926, 21, fig. 9; Van Buren 1931, 46, fig. 33; Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 119f.; Nagel 1963, nos. 41, 42, 100; Ghirshman 1966, 100, pl. LXXXIII:G.T.Z. 167; vanden Berghe 1964, pls. XLIV:332, XLV:335–37: said to come from tombs at Khurvin); at least one miniature axe was excavated at Surkh Dum in a sanctuary (see No. 214); and a model bronze bow occurs at Marlik (Negahban 1964, 45, fig. 49). Further, miniature tools are reported to have come from plundered sites in Afghanistan (Amiet 1977b, 106f., fig. 14:2, 3). It is not certain to my eyes if a bronze object from Ghalekuti is in fact a miniature dagger as the excavators claim (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, 19, pl. XLV:2).

NOTE

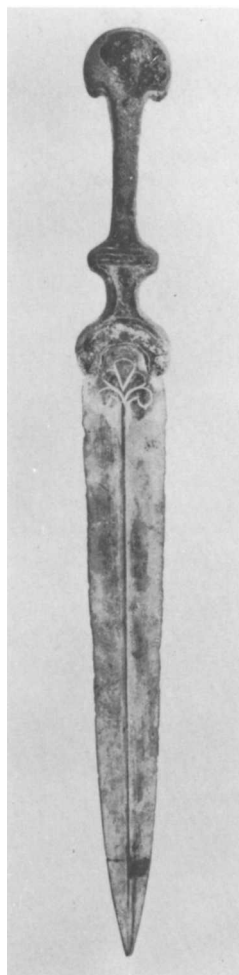
1. Two warriors depicted on a *Knopfsbecher* in Berlin (Calmeyer 1973a, 44f., no. E2) wield daggers that may be of the present type.

390. Dagger with Bifurcated Pommel

1974.47.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1974

Bronze, silver; length 25.8 cm

THE BLADE and solid hilt were cast in one piece and hammered; the dagger is relatively heavy. The guard, the dagger's most distinctive feature, consists of two stylized animal heads with cloisons for eyes and ears; they are joined back to back and the blade projects from their mouths. The blade is lozenge shaped in cross section throughout; it is narrow below the guard but swells just before the midpoint, almost willow leaf in shape; the tip is not sharp and there is a prominent midrib. Inlays of silver in a wavy pattern adorn the round hilt



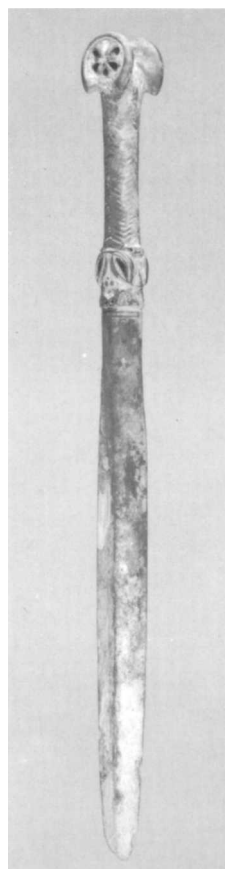
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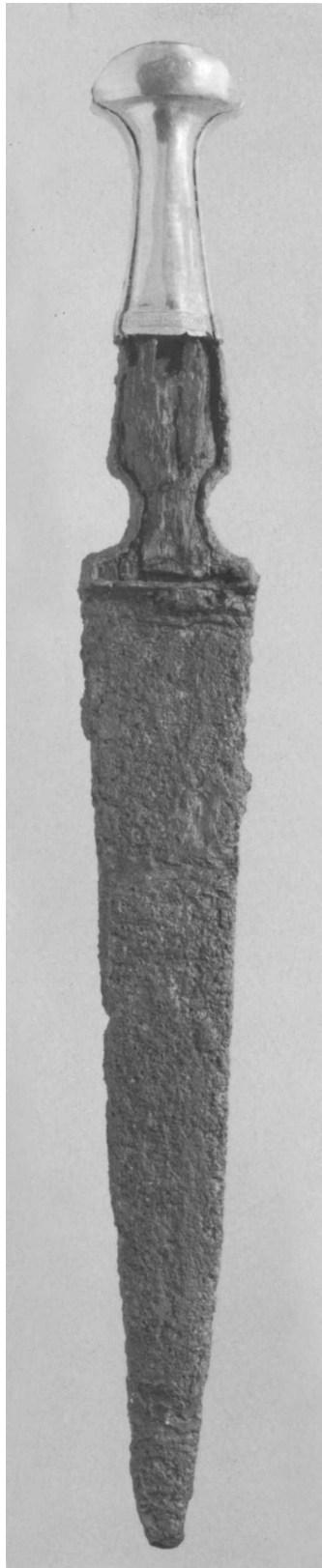
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Hilt of No. 391 before modern decoration was removed.



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which terminates in a bifurcated pommel. Each ear is decorated on the outside with cloisons in the form of six-petaled rosettes; some cloisons still preserve a thin silver border, but no inlays are preserved.

Examples of swords and daggers with the guard in the form of addorsed animal heads with the blade projecting from the mouths are well known on eighth-century Assyrian reliefs (Madhloom 1970, pl. xx:1, 3, 4) as well as on recently discovered orthostats from Tell al Rimah (Moorey 1974a, 57). Further, a pierced white stone handle for a standard or dagger consisting of addorsed lions' heads that originally may have held an implement was excavated at Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, I, 182, fig. 117; Wilkinson 1955, 215 upper left). However, only a few actual daggers with addorsed lion heads at the guard are known, none of which has been excavated although all are attributed to Iran (A. Godard 1931, pl. ix:20; Moorey 1974a, 56f., no. 25; cf. p. 58, no. 28). In addition, there is a very characteristic group of swords, very probably all from Iran, which have two crouching lions at the guard (No. 303; cf. also No. 388), but these lions guard the blade rather than holding it in their mouths (cf. Güterbock 1965). More common for weapons, however, was the practice of representing an animal in relief, spewing forth the blade of an axe; many examples of this form exist (e.g., Calmeyer 1969a, 40ff., 68ff., figs. 41, 43, 66, 67, 70–73; Moorey 1974a, 37, 40, 42, 46; see Nos. 304–306).

The bifurcated pommel relates the present dagger to other examples of related types such as Nos. 385–389, which have an approximate chronological range of thirteenth–ninth century B.C. At the same time, the shape of the blade, the lions on the guard, and the use of inlays remind us that this dagger cannot be chronologically distant from sword No. 303, which has been dated to about 750–650 B.C. Thus, it would seem that our dagger may be assigned to a general eighth–seventh-century B.C. date. Yet, it must be noted that the dagger is made of bronze, which on this basis might suggest an earlier date.

391. Flanged Dagger with Bifurcated Pommel

62.252; Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1962
Bronze, gold; length 45.2 cm

THIS DAGGER is cast in one piece and is a subtype of those examples with a bifurcated pommel (Nos. 385, 386). Here there are no lappets above the guard, and instead of a stone inlay, the upper part of the hilt has a wood inlay sheathed in gold. One gold strip covers the ears and both long sides of the hilt, while another passes over the saddle between the ears and covers the short

sides, masking the edges of the larger sheathing. Around the base of the sheathing is an applied band with a guilloche pattern framed by raised herringbone strips. The lower half of the hilt is not (or is no longer) sheathed, and fragments of the wood inlay are exposed. When the dagger was acquired, there was an applied decoration on the lower part of the hilt consisting of a gold strip and floral pattern (see detail). Laboratory examination showed that this was a modern addition and it has been removed; a piece of modern wire and a fragment of a drill bit were found below the design. The blade is corroded and was broken and recently mended; fragments of what appears to be a wood scabbard are still preserved.

No other bifurcated hilt covered with gold is known to me from the Near East. Yadin (1963, 208) published a mid-second-millennium B.C. Egyptian dagger with a gold-sheathed hilt. It has a round pommel (bifurcated?) and an applied guilloche band similar to the one here. Speaking only to the form as a flanged type, the closest parallels are Calmeyer 1969a, 61, figs. 60, 61, dated by inscriptions to the eleventh century B.C. Related examples from Hasanlu IV (Dyson 1964c, 35, fig. 2:2, 3) have a more pronounced splayed pommel and a square guard. The present dagger seems to be closer in form to the earlier examples and was probably made in the late second millennium B.C.

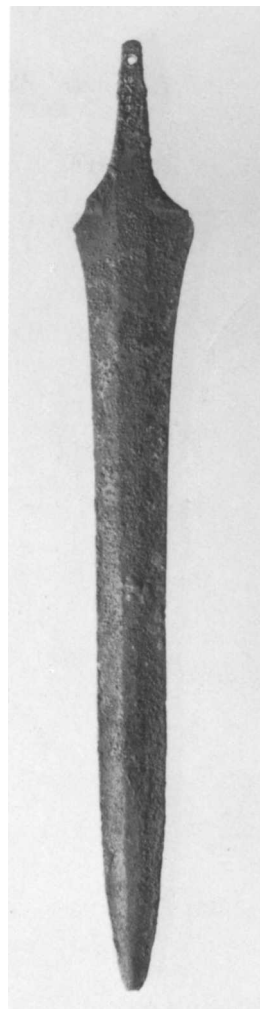
PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Sept Mille Ans 1961–62, no. 279B, pl. XXIX (with modern addition); Nickel 1969, 11.

392. Dagger

54.55.7; Gift of Warren A. Silver, 1954
Bronze; length 31.7 cm

THIS CAST dagger is characterized by a short tang with a single rivet hole at its top to secure the now missing hilt, a sharply angled shoulder, and a slightly convex blade with a low, flat midrib. It seems to fit into a western or northwestern Iranian background, judging from related examples excavated in the southwest Caspian region (Samadi 1959a, 36, fig. 34:9; cf. fig. 34:8), Sialk (Ghirshman 1938–39, pls. LXVIII:5715, c; XCII:28), and from Giyan (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pl. 12, Tomb 22:5, Tomb 23:3; pl. 13, Tomb 26:8; pl. 15, Tomb 39:9, 10); similar examples are also claimed to derive from Khurvin (vanden Berghe 1964, pl. xxxiv:229; cf. pl. xxiv:228), to which area our dagger was attributed. The date for the existence of this type would seem to be the early first millennium B.C. In form, the swords of this type remind us of the early Bronze Age examples from Anatolia (e.g., Stronach 1957, 95, fig. 3:3; see Nos. 541–545). For related stray examples, see De Waele 1982, nos. 28, 409.



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393. Miniature Dagger

63.134.2; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles K. Wilkinson, 1963
Bronze; length 6.5 cm

THE BLADE is slender and has a sharp point. The hilt is formed by a crouching lion in the round whose rump is the guard; the forepaws hold a shaft neatly grooved to imitate twisted cord or leather with a loop at its end. The lion is too small to allow for stylistic discussion, but one notes a raised ruff that continues below the jaw, a herringbone-decorated mane, small ears, no eyes, and a closed mouth.

It is possible that this miniature weapon, the form of which remains unparalleled, was tied by the loop to the waist of a statuette for verisimilitude (see Van Buren 1931, fig. 33; Braidwood and Braidwood 1960, figs.



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240–42). A few statuettes known have the sword or dagger cast together with them (A. Godard 1938, figs. 144–50; Harper in Muscarella 1974a, no. 146), but the one here may be an exception. Miniature weapons, while not common, exist in the ancient Near East: for an axe, see No. 214; for daggers, see No. 389, and Moorey 1971a, 69, no. 44, with chronologically earlier references.

Where in the Near East the present miniature originated and when it was made is not obvious, but the use of a couchant or crouching lion on the hilt may suggest an Iranian background and a date in the first millennium B.C. (see Nos. 303, 388, and 390).

394. Zoomorphic Mace Head/Scepter

65.190.2; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Klejman, 1965
Bronze; height 7.5 cm, diameter 4.5 cm

THE MACE/SCEPTER is made in the form of three stylized bulls' heads in high relief, each with large eyes of concentric circles and a thin projecting nose. Three ears and three horns serve the three heads, which blend into each other. The horns bend back to touch the top socket, the opening of which is smaller than the lower; the lower socket is short and framed by ridges.

No excavated examples for this type exist. A close parallel, equally unprovenanced, was at one time in the David-Weill collection (Amiet 1976, no. 33). It, too, has three bulls' or calves' heads in relief, with shared horns bent back to touch the top of the socket. Here, however, the heads were rendered naturalistically, and each head was cast distinct from the others; further, the socket below the heads is longer and has vertical rows of spikes (see No. 395). Another clearly related mace, also unexcavated, in the Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1971a, 92, no. 92), has three mouflon heads in high relief, but in this case each head is noticeably separated from the others and each head has its own set of horns; the lower socket is the same as the piece here (cf. also Musée Borély 1975, no. 132; sale catalogue, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 184; Arne 1962, fig. 7 lower right; Terrace 1966, no. 43).

Perhaps also related to these maces, in the sense that the manufacturers of one type knew of the other, are those examples that have several human faces cast in relief on the head. Two unexcavated examples of this type are known; one is in the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran (Ghirshman 1964, 37, fig. 46), the other was in the David-Weill collection (Amiet 1976, no. 31; Calmeyer 1969a, 56f., fig. 54). Like the maces discussed above, these pieces have been attributed by dealers to Iran.

That Nos. 394 and 395 are Iranian cannot be proved, but is highly probable; the only site in the Near East



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that has produced maces or scepters with human or animal protomes is Marlik (Negahban 1964, nos. 57, 59, 119; Negahban 1981, 370f., illus. 4, pl. 60, fig. 4, pl. 61, figs. 7, 11: from Tombs 45, 26, and 44, of perhaps late second–early first millennium B.C. date).

In 1955, a bronze mace in the form of four Pazuzu–demon heads or masks, each distinct but joined to the others, was excavated on the island of Samos; the piece was attributed to North Syria (Jantzen 1972, 57, pl. 51:B 1076). Without doubt, in concept this mace is the same as the Metropolitan Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, and the ex-David-Weill examples. With regard to style, however, the Pazuzu–demons seem to be pure Assyrian, and it is probable that the mace was manufactured in Assyria but reflecting a knowledge of the Iranian examples (Muscarella 1973b, 236; Börker-Klähn 1975, 538; Herrmann 1975, 396)—or made in Iran, reflecting Assyrian ideas.

Without excavated examples to hand, it is not easy to date our mace. Moorey (1971a, 92) dated the Ashmolean and Metropolitan Museum examples tentatively to the early first millennium B.C.; Amiet (1976, 32) dates the ex-David-Weill example to the late second millennium B.C. Since a firmer date does not suggest itself, it may be best to tentatively accept a date for our mace sometime between the late second and the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. I suggest that it is by no means certain that the stylistic differences noted in the manufacture of the maces necessarily reflect significant chronological differences.

395. Socketed Mace

64.298; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Klejman, 1964
Bronze; height 16.4 cm

THE SHAFT HOLE is hollow throughout and is open-work for the lower two-thirds. The top section consists of three bulls' heads with three ears and three horns serving all three heads; the horns are free and touch the top knob of the socket, which is closed; a spike is placed between the cheeks of each head. Below the heads is a round shaft with vertical rows of spikes and bands of rope patterns that alternate with vertical open areas; below this is a narrow section of alternating spikes and narrow slits in a pattern different from the one above. A bronze nail is in situ at the base of one of the larger open areas; it served to hold the wood shaft.

In typology, the mace—the spikes identify it as that rather than as a scepter or standard—is related to Calmeyer's Group 7 (1969a, 20ff.) of third-millennium B.C. date, which has a long, closed shaft hole adorned both with spikes and with various figures in the round,

all cast together. At the same time, it is certainly related typologically to maces like No. 394, which also have three juxtaposed animal heads sharing ears and horns, the latter touching the socket. A very close parallel to the present example existed at one time in the David-Weill collection (Amiet 1976, 32, no. 33). This example has the same three naturalistically rendered bulls' heads placed like ours, the top closed, knob socket touched by the horns, and a shaft hole with spikes in vertical rows: but it has no cutouts or rope pattern. A typologically related example is known from the art market (sale catalogue, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 180).

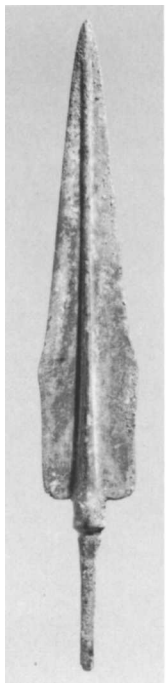
On the basis of two unproven examples it is not easy to establish either where the maces derive or their dates, but until proven otherwise, I suggest that they may tentatively be dated approximately to the same time suggested for No. 394, to the late second–early centuries of the first millennium B.C., and probably derive from one or more sites in western Iran (see also Nos. 69, 70; also compare spiked maces from Susa: de Mecquenem 1943, 92, fig. 14:1–3).

396–418. Arrow and Lance Heads

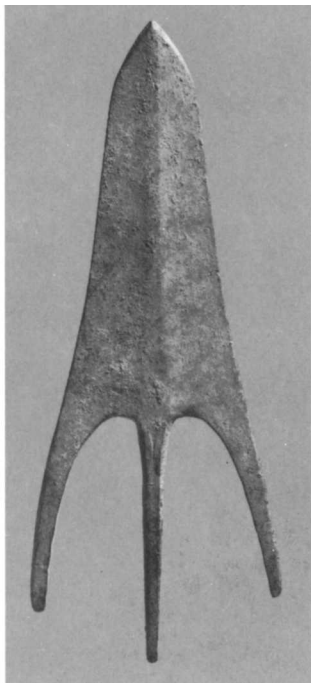
62.40.2–23; 62.155; Gift of Jerome M. Eisenberg, 1962
Bronze; lengths 21.5, 15.2, 16.4, 5.7, 13.3, 11.3, 12.5, 12.2, 9.2, 13.2, 6.3, 12.1, 6.2, 6.2, 11.4, 10.9, 13.9, 7.3, 8.4, 10.7, 8.7, 11, 11.8 cm

ALTHOUGH different in shape, these twenty-three heads are apparently related types of a polythetic group and may be chronologically contemporary. There are represented two basic deltoid forms: one has a sharp, flat blade, the ends of which extend to form wings or barbs, and a prominent midrib extending into a long tang that often has a stop; the blade shape varies from deltoid to more manifestly triangular. The other form has no barbs, but it has a prominent midrib extending to the tang and is leaf shaped. Depending on their size, the heads are categorized into arrows and lances. Nos. 411, 415, and 418 are varieties within the type (for No. 418, cf. an object from Tepe Hissar, Schmidt 1937, pl. 11v:H3195; cf. De Waele 1982, 58f., no. 56: with incorrect parallels and dated too early).

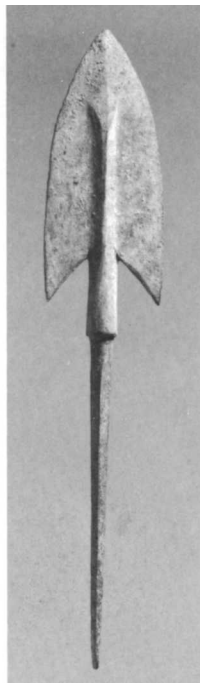
That these various heads come from the same background is demonstrated by the fact that a number of examples have been excavated together in the same area or context: in a grave illicitly dug by United States soldiers in Iran at Bît-Sorgh (Dyson 1964c, 32f., fig. 1: cf. no. 6 to Nos. 397 and 402); in a hoard from Tang-i



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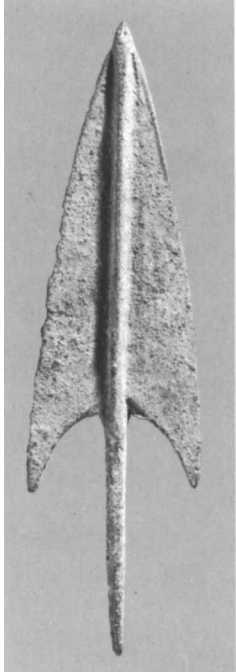
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Hamamlan in Luristan (Thrane 1964, 158, fig. 4); in the Iranian Talish region (Schaeffer 1948, figs. 217, 227); and at Ghalekuti, in the southwestern Caspian region, Dailaman (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pl. LXXVI:91, 95, 96, LX:22–24), and Marlik (Negahban 1964, fig. 49, Tomb 26: cf. second from left to Nos. 411 and 418); a similar juxtaposition is suggested for Khurvin (vanden Berghe 1964, pl. xxxv). A. Godard (1931, 44f., pl. XIII) claimed that both types of heads, barbed and non-barbed, came from tombs at Luristan, which cannot be substantiated except for the evidence at Tang-i Hamamlan.

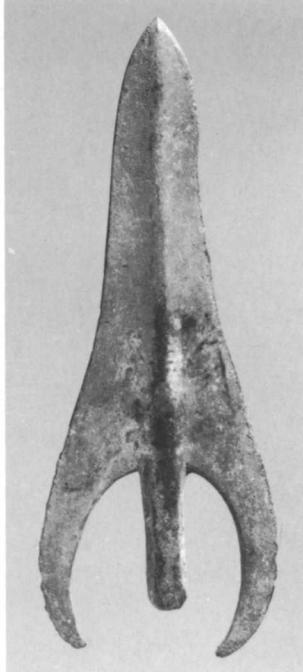
A single barbed example came from Sialk A (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. v:2, Iron I period), along with simple tanged heads, but without the midrib. Winged examples alone are reported from the Caucasus (Schaeffer 1948, figs. 273, 274, 282, 283, 296). Further, a rare example with a long tang occurs at Alishar in Anatolia, presumably of second-millennium date (Schaeffer 1948, fig. 195:10—related to the Iranian examples?). On the other hand, ribbed, non-barbed examples occur alone at Godin Tepe, Iron I (T. C. Young 1969, fig. 25:2), and earlier (Young and Levine 1974, 21, fig. 34:1), at Giyan (Contenau and Ghirshman 1935, pl. 8, Tomb 3:15, pl. 21, Tomb 65:5), at Sialk B (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xcii; cf. nos. 12 and 22 to Nos. 410 and 412), in Luristan at Bard-i Bal and Shurabah (vanden Berghe 1973a, figs. 15:6, 7 and 17:7, 8; 1972, 45, fig. 11:39), and at Amlash (Samadi 1959b, 190, fig. 26). Note that although no example of either type is reported to occur at Hasanlu (Dyson 1964c, 40; Porada 1965, 235, n. 3 right: misinterpreted by Moorey 1971a, 84; see Nos. 76–89): in fact

a handful are recorded in the files at the University Museum in Philadelphia as deriving from Period IV. Of interest, and possibly significant with regard to the question of origin, is the common use of winged, barbed arrowheads in second-millennium B.C. Anatolia, but apparently beginning earlier there (Boehmer 1972, 105ff., pls. xxvi–xxx; Boehmer 1979, 22f., pls. xiv–xvi); these types occur alongside the non-barbed, predominantly ribbed and tanged types.

The chronological range is determined by the second-millennium finds in the Talish, at Bit-Sorgh, Tang-i Hamamlan, Bard-i Bal, Shurabah, Sialk A, Godin, and possibly Marlik (see No. 161, note 2) and Giyan (Tomb 65), and the first-millennium occurrences at Hasanlu, Ghalekuti, Sialk B, and Tomb 3 at Giyan. Thus, these heads had a fairly long life, from the last centuries of the second through the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. Varieties of barbed examples, however, seem to have continued in use for a time after the ninth century B.C. (Dyson 1964c, 40) as may be seen from examples excavated in Urartu at Karmir Blur and Çavuştepe (Piotrovskii 1959, 240, fig. 80; Piotrovskii 1970, pls. 54, 55; Erzen 1978, fig. 40, pl. xlv1:b), and at Sardis (Waldbaum 1983, 10, 36ff., pl. 4) and Persepolis (Schmidt 1957, pl. 76:12, 13, 17, 18); a single iron barbed arrowhead was excavated at Nimrud in the destruction debris and was interpreted as an un-Assyrian, foreign type (Stronach 1958, 171; Mallowan 1966, 403, fig. 332e). For a similar collection of blades in Amsterdam, see Crouwel 1972–74, 117ff., pl. XI:4–12; for Essen, see Orthmann 1982, 21, no. 71.



401



402

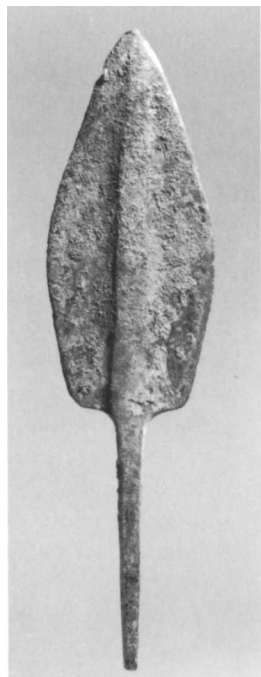


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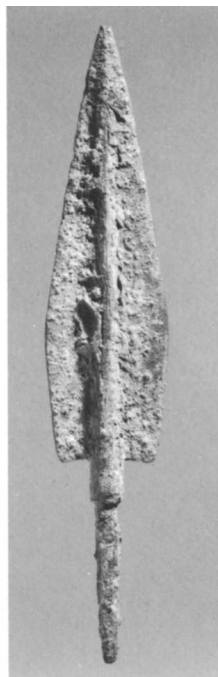
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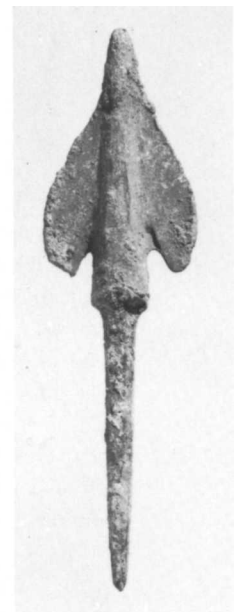
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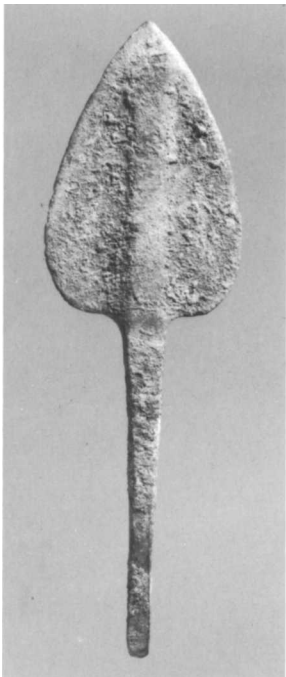


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410



411



412



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414



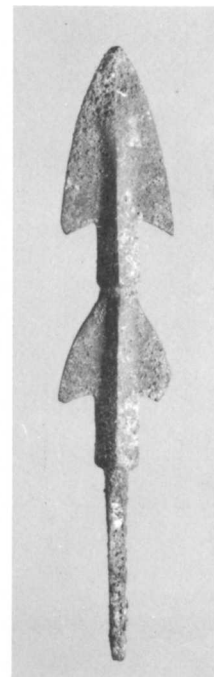
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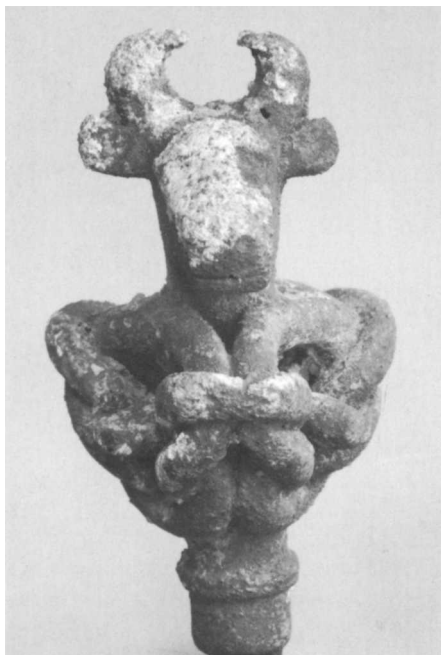


417



418

PARTHIAN AND SASANIAN OBJECTS



Detail of No. 419.

419. Scepter

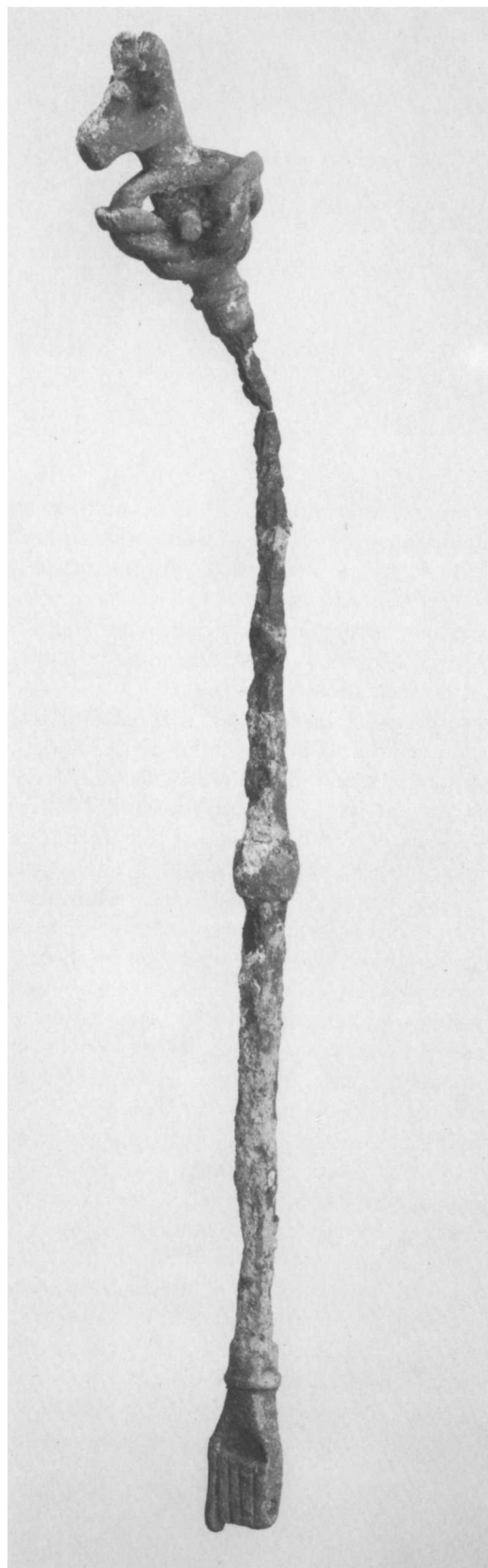
66.215; Gift of Parvis H. Rabenou, 1966
Bronze,¹ iron; height 39 cm

420. Scepter

1977.48; Gift of Alastair B. Martin, 1977
Bronze,² iron; preserved height 7 cm

No. 419 consists of a square iron rod with three bronze units cast on to it. At the top is a composition of three Herakles knots alternating with three short spikes, above which is a stylized bull's head simply rendered in the round. At the base is a clenched human right hand that is pierced through at the knuckles. There is a knob or sphere approximately at the center of the rod.

No. 420, solid-cast bronze and fairly heavy, is in the form of a bull's head that combines both naturalism and stylization. The remains of an iron rod—as well as relevant parallels—indicate that this object belongs to the same class as No. 419. The head is masterfully sculpted with swept-back horns forming a crescent behind projecting ears; gilded hair swirls are at the base of the horns and above the ears. When the head is viewed from the side, the neck merges with the upper jaw in a seemingly awkward fashion that prevents the head from





420



420



420

being recognized as modeled in the round. Skin wrinkles and neck grooves are prominent and are filled with gold leaf. A cavity surrounded by nine smaller holes adorns the forehead; six others are between the horns. These cavities, and probably the ears and lozenge-shaped eyes, once held inlays. Note that the horns have the same crescent form as those on No. 419.

Both objects belong to a class that has hitherto been neither studied nor adequately published.³ They all share the same basic form of an iron rod (but see below) with cast-on elements at the top and the base. The tops exhibit a variety of motifs: a male or female head, either single or triple headed; a ram; a bull; or a hand grasping a ball. The base may also have a hand grasping a ball, or just a hand, or a knob, or a spool grip; there is also usually a knob just below the midpoint on the rod. On some examples the terminal head or the base with part of the iron rod is extant, like No. 420. Although approximately twenty-plus examples are known to exist in various collections, only two derive from a known provenience. One of these excavated pieces comes from Begram in Afghanistan (Hackin 1939, fig. 352) and consists of a bronze rod terminating in a left hand grasping an object; while the hand is clenched, the index finger is extended. It differs from all the other examples to which it is related in the material of the rod, the lack of a terminal head, and the motif of the extended finger; it may represent a related but different tradition. The second example (Figs. 26, 27; see note 3) is canonical and comes from Dinkha Tepe in the Ushnu valley of northwestern Iran. It was presented to me in 1970 by a peasant from the village of Dinkha who found it at the base

of the Dinkha mound just where the Gadar River erodes it (see Muscarella 1974b, fig. 1, north of and below square B).⁴ The head consists of a ram with its curved horns placed perpendicularly to the rod, the base is a clenched left hand grasping a ball.

In addition to these two excavated examples, six unexcavated ones have been published: two examples with a female head (dealer/private collection?: Ghirshman 1962a, 224, fig. 268; Los Angeles: Moorey 1981, no. 652);⁵ one with a human hand grasping a ball (sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet, New York, 29–30 April 1964, no. 70); one in Tokyo (*Iranian Art Exhibition* [Japanese Committee for the 2,500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire, Tokyo, 1971], no. 88, color pl.), which is very close to the Dinkha example except that there is a female head below the ram head; an example with a male head in the Ashmolean Museum (Moorey 1975b, 45, pl. xxix; Moorey, in *Burlington Magazine* 114 [June 1972], 400, fig. 61); an example in Los Angeles with a bull's head (cf. No. 420). Others exist in the following museums: two, one broken, one with an animal head, in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Moorey 1981, nos. 653, 654, not illus.); one in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome, an exact parallel to the one in Tokyo; two in the Abegg-Stiftung Bern in Switzerland, one with triple animal heads, the other with a male exactly like the one in the Ashmolean, above; another in the Ashmolean Museum, with a clenched fist and three animal heads (shown to me by P. R. S. Moorey); and a hand fragment in Teheran. A number of examples also exist in dealers' shops.

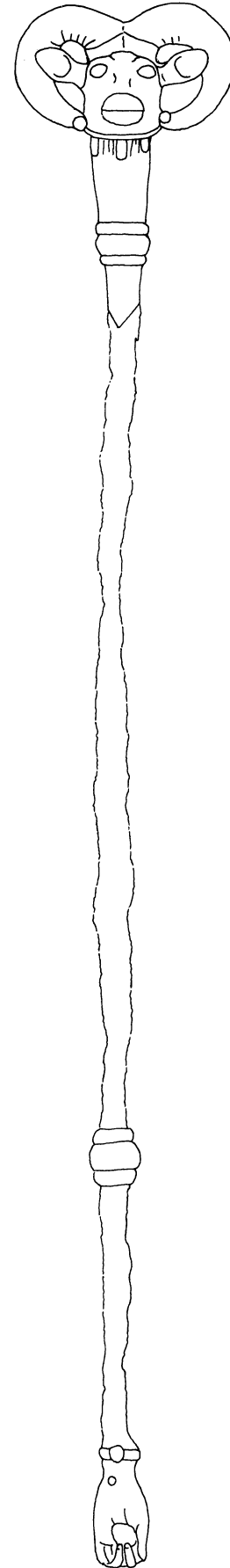
The problems to be resolved concerning these ob-

jects relate to their chronological range and geographical distribution, as well as to the issues of the varied iconography, their function, and stylistic distinctions. The two excavated examples derive from widely separated areas, northwestern Iran and Afghanistan, while all the others are reported to come from Iran. Some of the human heads, especially the published Ashmolean and the Abegg examples, seem to be Parthian, while some of the females and the presence of hands seem to fit into an eastern, Indian, environment. Of interest in the context of origin is a counterweight in the form of a clenched right hand on a spear that is depicted on a Sasanian silver plate in the Metropolitan Museum (Grabar 1967, 98, fig. 10; Harper and Meyers 1981, 64, n. 123, pl. 16), which thereby documents the motif in the Sasanian period. Harper believes that the scepters (called maces) are "probably Sasanian" (cf. Moorey 1981, III f., who dates them ca. 150 B.C.–A.D. 225, i.e., Parthian, or

FIG. 26. Scepter, Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran.



FIG. 27. Drawing of scepter in Fig. 26 by Oscar White Muscarella.



later). Until a systematic study is made of these objects (see note 3), little more than this preliminary presentation can be given at present.

NOTES

1. Cu: 75.3%, Sn: 6.41%, Pb: 17.6%, Zn: .025% (1986). The Pb content is quite high; see also Nos. 157, 419, 444, 477, 595.

2. Cu: 95.8%, Sn: 1.56%, Pb: 1.50%, Zn: .290% (1986).

3. Some of the information presented here is based on an examination of the files of Prudence Oliver Harper, who generously placed them at my disposal. I have not made use of the many references and art parallels in these files as Dr. Harper will eventually publish the corpus with commentary.

[Now see P. O. Harper, "The Ox-Headed Mace in Pre-Islamic Iran," in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce, Acta Iranica* 24, ser. 2, *Hommages et Opera Minora* 10 (Leiden, 1985), 247–59. Harper publishes Nos. 419 and 420, with related examples, and Nos. 394 and 395.]

4. I have no doubts about the origin of this piece from Dinkha: the peasant—who showed me where he found it—did not offer it for sale when he presented it to me, which I believe precludes the assumption that he purchased it elsewhere with the view of reselling it for profit; I therefore treat it technically as a provenienced object. It is now in Teheran. The piece was presented to me while I was establishing living quarters in the Dinkha Tepe excavation house (situated on the mound next to the Dinkha village) prior to my excavations at Sé Girdan. Note that no Parthian or Sasanian remains occur at Dinkha.

5. A rock crystal head of a female excavated at Qasr-i-Abu Nasr in a Sasanian context (Upton 1934, 23, fig. 37; Upton in Frye 1973, 17, fig. 14) might have some bearing on the date of these scepters.

421. Leopard

89.2.553; Gift of Joseph W. Drexel, 1889
Bronze; length 10.7 cm

PRESERVED is the forepart of a leopard; the rear of the object is intact and hollow and was probably joined to another object. The head is vigorously and naturalistically executed with the hair rendered as clusters below

the small upright ears; the mouth is open and the tongue protrudes. The front feet are outstretched and the undersides of the paws are flat, suggesting that they rested on some object. The body is decorated with punched circles indicating that the feline is a leopard (or cheetah?).

By its style, the naturalism and body posture, and the fact that the creature is a panther, this piece seems to have been made in the Parthian period, from which period similar pieces are known (viz. Muscarella 1974a, no. 164; see also the censer noted by Bahrami, in *Ar-Asiae* II [1948], 288f., fig. 1, by vanden Berghe 1959, 97, pl. 124b, and by Porada 1965, fig. 103; but not excavated, as these authors claim—see also *ILN*, 21 April 1948, 215, and *7000 Years* 1964–65, no. 472; Ghirshman 1962a, figs. III and 356; also Bach 1973, no. 185; Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, no. 379; Sotheby, Parke-Bernet, New York, 2–5 May 1972, no. 273; Moorey 1981, no. 659; and Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 June 1980, nos. 135, 144).

It is not clear what function the piece had, but it is possible that it may have been joined to a separately made incense burner or censer (cf. Ghirshman 1962a, fig. III).¹ Its date could be anywhere from the late second century B.C. to the first two centuries A.D.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Crawford et al. 1966, 35, fig. 54; Schlossman 1968, no. 70.

NOTE

1. I am also tempted to compare this panther to the South Arabian lamp handles published by Bossert 1951, nos. 1346–47.

422. Feline Animal

86.10; Gift of William Hayes Ward, 1886
Bronze; length 9.2 cm

CAST IN the round on a flat plate, this striding feline creature is perhaps a panther. The base of the plate is covered with small points like a cheese grater. Perhaps the object was used to grate food, or perhaps it was a foot scraper. In any event, the style of the animal head, the mouth, the ears, and the elongated body suggest that the object was manufactured during the Parthian period (cf. Ghirshman 1962a, 100f., figs. III, III2).

423. Animal Pendant

62.116.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1962
Bronze; length 4.9 cm, height 3.1 cm

THIS STYLIZED figurine, actually a pendant as indicated by the hole through the neck for suspension, seems to be a horse. Characteristic are the tubular body, the spread-apart, sticklike legs, and the high curve of the neck. The tail is short and not typical of a horse, which might indicate that another type of equid is actually



represented. The eye is an incised dotted circle, a motif used also to decorate the neck.

When publishing two similar, stray figurines, not pierced, Moorey (1974a, nos. 160, 161) correctly noted that the only excavated piece possibly related in style is an equid-headed pin or cosmetic stick excavated at Ghalekuti in the south Caspian region of northwestern Iran and dated to the early first millennium A.D (Sono and Fukai 1968, 37, 45, pls. XLVII:4, LXXX:II; Hori 1981, 50f., fig. 5:9). This equid had the same high and pierced curved neck, although no feet, but the sticklike legs and stance of the Metropolitan Museum figure are matched by other animals reported from the same area (see Nos. 150, 154, 155, 160). Other stray parallels exist in several collections (e.g., Calmeyer 1964a, no. 25; Barbier 1970, nos. 168–71; similar pieces are dated to the Parthian period by Calmeyer 1972a, no. 83; Moorey 1981, nos. 664, 665; and De Waele 1982, 176f., 182, nos. 283–86). Whether they occur outside of northwestern Iran is as yet unknown.

424. Belt Buckle

63.30; Gift of Jerome M. Eisenberg, 1963

Bronze; length 9.2 cm

THE BUCKLE has three sections, each movable: a rectangular plate unit, hollow inside with two crossbars soldered on one edge and at the other edge bent around the cutaway part of the loop; between the crossbars the loop fits into an incomplete ring that is part of the tongue, which has a canted tip. The obverse of both the tongue and the loop is grooved.

As simple as this buckle appears, it is identifiable with regard both to culture and to chronology. In his fine article on belts and buckles, R. Ghirshman published a buckle that he discovered at Susa in a level which he interpreted as resulting from the destruction of Shapur II in the mid-fourth century B.C. (Ghirshman 1979, 183f., fig. 2). This buckle is exactly like No. 424 in details and form, except that the plate is rounded at the end, rather than rectangular. Ghirshman also published (1979, 185, pl. vi:4–6) three other buckles of the same type from the Foroughi collection, one of which (pl. vi:6) parallels the Susa example, while another (pl. vi:4) parallels ours.

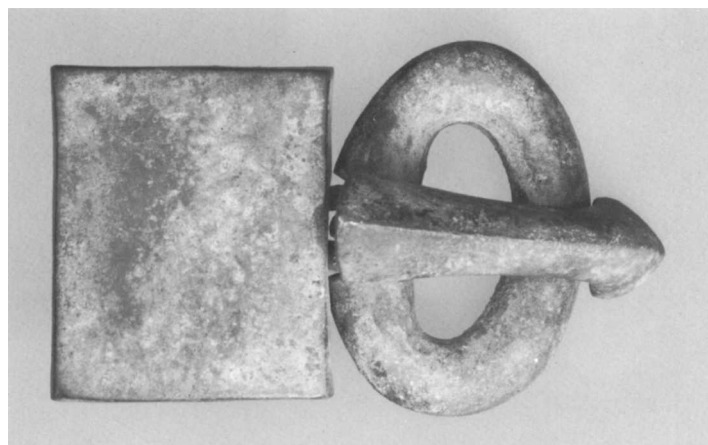
One more example of a very similar buckle is known to me, an unexcavated piece in Jerusalem (Merhav 1981, no. 104); it has a concave-sided plate and is attached to a complete belt. Without doubt, the Susa example neatly dates the Metropolitan Museum buckle to the Sasanian period, and if Ghirshman is correct about the date, the mid-fourth century B.C. For an early Byzantine example of related form from Sardis, see Waldbaum 1983, 120, no. 702, pl. 44.



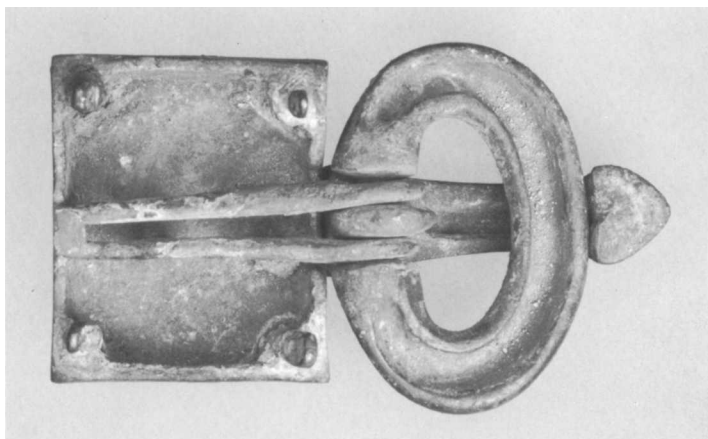
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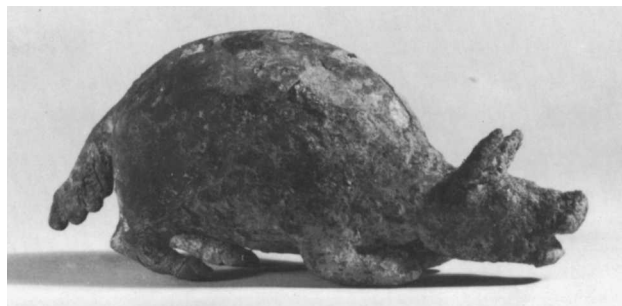
423



424



424



425

426



425. Quadruped

69.243; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1969
Bronze; length 16.4 cm, height 6.8 cm

HOLLOW CAST, this quadruped is not readily identifiable as belonging to any particular species and it may be a composite creature. It has a high, rotund body, a piglike head with projecting ears, and stumpy legs bent into a crouching position; its tail is flat on a vertical plane and scalloped on the underside. The natural creature it most closely resembles is an aardvark.

Equally not readily identifiable are both its chronological period and area of manufacture, although some clues are available. A creature almost similar in the form of its head, but with a short tail, is depicted on a Sasanian silver bowl eating grapes (Grabar 1967, no. 41); on the same bowl, also eating grapes, are an unidentifiable animal and a rabbit or hare crouching in a manner not dissimilar to the position of the creature here. On still another Sasanian silver bowl, an animal (a fox?) crouches while eating grapes (Wilkinson 1960b, 267, fig. 32), and on Sasanian seals crouching animals are depicted (e.g., Harper in Frye 1973, no. D237). Further, in the Hermitage, Leningrad, there is a rotund bronze rabbit in a crouching position, of finer execution, identified as Sasanian by Ackerman (in Orbeli 1938/1964, 767).

These tenuous references might suggest a date for the creature within the Sasanian period, or a little later, as a tentative attribution. If it is an aardvark, it is an animal that inhabits the sub-Saharan region of Africa.

426. Plate

60.141; purchase; Fletcher Fund, 1960
Bronze; diameter 37.1 cm, weight 1377 g

THIS VESSEL has been previously published in detail elsewhere and need only be summarized for convenience here. It is apparently cast and has a high tin content (about 22–25%), making it speculum, or “white bronze” (see Nos. 428–430). Represented in relief is a hybrid creature, a *Mischwesen*, known in the literature as a *senmurv*, although as noted by Harper (1978, 94), it is not exactly matched by descriptions of that mythical figure in the *Avesta*. Aside from representations in metal it is depicted on a king’s garment in stone relief at Taq-i Bustan, near Kermanshah in Iran. The motif seems to be limited to the last century of the Sasanian period and to a period subsequent to its collapse as a result of the Moslem incursions. Harper is of the opinion that this example is probably seventh century in date, with the possibility that it could be slightly later.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

P. O. Harper, “The Senmurv,” *MMAB* 20, 3 (1961), 95–101, fig. 2; *Constant Companions*, exhib. cat. (University of St. Thomas, Houston, 1965), no. 16; Harper 1978, 94ff., no. 34.

427. Vase

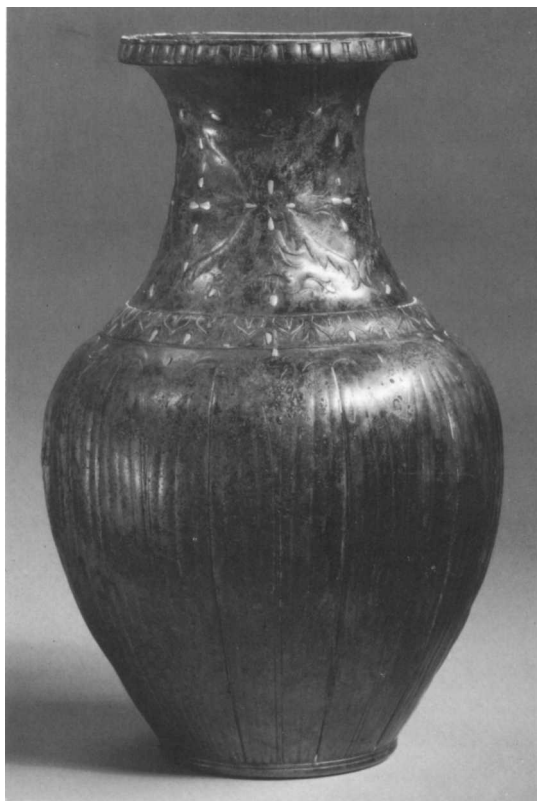
66.235; Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1966
Bronze, silver; height 21.1 cm, body diameter 13.2 cm

THIS vase, simple in form but elegant, seems to have been cast with its decoration in relief. The tall neck flares from a collar that separates it from an ovoid, neatly grooved body which tapers to a flat base; the latter is hollow, with deep grooves and an indented boss at the center. On the rim of the lip is an egg-and-dart pattern; on the neck are acanthus leaves and small floral motifs; and around the collar is a pattern of heart-shaped leaves alternating with lily or lotus flowers. All these patterns have silver inlays.

In basic form, the shape has a long history, for example a silver Hellenistic vessel (Egypt?) (*MMAB* 29, 7 [1971], 319, right), and speculum examples of a later date (Melikian 1974, figs. 3, 42; Moorey 1976a, fig. 10). The floral patterns on the present vessel seem to fit into a Hellenistic background, as does the casting technique, and it is probable that our vessel is to be placed in that period or in the Parthian era (if the vendor is correct that it came from Iran).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

MMAB 29, 7 (1971), 319, center.





428



429



430

428. Vessel

49.112.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1949

Bronze (speculum);¹ length 23.3 cm, height 5.3 cm

429. Vessel

49.112.2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1949

Bronze (speculum);² diameter 13 cm, height 5.25 cm

430. Vessel

58.101; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1958

Bronze (speculum);³ diameter 18.7 cm, height 4.4 cm

THESE THREE vessels were hammered and are plain, except for two thin incised circles in the center of No. 430. Aside from technology, they are related to each other by their alloy of copper and a high tin content (over 21%), and are therefore "white bronze," speculum; their surfaces are now lustrous and have a black patina. It is not clear when speculum was first introduced, but it became common in Sasanian and later periods.

Melikian (1974) has maintained that vessels of speculum are primarily from the Islamic period, although he entertains the possibility that speculum may have existed earlier (Melikian 1974, 135) because a speculum bowl was excavated in Gilan, in a time period considered to be late Parthian and early Sasanian (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1966, 9, pl. XLIII:5; see also Moorey 1976a, 358f., but here stating that the Gilan bowl is oval, which it is not). Other similar vessels and alloys are claimed to derive from Gilan (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1966, 9, and 22 in the Japanese text, fig. 6).⁴

Various dates have been presented for these speculum vessels: sixth–seventh centuries A.D. (Harper 1978, 92); Sasanian (Moorey 1976a, 358f.); Parthian, Sasanian, and Islamic (Moorey 1981, nos. 703, 704, 706, 707, 709: oval, for examples—not illustrated—in Los Angeles); Parthian (Orthmann 1982, 27, no. 93); primarily Islamic (Melikian 1974). Until there are excavated finds, in addition to the Gilan example, one cannot be more precise. Yet a late

Parthian–early Sasanian date is indicated by the Gilan find, and the oval shape of No. 428 and number 709 in Moorey 1981, from Los Angeles, indicates a Sasanian date (see Frye 1973, 21, fig. 22); see also No. 426.⁵

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Nos. 428 and 430: Harper 1978, 92ff., no. 33A, B. Nos. 428–430: Melikian 1974, 150f., figs. 39–41.

NOTES

1. Cu: 76%, Sn: 21.9%, Pb: 0.4%. The erratic totals, here and in notes 2 and 3, result from the analysis method.

2. Cu: 80%, Sn: 22.9%, Pb: 0.4%.

3. Cu: 80%, Sn: 21.6%, Pb: 0.5%.

4. See also Harper 1978, 92, 94, no. 33C, for a vase of the same material (in the Islamic Department of the Metropolitan Museum), and for an exact parallel to it, see sale catalogue, Sotheby's, New York, 20 May 1982, no. 31.

5. Pope (1934, 20f.) mentions a “highly polished boat-shaped vessel” with an Old Persian inscription which he attributes to Luristan and offers as an example to indicate that “Luristan bronzes” were still being manufactured in the Achaemenian period. Aside from the spurious conclusions based on an unexcavated object, and one that has nothing to do with Luristan bronzes, I wonder whether his vessel (not illus.; mentioned by S. Langdon, in *SPA* I, 285) is of the same Sasanian type as the present example. And if so, I further wonder whether the inscription is ancient.

431. Horse Bridle

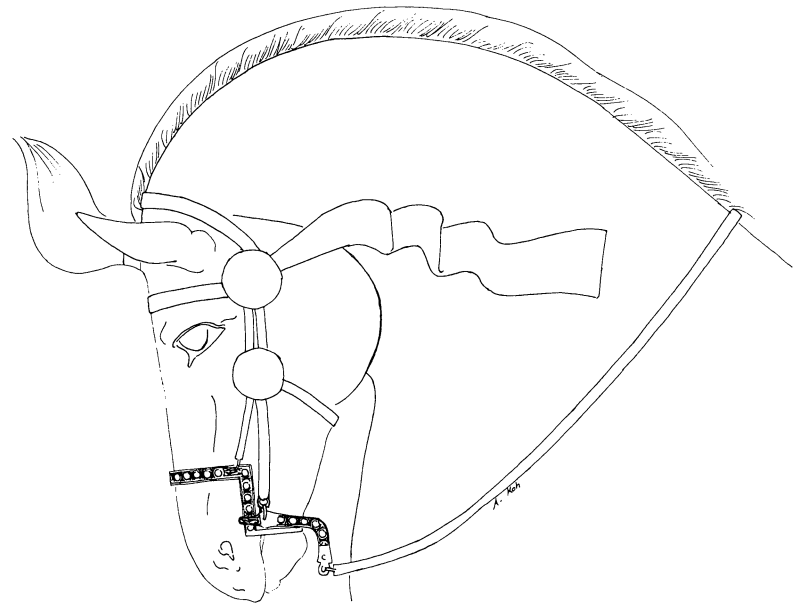
1971.223a, b; Gift of Mrs. Vladimir S. Littauer, 1971
Iron, gold; length overall 29.4 cm

THE BRIDLE consists of two joined parts, one that covered the horse's nose and cheeks, and the bit section, a

round bar with a high tongue restraint, that was attached to a curved, movable side piece. The illustration shows how the reins were positioned. The bridle is made of iron and is decorated with gold foil in the form of triskeles, palmettes, lotuses, and vines with grape clusters.

This bridle was published by Harper (1978, 81f., no. 27), who also presented parallels in the round and representations in art; she dates it to the Sasanian period, third to fifth centuries A.D.

FIG. 28. Drawing of No. 431 as on horse's head by A. Koh.





432



FIG. 29. MMA 36.30.10.

432. Mirror Handle

57.34; Gift of Khalil Rabenou, 1957

Bronze; height 6.4 cm, length 5.4 cm

SOLID CAST in the form of a winged horse, this object is probably a mirror handle, the round mirror now missing. The horse is depicted partly squatting, so that the front legs are higher than the rear; the wings are small and curve back in a short turn to touch the neck. A complete mirror (or lid?) with a plain lion handle in the same position as this horse was excavated at Qasr-i-Abu Nasr apparently in a Sasanian level (MMA 36.30.10, Fig. 29; now see D. Whitcomb, *Before the Roses and Nightingales: Excavations at Qasr-i Abu Nasr, Old Shiraz* [MMA, New York, 1985], 161, 166, fig. 62f., for details). Another example, with a lion handle in the same crouching position, is now in Los Angeles, dated by Moorey (1981, no. 698) to the Parthian–Sasanian periods, or later (Moorey believes the handle and mirror might not belong together; and it is possible that the handle might be post-Sasanian); Grabar (1967, 139, no. 58) suggests it might be Sasanian.

Of some interest, and possibly of chronological value, is the fact that winged horses appear as throne supports represented on a Sasanian gold and precious stone plate in Paris (Harper and Meyers 1981, 113, 115, pl. 33; cf. also fig. 35 and pl. 19).

Tentatively, then, our handle may be attributed to the Sasanian orbit, probably between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D. (cf. also a lead lion handle on a bronze lid [?] from an Islamic level at Susa, *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 10.[1979], 185, 227, fig. 74:1).

II MESOPOTAMIA

Excavated Objects

NIPPUR

433. Foundation Peg

62.70.79; Nippur 7N 223; IT 173 Level VIIA

Rogers Fund, 1962

Bronze; preserved length 6.7 cm, width at horns 8.2 cm

434. Foundation Peg

62.70.80a, b; Nippur 7N 222; IT 173 Level VIIA

Rogers Fund, 1962

Bronze; preserved length 5.7 cm, length of peg 8.1 cm

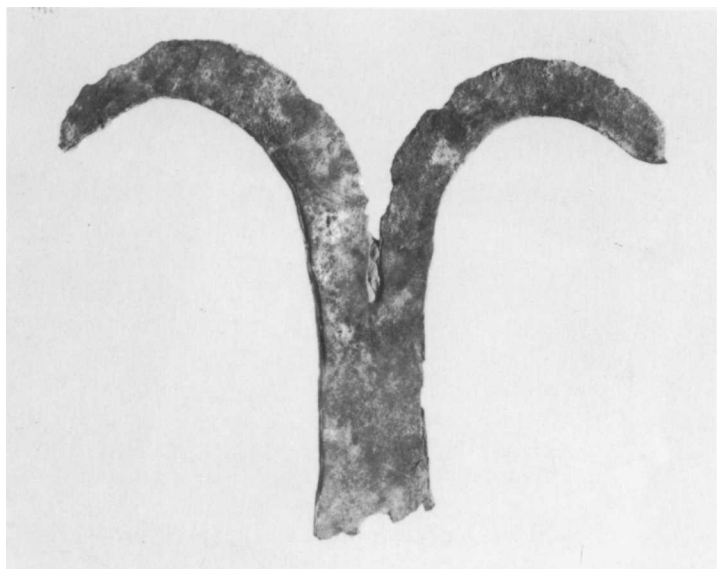
THESE TWO objects, both once exactly the same, consist of two parts: a thin, flat copper/bronze plate cut so that one end is rectangular while the other bifurcates into two outcurving spurs or horns. There was a hole pierced by a tapering nail or peg close to the rectangular end; it is extant only on No. 434.¹ A total of seven examples were excavated at Nippur where they were found deposited beneath the walls near a door in the Level VIIA Temple of Inanna; six were found deposited as pairs, one was recovered alone as a stray (Ellis 1968, 46f., fig. 1, for the only record to date of the find).

From the earliest times, foundation deposits consisting of food and drink (indicated by vessels) or beads, pieces of metal, stone, and shells were often placed beneath the walls of temples, where they were dedicated in connection with building rituals (Ellis 1968, 3ff., 126ff.). By the middle of the Early Dynastic Sumerian period, the time between the end of the Jemdet Nasr and the beginning of the Akkadian periods, foundation deposits were made in the form of metal or, rarely, stone objects associated with a peg for pinning or fastening them to the ground or to a brick beneath a wall. The great majority are anthropomorphic (see Nos. 435, 436), a smaller number are in the form of pierced plates, like the two under review here. Fortunately, a considerable number of peg deposits have been excavated in identifiable contexts and also bear inscriptions so that it is

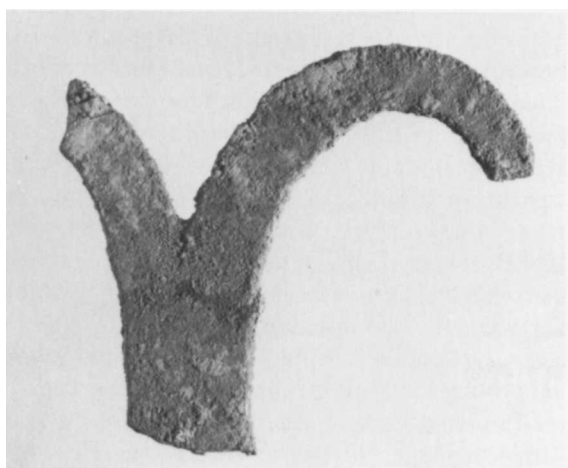
possible to chart their development and history fairly accurately.

It is not clear precisely when pegged objects were first deposited in foundations, but candidates for the earliest examples seem to be a group of about thirty-five or so examples excavated at Tello (Girsu) in southern Mesopotamia. Each is cast in the form of the nude torso of a long and thick haired, clean-shaven male with his hands held clasped in supplication at his chest, set above a thick, tapering peg with a blunt tip (de Sarzec and Heuzey 1884–1912, 239f., pl. 1 bis:3–7; Ellis 1968, fig. 5; see also Van Buren 1931, figs. 1, 2): hence the general term for these figures, *Nagelmensch*. The name of the king who deposited these foundation pegs is unknown as the pegs are not inscribed, but they were recovered in a temple underlying one built by Urnanshe, king of Lagash; they are conveniently and appropriately referred to as pre-Urnanshe pegs. Within Urnanshe's temple itself were recovered about seven *Nagelmensch* figurines, some inscribed with his name, which are—but for the rendering of the hair and the placement of the arms close to the body—quite similar to the earlier ones. The Urnanshe pegs had an additional feature: they were inserted into a splayed fishtail plate (de Sarzec and Heuzey 1884–1912, 240, pl. 2 ter:3; Unger 1927, pl. 138; Van Buren 1931, 6f., fig. 3; Ellis 1968, 51f., fig. 6; Rashid 1981, pls. v–vii, fig. 9), formally similar to the mechanism of the present Nippur examples.² Of all the *Nagelmensch* figurines recovered from various sites, only those of Urnanshe, found only at Tello, were deposited inserted into a metal plate.

Some scholars place Urnanshe in the Early Dynastic (ED) IIIb period of the Diyala system of archaeological-chronological division (e.g., Strommenger 1960, chart 3; Nagel 1964, chart III; Mallowan, in *Cambridge Ancient History* I, pt. 2 [1971], 245; Rashid 1981, 97f.), others place him in the preceding ED IIIa period (e.g., Nissen

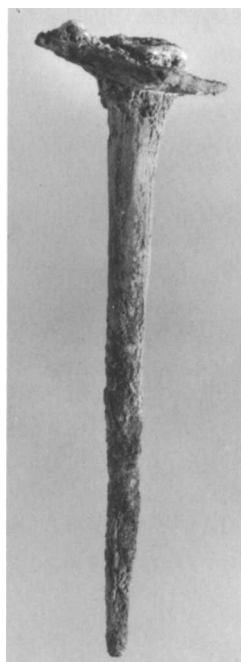


433



434a

434b



1966, pl. 37; Boehmer 1969, 271, fig. 55; Porada 1965a, 178 chart; Hallo, in *Orientalia* 42 [1973], 235). If he is associated with the latter period (i.e., roughly equated with the German system of division, the “Fara-Zeit” or the late “2. Übergangszeit”: Strommenger 1960, 4ff., chart 3; Nagel 1964, chart III; Moortgat 1969, 36ff.),³ then the pre-Urnanshe *Nagelmensch* figurines from Tello might plausibly be dated to the ED II period (in the German system, to the “Mesilim-Zeit”), a conclusion accepted by Strommenger (1960, 34), Ellis (1968, 50f., 154), Rashid (1957–71, 657), Spycket (1981, 62f.), and which, on the basis of style, seems plausible to me. And if the Level VIIA Inanna Temple at Nippur is correctly dated to the ED IIIa period (Ellis 1968, 47; Porada 1965a, 178 chart), then the Nippur pegs would be roughly contemporary to those of Urnanshe, and later than the pre-Urnanshe examples. However, if Urnanshe is to be dated within the ED IIIb period, then the pre-Urnanshe pegs would presumably be dated ED IIIa, making them contemporary with the Nippur pegs, which would place the latter among the earliest examples of metal foundation pegs deposited. Further complicating the issue of relative chronology is the possibility that the Level VIIA Inanna Temple at Nippur may belong within the ED IIIb period: thus, contemporary to Urnanshe if he is ED IIIb, but later than Urnanshe if he is ED IIIa; and later than the pre-Urnanshe pegs, whether they are ED II or IIIa.⁴ In any event, whether the Nippur pegs belong to the earliest or to the immediately following *Stufe*, one cannot perceive, based on present information, a “stylistic” or formal, linear development from simple pegs with a plate to the human form *Nagelmensch*.

The bifurcated, horned, and non-figurative pegs from Nippur are unique in shape, but are formally paralleled by three fishtail plates from Bismaya (Adab), which are the same as those associated with Urnanshe’s pegs at Tello, and also by thirteen or so examples of an open D-shaped unit joined to a sharp nail that is pierced vertically by a thick peg, excavated in Temples A and C of Ishtar at Mari (Ellis 1968, 47, 55, figs. 2, 9; Rashid 1981, pls. II, III, figs. 3, 10–16). The Bismaya pegs are dated to ED IIIb, those from Mari to both ED IIIa and ED IIIb (Ellis 1968, 47, 55; Rashid 1957–71, chart I; Rashid 1981, 98: preferably IIIb). Note that while at Nippur in the later Ur III period *Nagelmensch* figurines were deposited (see Nos. 435, 436), none have been excavated at Bismaya or Mari. Further, the use of a plate associated either with a simple peg or with a *Nagelmensch* is confined to the Early Dynastic Period.

Assigning a specific date to the Nippur pegs is not easy as a firm, generally accepted chronology is not yet perceived for the Early Dynastic sequence. If we follow the chronology of both Hansen and Porada (1965a, 178 chart), then the pegs will have been deposited between

2600–2500 B.C. if they are ED IIIa, and between 2500–2400 B.C. if they are ED IIIb.

NOTES

1. The description is based in part on the other excavated examples. In the drawing of a Nippur peg in Ellis 1968, fig. 1, the top of the peg itself is shown as round and not flush with the pierced plate. However, on No. 434 the top of the peg in fact is a flat round disk, typical for a nail, and it is flush with the plate.

2. A single example of a stone *Nagelmensch* inscribed with Urnanshe's name is exactly like the metal examples, although larger and with a thicker peg, anticipating those of Lugalkisalsi and later examples (Ellis 1968, 52). Although a stray (in the Harvard Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass.), it mentions building the House of Girsu, and thus must have derived from Tello, where it is correctly placed by Rashid (1957–71, chart 1). It is now impossible to know whether it originally had a fishtail plate. A stray metal peg figurine in Athens has been attributed to Urnanshe by Van Buren (1931, 7) and Ellis (1968, 51, n. 31). It was purchased from a dealer who attributed it to Epirus in Greece, a fiction fortunately not repeated in the literature.

3. The problems and controversies associated with terminology for the early Sumerian periods (Early Dynastic) are most confusing, especially for the nonspecialist. For the latter (among whom the writer is included) who wish to read summaries and discussions concerned with the coordination of various terminologies and the regional and chronological equations of cultural phases with the architecturally established Diyala-area sequences (ED I, II, IIIa, IIIb), as well as the problems of dating individual objects, see inter alia Strommenger 1960, 4ff., 22f.; Hansen, in *JNES* 22, 3 (1963), 148f. n. 19, 153 n. 42; Nissen 1966, 24, n. 50, 119ff.; Boehmer 1969, 261ff., 276f. (stressing regionalism); Porada 1965a, 150ff., 173; Hrouda 1971, 110ff., 122ff.; Lloyd 1978, 110; see also Nagel 1964; Mallowan, in *Cambridge Ancient History* I, pt. 2, 238ff.; S. M. Pelzel, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 97 (1977), 68ff., nn. 9, 12, 14, 15; Braun-Holzinger 1977, 12ff.

4. Verbal communications have reached me that recent textual analysis may suggest that Inanna Temple Level VIIb is ED IIIa and VIIa is ED IIIb. The issues of interest here are whether the pre-Urnanshe pegs are ED II or ED IIIa, whether the Urnanshe pegs are ED IIIa, or ED IIIb, and whether the Nippur pegs are ED IIIa or IIIb! I do not feel qualified to discuss the complex problems concerning the positioning of Urnanshe and Mesilim, and the relationship of the “Mesilim-Zeit” to the Mesilim style (see Hrouda 1971, 111ff.; Nissen 1966, 24, n. 50; Boehmer 1969, 271; Nagel 1964, 180f.). Some scholars (e.g., Mallowan, in *Cambridge Ancient History* I, pt. 2, 272, n. 5; Pelzel, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 97 [1977], 69) would date both Mesilim and the Mesilim style not to ED II, but to ED IIIa, which if correct would place the earliest *Nagelmensch*, the pre-Urnanshe ones, in the ED IIIa period.

Another suggested candidate for a pre-Urnanshe foundation peg is a broken, typical *Nagelmensch* stone figurine excavated at Uruk (Lenzen, *Vorläufiger Bericht . . . Uruk-Warka XVII* [Berlin, 1961], 24f., pl. 13; Ellis 1968, 48f., fig. 3). Lenzen dated the peg to the Jemdet Nasr period, but Ellis correctly assigned it later, tentatively to ED II (1968, 49 n. 14, 72 n. 184). Surely it cannot be earlier than the Tello Urnanshe pegs, for its arms are sculpted with the body, a feature of the Urnanshe and later pegs. Note that Rashid (1957–71, chart I, “Mesilim-Zeit” column) illustrates a fragment of a peg in his Uruk section. I am not able to identify the piece: it is not the above-mentioned stone example published by Lenzen, nor is it any one of the three fragments of stone figurines thought by Lenzen (*Vorläufiger Bericht . . . Uruk-Warka XVII*, 24; *Vorläufiger Bericht . . . Uruk-Warka XI* [1940], pl. 36a–c) to be foundation pegs, and which Ellis (1968, 49, n. 14) rightly states are not. The next examples of foundation pegs

excavated at Uruk are a stone fragment, most probably of Lugalkisalsi, followed by those of Urnammu and Shulgi (see Nos. 435, 436), after which they cease at the site.

435. Canephore Foundation Peg

59.4.1; Nippur 5N 202; É-dur-an-ki Temple to Inanna
Rogers Fund, 1959

Copper;¹ height 31.3 cm, weight 2413.2 g (5 lb.,
4½ oz.)

436. Canephore Foundation Peg

47.49; Gift of Mrs. William H. Moore, 1947

Bronze; height 27.3 cm, weight 1796 g (3 lb., 14⅞ oz.)

THE UPPER HALF of No. 435 is the nude torso of a male who, with upraised arms, carries a plain beveled object, probably a basket; all five fingers of both hands are placed on the upper part of the basket. Below the waist the figure merges into a tapering peg that terminates in a blunt point. The figure's clean-shaven face is composed and depicts seriousness and calmness, the almond-shaped eyes contemplative, rather than focusing or merely staring. Proportional in size to the head, the nose rises smoothly from the ridged eyebrows that join at the bridge. The mouth is small, with the upper lip larger than the lower one, and the ears, although placed in their proper position with respect to the eyes, seem large and prominent. The head is bald, and between the head and the basket there is a plain pad, a type of support still used in the Near East to balance objects on the head comfortably and securely. It was probably originally made of twisted rope or cloth (see Unger 1927, pl. 141; Van Buren 1931, fig. 18; Ellis 1968, fig. 23).

This peg figurine is one of seven basket-carrier (canephore) examples excavated at Nippur, where they had been placed upright and covered with cloth (vestiges of which still remain) in baked brick foundation boxes covered with bitumen under the foundations of the É-dur-an-ki Temple of Inanna (Figs. 30, 31) built by Shulgi, the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (R. C. Haines, in *ILN*, 18 August 1956, 266, 268, figs. 9, 11, 12, and *ILN*, 6 September 1958, 389, fig. 19; Ellis 1968, fig. 21).² With each figurine in its foundation box was an uninscribed stone model of a plano-convex brick. Further, within two of the foundation boxes remains of wooden peg figurines of the same form as the metal ones were recovered; if the other boxes contained wooden figurines they had disintegrated before the time of excavation. Although the figurines were also uninscribed, a number of door sockets inscribed with Shulgi's name were found in the temple proper, thereby identifying him as the builder of the temple and the depositor of

the peg figurines. Foundation figurines were usually deposited inscribed with the king's name (Halla 1962, 4, 10; Ellis 1968, 68), but four examples from Shulgi's Ehursag palace at Ur were also deposited uninscribed (others of Shulgi at Ur were inscribed).

No. 436, although smaller and lighter, is almost identical in all details to No. 435; certainly in all its formal aspects it is the same. A stray without provenience (but presented here together with the Shulgi example for obvious convenience), it is identified by an inscription that covers most of the peg area; it reads: "To Inanna the lady of Eanna, his lady, Urnammu the mighty king, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, her temple he built, to its place he restored it." Urnammu (ca. 2111–2094 B.C.) was the first king of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the father of Shulgi (ca. 2094–2047 B.C.), his successor. The Metropolitan Museum's figurines are thus those of two successive kings, father and son, and the first rulers of the major dynasty to follow that of Akkad and the Gutti incursion.

How many years separate the time of manufacture of the two figurines is not known but the outer limits cannot be more than a half century. Small differences between the two might in some but not all cases be a result of their chronological range. The Shulgi figure has a ridge at the waist, Urnammu's is plain and there is a direct transition from torso to peg. But a figurine of Urnammu in the British Museum (Van Buren 1931, fig. 18) has the waist ridge and other Shulgi examples are plain (Van Buren 1931, fig. 21; Ellis 1968, fig. 24). The Shulgi torso seems to have less modeled upper arms and a more angular bend at the elbows than the Urnammu one, but one or two torsos of the other Shulgi examples from Nippur are as naturalistically rendered as the Urnammu torso. At the same time there are slight but noticeable differences in the head shape, and in the shape of the eyes and nose, subtly indicating, perhaps, that the Urnammu figure represents an older man. On the Urnammu piece the neck is better proportioned and the arms are better spaced from the head than on the Shulgi figure. Ellis (1968, 67) believes that it is not difficult to distinguish Shulgi and Urnammu figurines, because the Urnammu figures are more carefully modeled; examination of the examples of both kings tends to support his conclusion.

The history and development of foundation peg figurines (*Nagelmensch* and other forms) have been presented in some detail by Van Buren (1931), Ellis (1968), and Rashid (1957–71), and therefore need not be rehearsed here in full detail. Throughout the late Early Dynastic period, from the time of the pre-Urnanshe pegs (ED II/IIIa, see Nos. 433, 434) up to the time of Lugalkisalsi of Uruk (late ED IIIb, ca. mid-twenty-fifth century B.C.),

the figure above the peg held his hands clasped before his chest in prayer and supplication, and the peg itself, at first spikelike with no smooth transition from the torso, became by the time of Lugalkisalsi round and solid, with a more natural transition and an upper "waist." The peg was forced upright into the earth or into a brick within a wall or under a pavement (e.g., Hansen 1970b, 246, figs. 8, 9), and it was usually deposited with a tablet, sometimes set into it (Ellis 1968, 76f.; Unger 1927, fig. 139b; Christian 1940, pl. 153). The majority were made of metal, presumably copper or bronze, but a few were sculpted from stone: one example dedicated by Urnanshe, all three known of Lugalkisalsi (one excavated at Uruk), and a headless example from Uruk;³ stone examples do not occur after the Early Dynastic period. All the *Nagelmensch* heads of the Early Dynastic period have long hair, and the great majority are beardless (see note 3). The only notable deviation during this period occurs on the pegs of Enannatum I and his son Entemena of Lagash: a single pair of horns was placed on the head. Nine examples of Enannatum's pegs were excavated at al-Hiba (Lagash, in the Ibgal-Temple Oval), and at least one stray exists; five deposits of Entemena were excavated at Tello (Hansen 1970b, 246, figs. 9–12; Hansen 1973, 62ff.; Hansen 1975, 168, pl. 33a; de Sarzec and Heuzey 1884–1912, 241, pl. 5 bis:1; Ellis 1968, 52ff.).⁴

No foundation pegs are known from the Akkadian period proper, except for one possibly unique and apparently peripheral candidate, the lion pegs of the Hurrian king Tišatal of Urkish, which might be either late Akkadian, or from the Gudea or Ur III period (No. 495). The capital city of Akkad has yet to be investigated and such an investigation might alter the picture, although the Sumerian ideology may not have been adopted by the Semitic Akkadians. It is during the Gudea (neo-Sumerian) period, some two centuries after the last attested archaeological appearance of the *Nagelmensch* figurine, that foundation pegs appear again in the archaeological record, dramatically reflecting a return to Sumerian custom.⁵ The old *Nagelmensch* form was modified and three new ones, probably reflecting refined concepts and impulses, for the original ideational principle and physical form were not abandoned, took their place: a horned, kneeling deity holding a large peg, the lower part of which projects below the figure for pinning purposes, from the time of Ur-Bau (two pegs) and his successor Gudea (about twenty-five?); a reclining bull on a short, pointed peg, attested only for Gudea (two) and by a single example of Shulgi, who ruled at Ur about thirty years later; and a full-bodied, kilted male figure, bald and clean-shaven, with nude upper torso, who stands—or walks—with one foot forward on a



435



435





short, pointed peg, and who balances with both arms a basket on his head (about four?). All these pegs occur only at Tello (de Sarzec and Heuzey 1884–1912, 242, pls. 8:1, 28:2–6; Ellis 1968, figs. 14, 17–19).⁶ There is another innovation at this time. During the earlier periods the figurines were embedded by means of the peg directly into the earth or a brick, but beginning with Ur-Bau they were placed inside brick boxes set into pits, out of direct contact with earth and brick (Halla 1962, 10; Ellis 1968, 72, fig. 21); tablets continued to be deposited with the figurines. It should also be noted in passing that although the canephore peg is an innovation of Gudea, its representation in art goes back to the time of Urnanshe (Moortgat 1969, pls. 109, 111).

In the course of the immediately succeeding political period, that of Ur III, and continuing over some three hundred years into the Isin-Larsa period, the classic (normative) form of the foundation peg was the canephore, bald and clean-shaven; the sole exception was the reclining bull peg of Shulgi, mentioned above. These canephore figurines are not like the full-bodied, kilted examples placed on a short peg introduced by Gudea; rather the area below the male torso is a rounded, blunt-ended peg, as on the Metropolitan Museum's two canephores. In the Isin-Larsa period, those of Warad-Sin and his successor Rim-Sin, the last kings to deposit foundation pegs,⁷ the peg is heavier, more like "a thick column or post," and the heads and torsos are heavier, readily stylistically distinguishable from earlier canephores (Van Buren 1931, figs. 23–27; Ellis 1968, 70). The Ur III–Isin-Larsa peg shape is formally, and probably consciously, a renewal of the Early Dynastic model, and actually was first reintroduced by Urningirsu, son of Gudea, who reigned only a few years before Urnammu; this is evidenced by the sole example of a foundation peg known from his reign (Van Buren 1931, fig. 15; Ellis 1968, 62, fig. 20).⁸ Only one substantial innovation, or deviation, was introduced during these periods, and that was confined to the very beginning. In addition to the conventional peg canephore, Urnammu also had made for his deposits figurines with the full body sculpted. The upper torso is still nude but the lower portion is clothed in a long skirt that flares at the base and the bare feet stand (not walk) on a low pedestal. Lacking a peg, the figurine is actually a statuette, not a *Nagelmensch* (R. C. Haines, in *ILN*, 18 August 1956, 268f., figs. 13–15, and *ILN*, 6 September 1958, 387, 389, fig. 17; Crawford 1959, 78). Three of these have been excavated at Nippur and one is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Schlossman 1976, 16ff., figs. 5–7);⁹ they are peculiar to Urnammu and are superbly modeled. Another possible innovation may have been the deposition of wooden peg figurines, for to date they are only attested for

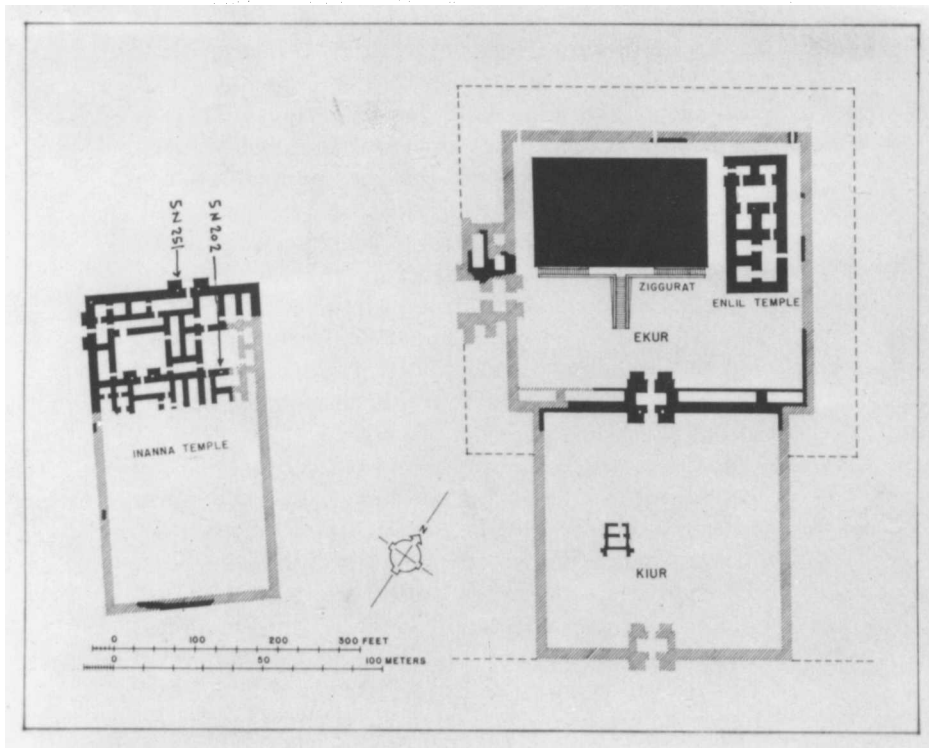


FIG. 30.

Floor plan of the É-dur-an-ki Temple of Inanna, Nippur (from *ILN*, 18 August 1956, 266, fig. 1).

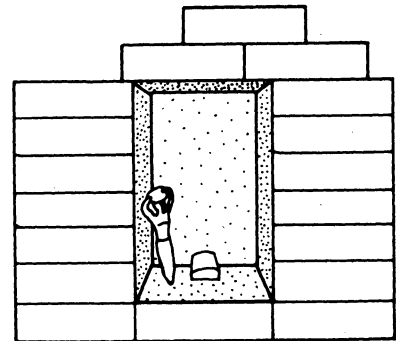


FIG. 31.

Placement of figurine in foundation box (from Ellis 1968, fig. 21c).

Urnammu and Shulgi (Ellis 1968, 68f.; see above). Yet, inasmuch as wood decays and is rarely preserved, one cannot exclude the possibility that the practice began earlier, or continued later.

From the time of their Early Dynastic inception to the time of their abandonment at the end of the Isin-Larsa period, the pegs were deposited in temples; the sole exception is the Shulgi deposition in the Ehursag palace at Ur (Ellis 1968, 63f., 163; Rashid 1957–71, 659). Foundation peg deposits were arranged under the corners of buildings, or under doors and gateways, or even scattered under walls or pavements, usually with stone and/or metal tablets. And they are a characteristic of southern Mesopotamian building rites; the nonfigurative plates from Mari (see Nos. 433, 434) and the Urkish lion pegs (No. 495), assuming that they derived from a northern, non-Mesopotamian site, are the only geographical exceptions. The Shulgi deposits at Susa clearly represent a Mesopotamian custom of a Mesopotamian king, and no native ruler deposited pegs there, indicating that the deposition was not a local manifestation.

The largest corpus of Early Dynastic peg figurines derives from Tello and to date the apparently earliest examples, those from the pre-Urnanshe period, derive from there; no other site has yet yielded *Nagelmensch* figurines of this early date. This situation has led Rashid (1957–71, 657) to conclude that Tello “als Geburtsort der Gründungsfiguren anzusehen ist, von wo aus sich

die Sitte über ganz Mesopotamien ausbreitete.” Limiting consideration only to excavated examples, it may be noted that only three Early Dynastic sites have yielded *Nagelmensch* figurines, al-Hiba, Tello, and Uruk; Tello alone has yielded examples from the Ur-Bau and Gudea reigns; five sites of the Ur III period contained examples, Tello, Uruk, Ur, Nippur, and Susa; and only one site has produced an example from the Isin-Larsa period, that of Rim-Sin at Ur: a total of six sites for all. Counting the excavated and unexcavated examples, the latter recognized primarily from inscriptions, the foundation pegs of fourteen Mesopotamian kings have been recovered: from the Early Dynastic period—pre-Urnanshe, Urnanshe, Enannatum I, Entemena, and Lugalkisalsi; from the Gudea period—Ur-Bau, Gudea, and Urningirsu; from Ur III—Urnammu, Shulgi, Amar-Sin, and Šu-Sin; and for the Isin-Larsa period—Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin.¹⁰

Although some of the early writers assumed that many of the human figurines represented females (de Sarzec and Heuzey 1884–1912, 240; Unger 1927, 565; Van Buren 1931, passim, esp. 3, 75; Christian 1940, 181), it seems certain that in fact all are males (Ellis 1968, 23f., 73f.; Spycket 1981, 63).¹¹ Enannatum’s and Entemena’s horned pegs, as well as the kneeling figurines of Ur-Bau and Gudea, are certainly deities, but the great majority represent humans, most probably the king himself depicted as participating in the temple construction (Ellis 1968,

24, 74, for textual evidence of this activity see pp. 20ff., 26f.; Hansen 1975, 168; Orthmann, 1975, 179, nos. 33b, 65). The inscription on the Metropolitan Museum's Urnammu figurine suggests that it is the king himself who is represented as royal builder. However, that the horned figurines of Enannatum (and probably those of Entemena also) specifically representing the personal god of the king were deposited to pray perpetually to the major deity inhabiting the temple is indicated by the inscribed examples from al-Hiba (Hansen 1970b, 247f.); Enannatum's god was named Shulutula. Whether this concept obtained also for the later kneeling deities of Ur-Bau and Gudea is not known but it remains a plausible suggestion.¹² Countering this suggestion, however, is the fact that these kneeling deities have four pairs of horns, indicating that they are divinities of the highest rank. They might therefore not be personal deities but rather a major one who presumably was expected to have a special interest in the welfare of the ruler.

The peg figurines were never intended to be seen by anyone but deities and, except for those that may have been accidentally encountered as a result of ancient building or rebuilding activities, once in the ground, they were expected to remain there forever. Foundation figurines thus represent one of the few classes of artifacts that were made exclusively to be hidden away from human eyes and enterprise from the moment of their manufacture; an appreciation of this feature enhances their human and spiritual value in the minds of modern observers.

Returning to the two foundation pegs in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, we perceive that they continued a tradition and a form that had been initiated by Gudea and Urningirsu a short time before they were made, that of the canephore, which itself continued a tradition begun over four hundred years earlier. Two peg figurines of Urnammu were excavated at Uruk, and a third, in the British Museum, mentions É-an-na, surely the Inanna temple at Uruk, whence the peg probably derived;¹³ Hallo (1962, 26) cites an unpublished example in Glasgow. And as already mentioned above there are three skirted figurines of Urnammu from Nippur and a stray in the Morgan Library. Canephore figurines of Shulgi are more numerous than those of his father and form the largest preserved corpus of any king. In addition to the seven from Nippur, there are two from Uruk, three from Tello, nine from Ur (four of which are uninscribed), and sixteen from Susa, a total of thirty-seven bronze figurines (plus the two partly preserved wooded ones) from five sites. Ellis (1968, 65, n. 144) lists five stray Shulgi figurines, in Chicago, Detroit, Rome, at Yale, and in the Pomerance collection.¹⁴

Whether the incompleteness of archaeological exca-

vation plays a role in this matter is not known, but it may be significant to point out that the deposits of no other Mesopotamian king have been recovered at so many sites. Urnammu is represented at two sites, and the depositions of all the other kings, to my knowledge, occur at only one site (see note 10).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 435: Crawford 1960, 250, fig. 9; Crawford et al. 1966, 13, fig. 18; *ILN*, 18 August 1956, 268, fig. 9 (center?); *MMA Guide* 1972, 45, no. 5; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 36, no. 45. No. 436: Wilkinson 1949, 192, right; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 5. Both Nos. 435 and 436 are illustrated in E. W. Watts, *Archaeology: Exploring the Past* (MMA Junior Museum, New York, 1965), 36.

NOTES

1. Cu: 98.5%, Sn: .043%, Pb: .243%, Zn: .003% (1986). The Gudea and Urnammu figurines in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, are also almost pure copper: Schlossman 1976, 21.

2. At least two other foundation boxes were recovered, but they had been destroyed in antiquity by later building projects.

3. See Nos. 433, 434, notes 2 and 4; Ellis 1968, 48ff., 52; Moortgat 1969, 38, pls. 81–83. In Rashid's (1957–71) chart 1 Lugalkisalsi column in the Tello section, there is a figure with a question mark (indicating it was not excavated) and an arrow to the left suggesting the piece may be earlier. This piece seems to be a bronze example in the British Museum (no. 91.016; Van Buren 1931, 9, fig. 8; Ellis 1968, 54, fig. 8: the use of silhouettes rather than line drawings makes specific identification of figurines in Rashid's chart difficult). It is the only peg figurine known to me where the peg is in the form of a modeled nude human body, even depicting male sex. The figure is bearded, rare among the metal pegs except for another peg in the British Museum (Van Buren 1931, fig. 7), and the kneeling deities of the Gudea period, but occurring on the stone pegs of Lugalkisalsi (see below). Presumably, it is the beard that caused Rashid to assign it to Lugalkisalsi, for there seems no other reason for the attribution. Further, Rashid has included another figurine in the Lugalkisalsi column, also with a question mark and an arrow pointing left, in his "Kunsthandel" section; I do not know whether this piece is a duplicate of the British Museum example or still another, one unknown to me. In any event, the British Museum nude figurine should not be included among the examples excavated at Tello, which is presumably the site assigned by the vendor. Ellis (1968, 54) dates it to the time of Enannatum I or to Entemena, which seems to be a correct judgment.

In the *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 7, 2 (1949–50), 39ff., E. Capps, Jr., published the torso of a bearded stone figurine that may or may not be (or meant to be) the remains of a foundation peg. The only other reference to it that I can find is in Strommenger (1960, 35, n. 279), where she states that it is "wohl eine Fälschung nach derartigen bärtigen Nagelmenschen," i.e., of the Lugalkisalsi group. If a forgery, it is the only one I know of among the corpus (in 1961 there was on the art market a bronze example similar to those of Enannatum but with uncanonical hands and poorly articulated horns; I know it only from photographs and am not sure whether it is genuine or not; to my knowledge it has not been published).

4. On the stone ("boulder") associated with the Erlenmeyer Enannatum figurine (Ellis 1968, 52f.), both Enannatum and the Ibgal are mentioned: if in fact the stone belongs with the figurine, then they both derive from al-Hiba (Girsu), not Tello (Lagash) as in chart 1 of Rashid. No figurines of Enannatum have been excavated at Tello,

but five of Entemena were recovered there. Rashid (1957–71) also places a peg figurine of Entemena in his Bismaya section without explanation. To Ellis's list of Enannatum–Entemena figurines, add one in the Schimmel collection (Harper in Muscarella 1974a, no. 107); see also note 3 above.

5. There is of course the stele of Puzur-Inshushinak from Susa (Moortgat 1969, pl. 158) from the Akkadian period (Sarkalisharri) that depicts a kneeling deity holding a large peg, exactly in the same manner as on the foundation pegs of Ur-Bau and Gudea. Ellis (1968, 58) notes that it is possible that Puzur-Inshushinak placed such pegs in his deposits at Susa, an unproven hypothesis. It is possible that the motif of the kneeling deity as a foundation peg was already known and deposited in Akkadian times, although one has yet to be recovered archaeologically. It is of some interest in this context to note that Hallo ("Gutium," in *RLA* III [1957–71], 714) argues that Ur-Bau and Gudea were rulers at Lagash contemporary with the last rulers of Akkad: thus, the kneeling deity with peg motif at Susa would not predate the metal examples in the round, which would be, in this system of chronology, late Akkadian/Gudea period, but culturally Sumerian.

6. Obtaining an exact number of foundation pegs known from any period from either excavations or the art market is not easy; excavation reports do not always give exact numbers excavated; some still turn up on the art market (see A. Hori, *Faces in the Ancient Near East* [Tokyo, 1983], no. 18, kneeling figure with peg; and *Masterpieces* [E. H. Merrin Gallery, New York, 1984–85], no. 6, a Warad-Sin peg; see also note 7 below); others remain unpublished (e.g., the Metropolitan Museum Urnammu peg, No. 436, for some reason not mentioned by Ellis); some get mentioned twice as two separate examples (Ellis 1968, 61, n. 105, mentions a Gudea peg at Yale, which is in fact the Morgan Library example: Schlossman 1976, 10, n. 2). My total count of the figured foundation pegs (counting the two wooden examples from Nippur) comes to approximately 182 examples; there may actually be more. For the undetermined number of Gudea pegs, excavated and unexcavated, see Ellis 1968, 61, n. 105; Schlossman 1976, 9f., n. 2; to Ellis's and Schlossman's list, add two examples in Kansas City: *Handbook of the Collections in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts*, 5th ed. (Kansas City, 1973), I, 11, for one example; the other remains unpublished. Both examples went to Kansas City from the excavations at Tello as that museum's share of the finds resulting from its support. Note that I cannot find in the literature any reference to the *Nageltier* (two examples) that Rashid (1957–71, 657, chart 1) assigns to Entemena at Bismaya: if they are that early, they would predate the Gudea bull pegs.

7. The only foundation pegs known from the Isin-Larsa period are those of the last two kings of the Dynasty of Larsa (late nineteenth–early eighteenth century B.C.). Only one example, that of Rim-Sin, was excavated (Ur). Of the unexcavated examples of these kings' deposits, Ellis (1976, 70, nn. 175, 176) lists one of Warad-Sin and five of Rim-Sin. They are very similar and not readily distinguishable one from the other: to Ellis's list of Warad-Sin/Rim-Sin figurines, add Terrace 1962, no. 11 (Boston); sale catalogue, Sotheby's, New York, 10–11 June 1983, no. 143; Merrin Gallery, see note 6; and an unpublished example in the Hirshhorn Museum, Washington, D.C. The Warad-Sin piece in the British Museum (Van Buren 1931, fig. 25) is assigned by Rashid (1957–71, chart 1) to Tello with no explanation; likewise, he does not explain why he places a figurine of Rim-Sin in his Nippur section.

8. This figurine is in the Yale Babylonian Collection and its provenience remains unknown. Rashid (1957–71, 658) says it is "wohl aus Girsu" and places it in his Tello section in chart 1. I can discover no reason for this assignment from the inscription even though Urningirsu was a king of Girsu.

9. The Morgan Library example was purchased in Paris in 1907 (C. H. W. Johns, *Ur-Engur, a Bronze of the Fourth Millennium in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* [New Haven, 1920], 20), where the dealer claimed that it came from Nippur. The inscription on the skirt is the same as that on a brick from Nippur (Johns, *Ur-Engur*, 20f.; Hallo 1962, 24) and both Johns and Hallo accept the Morgan figurine as deriving from that site. Rashid (1957–71) places it in the "Kunsthandel" section of his chart 1, not at Nippur.

10. Rashid's (1957–71) chart 1 should be modified by the interested researcher to reflect more accurately the excavated and unexcavated examples and their proveniences or lack of same (aside from those he marks with an X: see notes 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 14 here).

Two objects identified as foundation peg figurines continue to puzzle me, as both are uncanonical. The first, in the Schimmel collection (Muscarella 1974a, no. 109), consists of a kneeling nude male set on a plinth above a pointed peg (height 12.5 cm). No certain foundation pegs known have a similar or related iconography, yet structurally and formally the object resembles a foundation peg (I expressed my concern in the publication with a question mark). The only other interpretation with regard to function that comes to mind is that the object is a linchpin. However, most linchpins in the round or depicted in art are human torsos with hands clasped (Calmeyer 1980, 99ff., 111, publishes ten examples in the round; see also Karageorghis 1973–74, pls. CI–CV). A linchpin, from eighth-century B.C. Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, I, 208f., fig. 142; Ellis 1966, pl. viii:1a–b; Calmeyer 1980, 106, fig. 2), represents a clothed kneeling male, here with both knees on the ground, as opposed to the Schimmel piece which has only one knee touching the ground, and its peg has a blunt tip. Ellis (1966, 47f.) calls attention to the formal similarities of linchpins and foundation pegs (see Gropp 1980, 109f.), and in the final analysis I leave the question of function open. The second example is in the Ternbach collection (Merhav 1981, 46, no. 23) and consists of a reclining "ram or calf" on a plinth set above a relatively thick tenon, apparently broken at its tip or base. Its height is unclear (the caption says it is 6.7 cm in height, while the text says that it "when whole, measured some 10–12 cm. in length"). The tenon is definitely not a typical foundation peg, although the reclining animal is attested for the Gudea and Shulgi periods (and Bismaya?, see note 6) at Tello (not Ur). I am not convinced that the Ternbach object is a foundation peg, pace Merhav, who considered it an uncanonical form and compared it to the Schimmel example. I have not counted these two examples in the enumeration given in note 6. Compare also a bronze mother and child terminating in a flat tenon from Susa (Amiet 1966, fig. 324), which should be brought into a discussion of possible uncanonical foundation pegs, or perhaps of pegged objects having a different function.

11. Ellis (1968, 73f.) suggests that the only examples that could possibly represent females are some figurines of Rim-Sin because of the roundness of the "breast" area. But he also cautiously suggests that these too are probably males, sculpted perhaps to represent a contemporary form of "male beauty."

12. That Enannatum's personal god was deposited to pray for him to Inanna does not necessarily indicate that other functions for the *Nagelmensch* did not obtain at other times and places. Thus, aside from representing the king himself in building activity, the peg may also have functioned to mark off a sacred area, to pin or fix the temple or the deity to the earth, or to protect the temple (Unger 1926, 565; Ellis 1968, 75, 90, 166).

13. Ellis 1968, 64; Van Buren 1931, 22, fig. 18. I wish to thank Richard Zettler for confirming the dedication for me. An empty foundation box of Urnammu and a foundation tablet without context belonging to this same king were excavated at Ur (Ellis 1968, 63). Thus, at least three sites contained foundation deposits of Urnammu.

14. The last piece is the one listed by Ellis as in the Queens College Art Collection; note, too, that the Entemena figurine listed by Ellis (p. 54, n. 55) as in the Metropolitan Museum is in fact in the Pomerance collection (it was on loan to the Metropolitan Museum): see Terrace 1966, no. 4; no. 5 is the Shulgi figurine. Rashid (1957–71, 658, chart 1) says that the only figurines known to exist of the Ur III kings Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin, the immediate successors of Shulgi, derive “wohl aus Ur” and Girsu, respectively, but with no explanation. The Amar-Sin peg is dedicated to Nanna, which is perhaps the reason for the Ur attribution (Van Buren 1931, 28f.); it need not be an accurate one. The Šu-Sin attribution to Uruk comes from the dealer.

437. Dog Figurine

59.41.8; Nippur 6N 407; Area ZA i, Level II.1
Rogers Fund, 1959
Bronze;¹ length 5 cm

THIS FIGURINE, very corroded when excavated, seems to be a dog. It is crudely modeled, with no body features; the rear area of the body, the front and rear legs, and the tail are melded with the base on which the figure stands; the head has no details except a characteristic dog's snout and large ears. There is no published information to date regarding the findspot, but because it has a base like the other dogs from Nippur that came from a shrine (Crawford 1959, fig. on p. 81; see also McCown, Haines, Hansen 1967, pl. 33:4, an example from the Enlil Temple, Level I), it too may have had a similar apotropaic function (see Nos. 444, 474).²

NOTES

1. Cu: 93.4%, Sn: 5.67%, Pb: .290%, Zn: .003% (1986).

2. It is possible that this dog is one of the examples published by R. C. Haines in *ILN*, 6 September 1958, 388f., fig. 21, “found on a floor immediately below the Parthian foundations.”

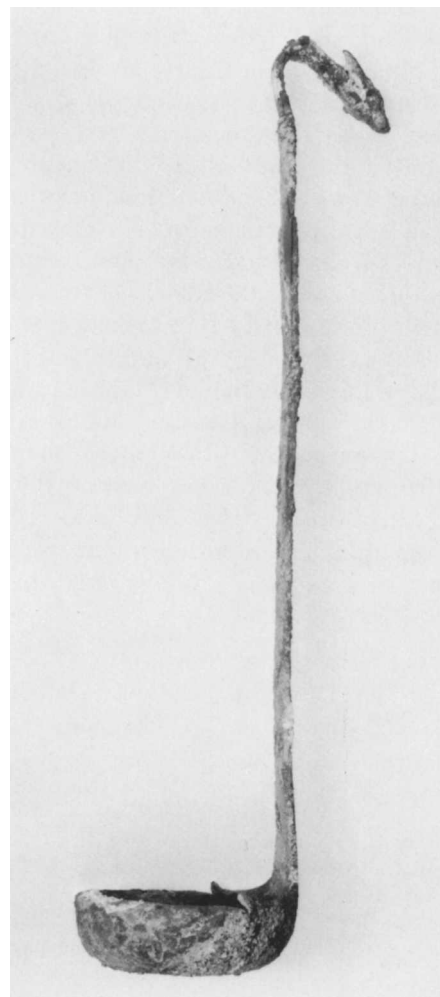
438. Ladle

59.41.4; Nippur 6N 62; Level II fill of the Parthian Temple
Rogers Fund, 1959
Bronze; length 25.8 cm

THE LADLE has a plain, shallow cup set at right angles to a vertical handle that has a bent tip (for hanging) terminating in a gazelle's head. No stylistic feature distinguishes it as belonging to one specific period, although from its excavation context within a Parthian temple (R. C. Haines, *ILN*, 6 September 1958, 386, 389, fig. 18), its date seems secured to that period. Fortunately, this chronological position is verified in general by a ladle exactly like this one that was excavated in a Hellenistic context at Masjid-i Suleiman in Iran (Ghirshman 1976, 84, pls. CIII:3, 58:G.MIS 262).¹ A bronze



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ladle, with a plain straight tip, was excavated in a Parthian sarcophagus at Assur (Andrae and Lenzen 1933, 96, pl. 46:g). Another bronze ladle, also with a straight tip, decorated with a crenellation motif, comes from Tell Halaf (Hrouda 1962, 49, pl. 35:3); it is unstratified but assigned to the Parthian period. Two bronze ladles, one complete with a loop at the top of the straight handle, were excavated in a Sasanian context at Qasr-i-Abu Nasr (Upton 1934, 19, fig. 32, top; Upton in Frye 1973, 19).

That the basic type was both widespread and long-lived is indicated by a very similar example, straight handle, bent tip ending in an animal's head, from Tell Fara (Petrie 1930, pl. XLVII:716), dated to the Achaemenian period. Indeed, the Parthian ladle continues as a later form the Achaemenian ladle (see Stern 1982, 146f., fig. 244),² itself a development of earlier and similar forms.

A close parallel to the ladle here is an unexcavated example in a private collection (Albenda 1974, no. 94; cf. sale catalogues, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 148, and 7 August 1981, no. 180).

At Hansanlu, Period IV, at least one bronze ladle (paradoxically with a hole at the center of the cup; unpublished) has an obliquely curved handle terminating in a snake or animal head (see also No. 12). And late-eighth-century B.C. examples from Phrygian Gordion, more elaborate in design than the Hasanlu ladle, have vertical handles terminating in bird's heads (R. S. Young 1981, 13f., 227ff., pls. 8H, I; 64A, B; 89A–D). Of interest is that ladles from Marlik and Sialk in Iran and Gordion in Anatolia were associated with large vessels, indicating their functions as dipping utensils (R. S. Young 1981; Mellink in R. S. Young 1981, 266; Moorey 1980a, 195f.). It is possible that the Parthian examples, as well as Greek and Achaemenian examples, may ultimately derive from the Phrygian type.³

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

R. C. Haines, in *ILN*, 6 September 1958, 389, fig 18.

NOTES

1. See also an example from Tel Anafa in Israel from the Hellenistic period. It has a bent top terminating in a duck's head and a deep cut: S. S. Weinberg, *Tel Anafa: The Hellenistic Town* (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1970), 8.

2. Now see a group of classic Achaemenian silver ladles in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (D. von Bothmer, in *MMAB* 42, 1 [1984], nos. 60–64), there incorrectly called Greek. The ladle number 59 is probably East Greek, not Greek, and the Achaemenian spoon, number 65, has a good parallel, also silver, from Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, fig. 86:5, pl. 151). For excavated Achaemenian ladles, see Muscarella 1977a, 196; Muscarella 1980b, 26, n. 4: the ladles cited here as from Aydin and Sardis are exactly the same as those in von Bothmer, *MMAB* 42, 1 (1984), nos. 60, 61; see also Moorey 1980a, 187, pl. 11a, b, in the British Museum. Barnett (1962, 90) believes that the addorsed calf heads on an Achaemenian ladle from Tell Fara is Urartian: it most certainly is not (nor, indeed, is his fig. 6, a bronze mirror, Urartian: it is probably Lydian as noted by Moorey 1980, 57).

3. Moorey (1980a, 184ff., fig. 1, pl. 11a) published a bronze ladle in the Ashmolean Museum which has a broad handle that is set at right angles to the deep bowl and terminates in two duck heads. Moorey correctly notes the Phrygian–Lydian characteristics of the handle-spout angle, but on the basis of the lotus motif on the handle he concludes that the ladle was made in Achaemenian times. There can be little doubt concerning the western Anatolian origin of the ladle (cf. the Gordion references given in this catalogue entry), but I am not certain that the lotus is Achaemenian. Thus, while Moorey's conclusion may be correct, the possibility that the ladle is pre-Achaemenian cannot be excluded.

439. Dagger

59.41.9; Nippur 6N 73; Level II fill of the Parthian Temple

Rogers Fund, 1959

Iron; length 14.5 cm, width at hilt 4 cm

SMALL in length, this blade is a dagger, most of which is preserved except for the tip. The hilt is short and was once overlaid by a perishable material, probably wood. The blade tapers slightly below the characteristic horizontal, rectangular guard.

Excavated in a Parthian level (see No. 438), the dagger has a distinctive shape that confirms an attribution to the Parthian period, rather than earlier. Daggers and swords of iron and with exactly the same hilt and guard form have been excavated in Parthian tombs in north-western Iran at Hassanimahale (Sono and Fukai 1968, pls. XLIV:8, LXXIII:8) and Noruzmahale (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1966, 10f., pls. XXXV:4, XLV:6, XLVI:1; Hori 1981, 47, fig. 3:9, 10).



440. Arrowhead

59.41.3; Nippur 5N 216; SB General, Level II wall
Rogers Fund, 1959
Bronze; length 5.8 cm, thickness 1.2 cm

441. Needle Pin

59.41.5; Nippur 6N 64; SB General, found during tearing out of Level II walls
Rogers Fund, 1959
Bronze; length 14.3 cm

442. Spatula/Kohl Stick

59.41.6; Nippur 6N 117; SB General, found during tearing out of Level II walls
Rogers Fund, 1959
Bronze; length 9.8 cm, thickness .5 cm

443. Nail

59.41.7; Nippur 6N 175; ZE, Level II
Rogers Fund, 1959
Bronze; length 3.6 cm

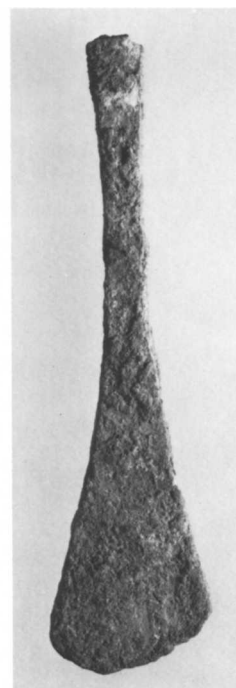
THESE FOUR objects all derive from excavations at Nippur but there is no specific information other than that given above. The arrowhead is heavy and solid, with a prominent rib, and a stop above the tang. The spatula or kohl stick is flat and broken at one end; for other examples from Nippur, see McCown, Haines, Hansen 1967, 107, pl. 154:4, from the Old Babylonian period. For the needle pin, see No. 37.



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NIMRUD

444. Figurine of a Dog

54.117.23; Nimrud 2185; Northwest Palace, well NN
Rogers Fund, 1954
Bronze; length 4.2 cm, height 3.2 cm

THIS SMALL figurine clearly depicts a dog. While the body is not articulated as more than a mass, the head, ears, and legs are naturally rendered to articulate a canine; the tail curls up on itself. The dog was discovered with other bronze dogs and a cat in a well along with ivory carvings (Mallowan 1966, 146f., fig. 86); it is plausible to assume that all the objects were discarded by the destroyers of Nimrud in 612 B.C.

Small representations of dogs in the round, of both clay and bronze, were often buried under doorways and pavements of buildings as apotropaic figures to ward



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off evil spirits (Woolley 1926, 689, 700), as was another first-millennium example, of clay, from Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, 431, 433, fig. 359). Some clay dogs were inscribed with orders to attack such as, "Don't stop to think, bite," or "Don't stop to think, open your mouth" (Van Buren 1931, 56, 72; Meissner 1922, 201; Woolley 1926, 700; Lines 1955, 242f.; Mallowan 1966, 103,² 147; Heimpel 1972-75, 497). In addition to the finds from Nimrud, bronze and clay dogs in the round, seated or standing, have been excavated under doors or pavements at many other sites in Mesopotamia, dating from the late second and first millennium B.C.: for example at Isin, late Kassite period and first millennium (Hrouda 1977, 43, 53, pls. 9, 12; Fuhr in Hrouda 1977, 136f.); at a site near Aqar Quf, Kassite period (*Sumer* 3 [1947], 21); at Nippur, first millennium B.C., six examples with a *Hundehalter* (see No. 474; Crawford 1959, 81; McCown, Haines, Hansen 1967, 24, pl. 33:4; see also No. 437); at Ur, first millennium (Woolley 1926, 690, 695, figs. 9, 16, 17; Woolley 1962, 16, 111f., pl. 25; Woolley 1965, 94, pls. 28, 32, 34); at Nineveh and Kish, first millennium (Woolley 1926, 689; Van Buren 1931, 56, fig. 36; Van Buren 1939, 17f.); and from the first-millennium sanctuary of Surkh Dum in Luristan (No. 212). Many have the curled-up tail as on our example, and it is not easy to distinguish early examples from later ones.

Texts associate dogs with various deities or name them as their companions: Gula, Ninhararak, Ninisina (perhaps these three were manifestations of the same goddess), Ninkilim, Lamashtu, Marduk, and still others (Opificius 1961, 237; Heimpel 1972-75, 496; Fuhr in Hrouda 1977, 136ff., 142). The goddess Gula, protector of homes and also associated with healing gifts, was especially involved with dogs both in texts and in representations (Meissner 1922, 202; Seidl 1968, 143; Heimpel 1972-75, 496; Fuhr in Hrouda 1977, 137ff.). Texts inform us that Nebuchadnezzar II dedicated dogs of gold, silver, and copper to the deity Gula (Heimpel 1972-75, 496); and at Isin thirty-three (or more) dog burials of undetermined date were found in the temple area of the goddess Ninisina-Gula (Hrouda 1973, 40, figs. 9, 10; Hrouda 1977, 18f., 97f., 136, pls. 14, 15), to date a unique find.

Indeed, dogs have been represented in art in the round and in relief for several millennia, sometimes juxtaposed to a deity (Van Buren 1939, 14ff.; Opificius 1961, nos. 624, 628, 658, 661; Seidl 1968, 140ff.; Schlossman in Muscarella 1981a, 115f.). Large terracotta, and sometimes stone, dogs in the round were excavated at Tello, Sippar, Tell Harmal, and Susa, in some instances suggesting that they had been guarding temples (Schlossman in Muscarella 1981a, 115).

Collectively, the archaeological, literary, and icono-

graphical evidence demonstrates that dogs were associated with a number of deities in the Mesopotamian region.³ The small figures of dogs thus represent more than a simple depiction of an animal.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

ILN, 16 August 1952, 254, fig. 3; Lines 1955, 242f.; Mallowan 1966, 147, fig. 86.

NOTES

1. Cu: 69.3%, Sn: 2.87%, Pb: 22.3%, Zn: 1.44%, Fe: 2.45%, As: 1.17% (1986). The high Pb content is worthy of notice, as are the traces of Zn, Fe, As. The figurine of a dog and man (No. 474) has only 2.04% Pb.

2. Mallowan here suggests that one of the bronze dogs from Nimrud was inscribed but this may be an oversight: could he mean the clay dog shown in his fig. 359?

3. For the role of dogs in European cult and myth, see J. Maringer, "Der Hund in der Mythologie der vorgeschichtlichen Menschen," *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 11/12 (1980-81), 37-41. Note that a bronze animal from Sagzabad in northwestern Iran may represent a dog, S. Malek Shahmirzadi, in *AMI* 12 (1979), 61, pl. 9:1.

445. Ring (?)

57.27.99; Nimrud (no field number or provenience recorded)

Rogers Fund, 1957

Bronze; height 4.5 cm

THE RING is corroded but was apparently made in one piece with a solid bifurcated protuberance. It is not clear what its function was and I can find no parallels for it. One thinks, if it was worn on a finger, of an archer's ring with a groove for resting the bow string before its release (cf. No. 360), or of a "brass knuckle" (*Schlagring*). Stronach (1958, 178, pl. xxxv:2) suggested that iron rings with splayed ends from Nimrud, not too dissimilar from the present example, might have been used as rests for door bolts. To my mind none of these suggestions regarding possible use seems satisfactory.

446, 447. Disk Ornaments

58.31.40, 41; Nimrud 6152; Fort Shalmaneser NW 15

Rogers Fund, 1958

Copper/bronze; diameter of both 1.9 cm

TWO SMALL, flat rosettes, one very corroded, the other with ten petals; the former still preserves a nail through its center that attached the disk to another object.

Stronach (1958, 174, pl. xxxiv:16, 17) noted that a large quantity of copper plaques and disks were excavated at Nimrud and that among the most popular forms was a rosette disk. They vary in size and in the number of petals, and Stronach suggested that they were used

to ornament a variety of objects such as wristlets, diadems, quivers, horse harness, chariot boxes, and so forth (cf. Hrouda 1965, pls. 8, 9).

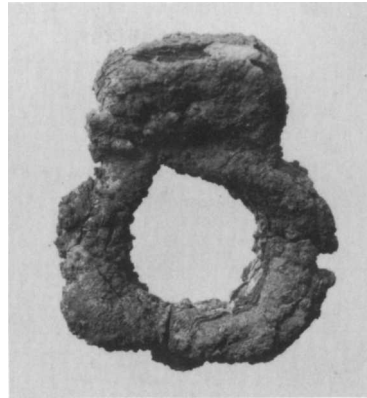
448, 449. Tubes

57.27.82, 83; Nimrud (no field number or provenience recorded)

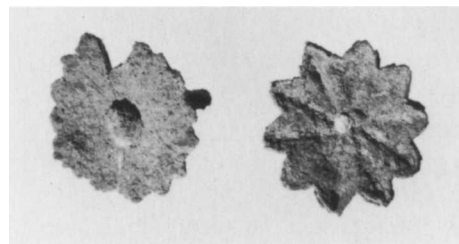
Rogers Fund, 1957

Bronze; lengths 6.5, 5.1 cm

THESE TUBES are simply made from a sheet of metal folded to the desired shape; the seams are visible. No. 449 still has its original wood interior preserved, so it is certain that they were not used as straws or piping (cf. Nos. 128, 129). Stronach (1958, pl. xxv:3) published a similar tube from Fort Shalmaneser NW 15.



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446, 447

450. Ring

57.27.84; Nimrud (no field number or provenience recorded)

Rogers Fund, 1957

Bronze; diameter 2.1 cm

A SIMPLE ring was formed from a plain looped wire. It seems too small to have been used as a ring unless it was worn by a child.



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451. Armor Plates

59.107.28a; 59.107.29a, b; Nimrud 8127;

Fort Shalmaneser sw 7

Rogers Fund, 1959

Bronze; length of each plate 6.3 cm, width 1.4 cm

452. Armor Plates

59.107.28b; Nimrud 8127; Fort Shalmaneser sw 7

Rogers Fund, 1959

Bronze; length of each plate 2.4 cm, width 1.5 cm

453. Armor Plate

58.31.38; Nimrud 6339; Fort Shalmaneser NW 15

Rogers Fund, 1958

Iron; length 8.3 cm

454. Armor Plates

59.107.30a, b; Nimrud 8141; Fort Shalmaneser sw 7

Rogers Fund, 1959

Iron; length of each plate 4.3 cm; width 1.2 cm



450

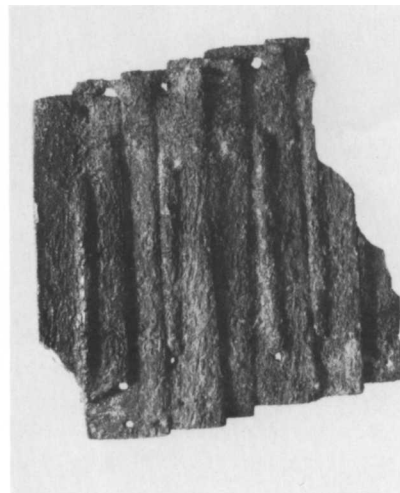
451a



451b



451c

**455. Armor Plates**

57.27.65–81; Nimrud (field numbers not recorded);
Fort Shalmaneser
Rogers Fund, 1957
Bronze; length of No. 455a 5.4 cm, width 2.5 cm

456. Armor Plates

57.27.86–98; Nimrud (field numbers not recorded);
Fort Shalmaneser
Rogers Fund, 1957
Iron; greatest length 6.4 cm, smallest length 2.5 cm

457. Armor Plates

58.31.32–37; Nimrud 6339; Fort Shalmaneser NW 15
Rogers Fund, 1958
Iron; length of No. 457e 7.8 cm; width 2.5 cm

458. Armor Plates

59.107.31, 32; Nimrud 7556; Fort Shalmaneser SW 7
Rogers Fund, 1959
Iron; length of No. 458a 9.5 cm, width 5.3 cm; length
of No. 458b 9.7 cm, width 5.3 cm

459. Armor Plate (?)

58.31.31; Nimrud 6339; Fort Shalmaneser NW 15
Rogers Fund, 1958
Iron; length 7.5 cm

THESE bronze and iron armor plates are examples of the variety of types excavated at Nimrud from Fort Shalmaneser. They were most certainly used as body armor by local warriors; No. 458 may however have been used as horse armor (Mallowan 1966, 426). The

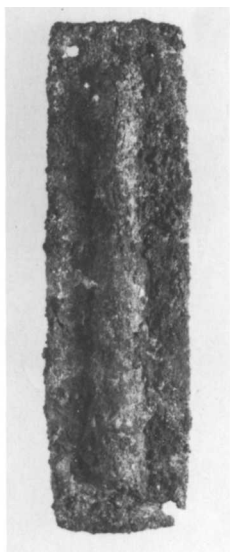
different sizes of the plates may represent units from different parts of the armor, the larger ones for the torso, the smaller ones for the arms (Stronach 1958, 173). Some plates are rectangular (Nos. 451–453), others are rounded at one end (Nos. 454–457), and although all are flat in section, many have a central ridge for strengthening. All have perforations, usually at the ends but in some cases through the body itself (cf. Boehmer 1972, nos. 805–07), to hold cord or thongs that allowed one plate to be attached to another. In some cases overlapping is still preserved, four layers for No. 454; no backing is preserved (cf. No. 321). No. 459 is an amorphous iron fragment that may or may not be part of armor. Preserved are six protuberances that are hollow at the back; each has an apparent iron tang, but no head, projecting from the apex. The armor plates of iron are very corroded, the bronze ones less so. The iron plates are mildly carburized, and they were hammered into a form (Curtis et al. 1979, 378).

A very large number of armor plates were recovered from Fort Shalmaneser from several rooms, SW 7 in particular, but also NW 15 and SE 8 (Mallowan 1966, 404, 409ff., 426); the majority are of iron. In addition to the actual finds, a tablet was recovered on which is recorded the issue of coats of mail from Damascus (Mallowan 1966, 421), indicating not only a manufacturing center but also evidence for the sale of armor abroad.

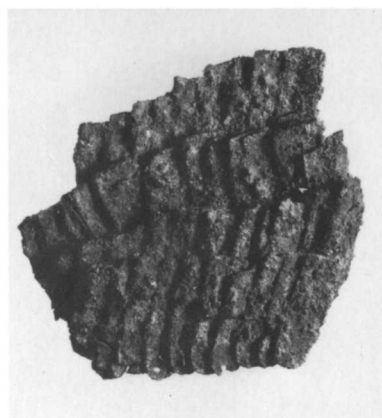
The SW 7 plates have been dated by Mallowan to the time of Sargon II in the late eighth century B.C., i.e., a century before the final destruction, but some examples may date to the late seventh century. (For other armor plates, see Nos. 62, 63, 321.)



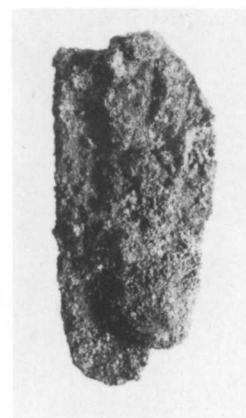
452



453

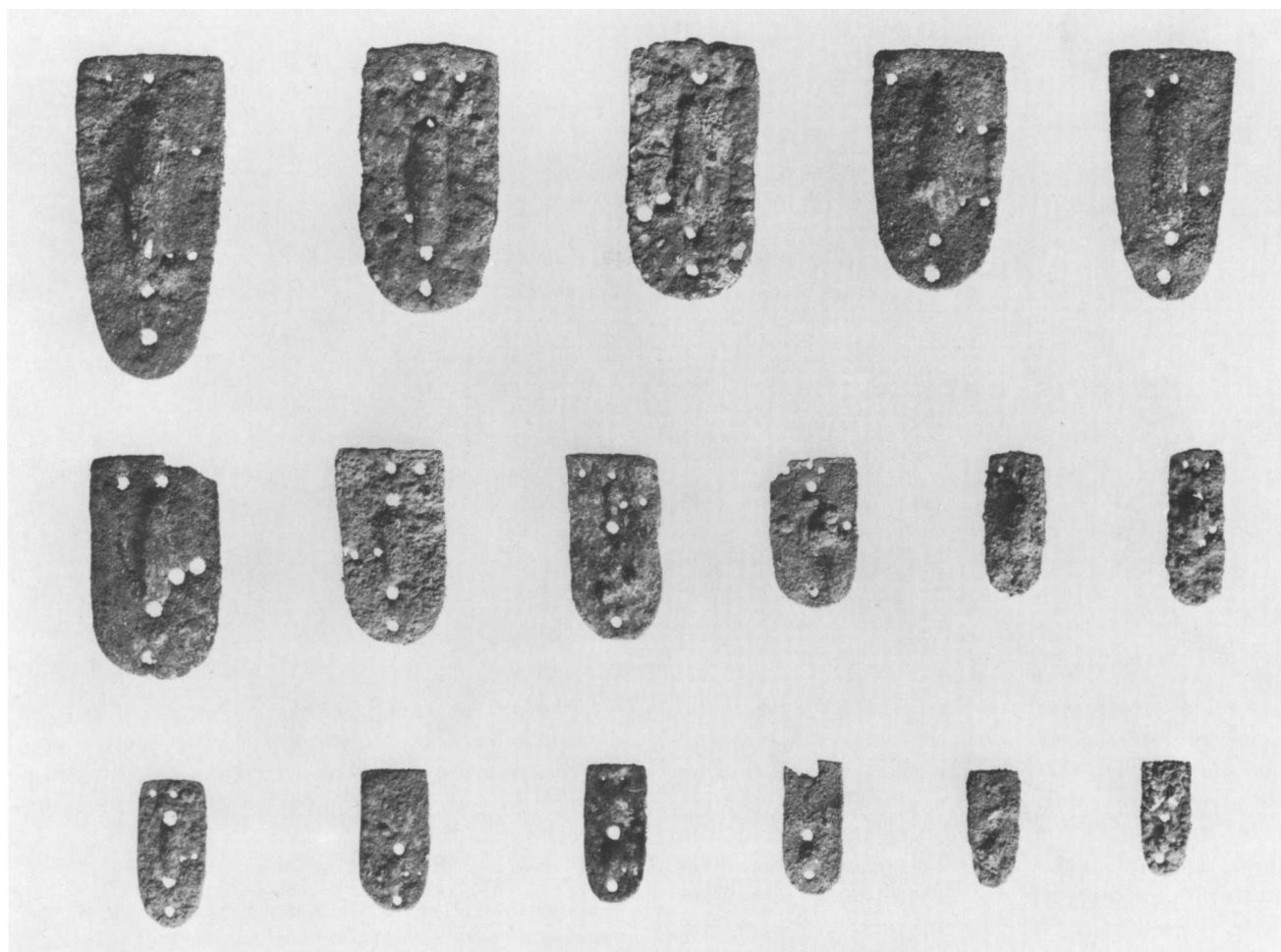


454a



454b

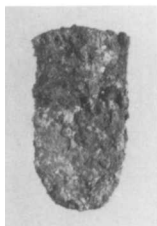
455





456

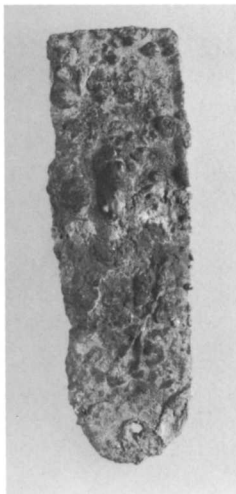
457a



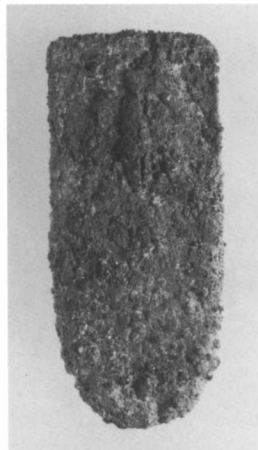
457b



457c



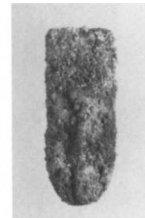
457d



457e



457f

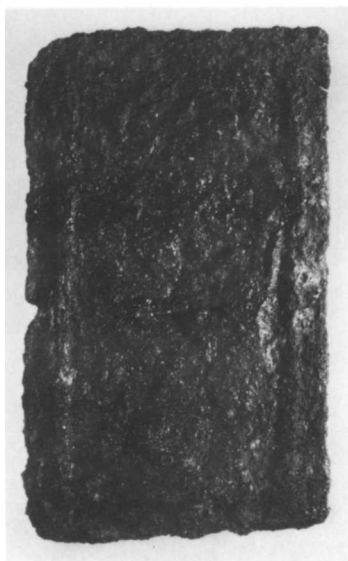


Iron and bronze weapons coexisted in the ninth and succeeding centuries B.C. in both the Aegean areas and the Near East, with iron apparently predominating (Waldbaum 1978, 38ff., 58; Curtis et al. 1979, 384ff.). As for armor, both bronze and iron plates were made in almost equal quantities. Iron plates offer better protection from punctures and are more easily repaired than bronze, but they are heavier and hotter to wear, and they rust faster (Curtis et al. 1979, 384f.). It may be that

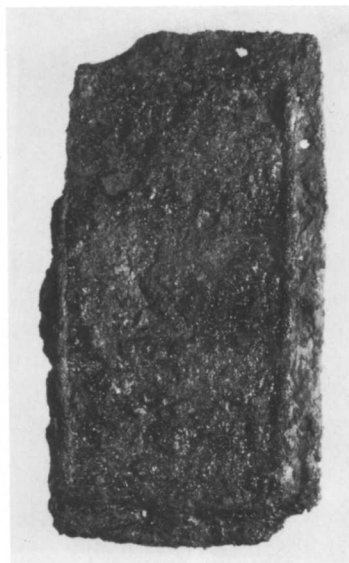
iron plates were worn by heavy infantry, while bronze plates may have been worn by troops needed for faster maneuvering. In any event, the armorers consciously made plates both of iron and of bronze and used different techniques for each.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Stronach 1958, pl. XXXIV:1-10, and Mallowan 1966, 410, fig. 336, give illustrations of armor plates found together with ours; Nickel 1969, 13, for some examples.



458a



458b



459

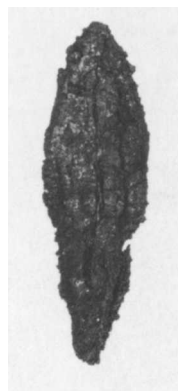
460. Arrowhead

57.27.85; Nimrud (no field number or provenience recorded)

Rogers Fund, 1957

Iron; length 5.5. cm

460



461

461. Arrowhead

58.31.39; Nimrud 6102; Fort Shalmaneser sw 12

Rogers Fund, 1958

Iron; length 7 cm



462. Arrowhead

59.107.33; Nimrud; Fort Shalmaneser sw 37

Rogers Fund, 1959

Iron; length 7.6 cm

462



MANY OF the arrowheads from Nimrud were found in the debris resulting from the final destruction (612 B.C.) and are therefore readily dated (Stronach 1958, 170f.; Mallowan 1966, 402f., fig. 332); they are all of iron. One of the most common types recovered is represented by No. 460, a leaf-shaped blade with a short tang and no stop. Another common type is represented by Nos. 461 and 462; larger than the previous type, it has a similar leaf-shaped blade but with a curve at its base and a stop at the upper part of the tang. The blades were hammered and consist of a mildly carburized iron (Curtis et al. 1979, 377f.).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 461: *ILN*, 7 December 1957, 970, fig. 7, top left; Stronach 1958, pl. xxxiii:3; Mallowan 1966, fig. 332c.

BALAWAT

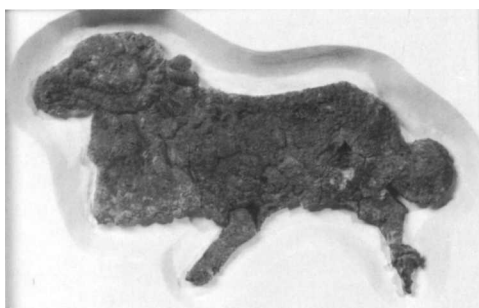
463. Plaque

57.27.10; Balawat (BT 2)

Rogers Fund, 1957

Bronze; length 21 cm

THIS PIECE was excavated at Balawat in 1956 by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.¹ When it was discovered, it was in very poor condition, almost completely oxidized, and subject to disintegration; after cleaning, to protect it from moisture, it was placed in a sealed, glass-topped box, where it now resides (this prevents examining the rear).



463

The object is a plaque representing a ram with curled-back horn below which is a neatly incised cluster of hair tufts; the tail is a solid curl and only two feet are extant (Fig. 32). It is no longer possible to know if the ram was originally framed, as, for example, cutout bronzes from Nimrud (Layard 1853, 198; Mallowan 1966, 398, figs. 324, 325), or freestanding, like smaller examples of creatures from Nimrud (Stronach 1958, pl. XXXVI:5-7).

Lacking more information at present, it is not possible to go beyond concluding that the ram is probably eighth-seventh century B.C. in date, and that it is very probably Assyrian in manufacture.

NOTE

1. For preliminary reports on the British School excavations at Balawat, see D. Oates, in *Iraq* 36, 2 (1974), 173-78, and J. Oates, in *Essays on Near Eastern Art and Archaeology in Honor of Charles Kyrle Wilkinson*, ed. P. O. Harper, H. Pittman (MMA, New York, 1983), 40-47; in neither case are the small finds mentioned.

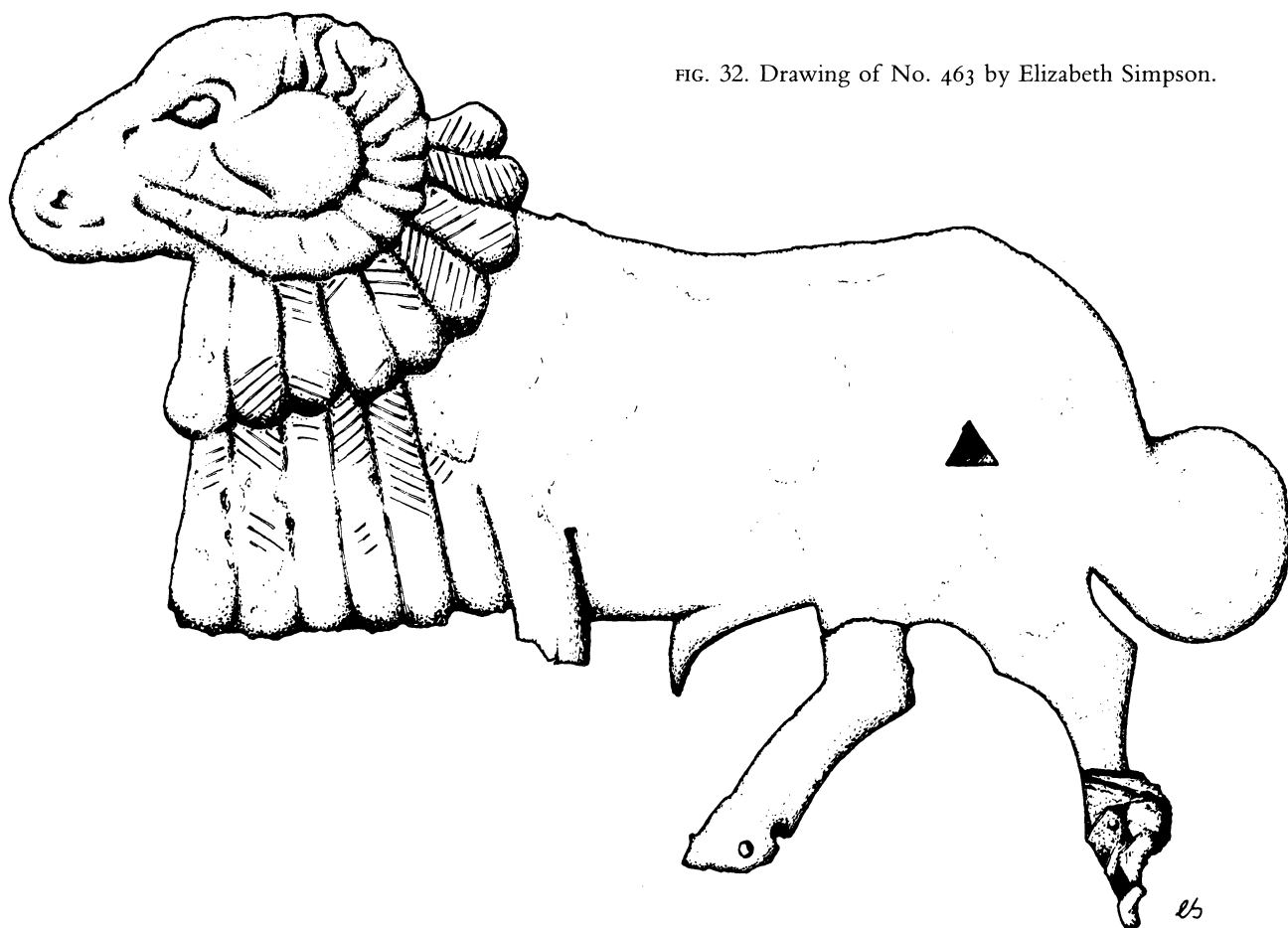


FIG. 32. Drawing of No. 463 by Elizabeth Simpson.



General Objects

464. Nude Male Statuette

55.142; purchase; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1955
 Arsenical copper;¹ height 37.8 cm, weight 3671.2 g
 (8 lb., 1½ oz.)

CAST IN ONE solid and heavy piece by the lost-wax method, this statuette of a walking male, nude except for a double-strand belt without buckle, balances a square box on his head and holds his arms out, bent at the elbows; the fists are clenched. A slightly convex plinth supports the figure. The head is bald and cleanshaven, and has large almond-shaped eyes heavily outlined and slit to depict pupils, a prominent beaked nose, a thin but proportionally large mouth, and small, C-shaped ears. The overall effect in the cast configuration of the face is that of seriousness and concentration on an important activity. The lithe body is almost, but not quite, naturalistically modeled, especially in the area below the

waist. The buttocks project in a correct curve to the thighs, which are long in proportion to the legs; only the feet and toes are clumsily modeled, and the uncircumcised genitals are placed slightly higher than normal. The stomach curves out slightly, neatly balancing the buttocks, but the chest is disappointingly thin and flat. These features are more obvious when the figure is seen in profile, rather than from the front, where the upper torso, defined by slightly raised pectorals, and the broad shoulders suggest a moderately powerful figure. V. E. Crawford (1960, 247) expressed the aesthetic quality succinctly: "To appreciate fully the artist's achievement, one must view the piece from the side where one really feels that the erect carriage of the figure, the bent arms with clenched fists, and the slightly flexed legs convey the idea of balancing a heavy burden." However, that the figure is depicted probably walking, not





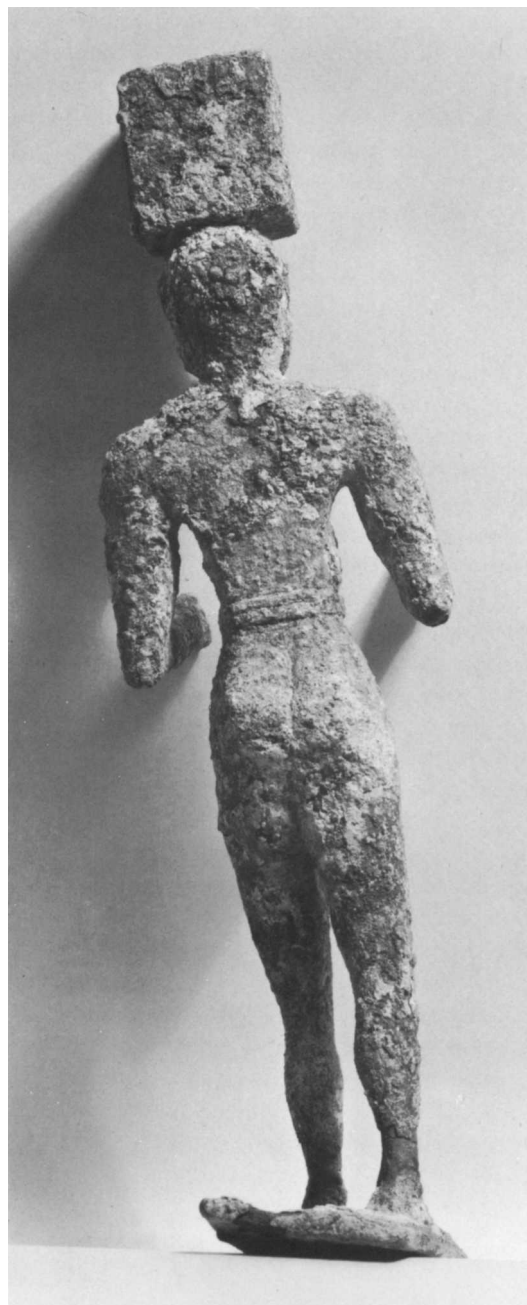
standing, is suggested not only by the placement of one foot noticeably in front of the other, but also by the position of the forearms, free and projecting from the figure (for standing figures, see Frankfort 1943, pls. 56, 57, where the projecting hands are clasped and the feet are close together). Note that the statuette is not free-standing and is about 25 degrees off the vertical position (see the photograph before cleaning).

The burden on the figure's head is a box with a lid clearly marked off; there is no supporting cushion. It is certainly not a basket like those carried by the foundation peg figurines (see Nos. 435, 436) and other canephores (Moortgat 1969, pls. 109, 111), nor bricks (as Crawford 1960, 249). The problem here is that the contents and the intended message of the box are not apparent to modern eyes (although probably known to contemporary ones), so that it is not certain what activity is represented (but surely not that of an athlete, as Spycket 1981, 59). If one is tempted to suggest that the box contains a peg figurine and a tablet, two issues intervene, namely that such boxes are not attested until a later time (period of Ur-Bau and Gudea) and the foundation boxes known are of a different shape (Ellis 1968, fig. 21). Hansen (1975, 170, no. 40b) called attention to representations in which figures carry on their heads similarly shaped boxes. One close to the present example in shape is represented held by a clothed figure on a relief wall plaque from Khafaje, and two shell plaques from Mari depict boxes held by nude (?) men. None of the scenes sheds light on what is in the box, nor what activity is associated with it.² It may be that some ritual, possibly an event involving a temple building, is represented (Schlossman 1976, 19), and that tools or other cultic paraphernalia are being transported to the construction site. But we are not in a position to conclude that the Metropolitan Museum's statuette was a foundation figurine, both because of the lack of a provenience, not only with regard to a site but to a locus therein, and because the statuette does not share features, in particular a peg, of such objects (Hansen 1975, 170, no. 40b; see Nos. 435, 436). Whatever function the statuette had, its non-freestanding nature must be considered a significant feature of that function.

Although the piece remains unique in its iconography as a sculpture in the round, placing it into a generally accurate chronological frame is not a problem, as others who have studied and discussed it have demonstrated. This relative ease of determining a chronology is possible because a number of clearly related bronze statuettes of nude male figures have been excavated at sites in the Diyala region of north Mesopotamia. They include three standing bearded males from Khafaje, a

team of wrestlers, also from Khafaje, and three standing bearded males from Tell Agrab (Frankfort 1939, pls. 98–103; Frankfort 1943, pls. 54–57, 95). The nude males all wear belts, all have their arms free from the body and projecting forward, hands clasped together.³ Further, two figures from Tell Agrab stand on a flat plinth. In addition, the figures from Khafaje have modeled buttocks, thighs, and legs, which match in form and proportion those of the Metropolitan Museum's box carrier. These figures also have separated legs, one positioned before the other. A number of scholars suggest that the Diyala figures are to be dated to the Early Dynastic II period (Frankfort 1939, 41; Frankfort 1943, 11; Strom-

No. 464 before conservation.



menger 1962, pls. 48, 49; Moortgat 1969, 27ff.; Hansen 1975, 169f.; Braun-Holzinger 1977, 64; Spycket 1981, 58ff.). Moorey (1982b, 27) dates the Tell Agrab figures to the Early Dynastic II period, but the Khafaje ones to Early Dynastic III; the superior modeling of the Khafaje figures might indicate that they are later than those from Tell Agrab.

In addition to the bronze statuettes brought forth, a few stone statuettes may also be related to the present piece, for they too represent nude, belted males: two bull-men from Umma, and kneeling figures from Tell Agrab and Asmar (Frankfort 1943, pls. 34, 91; Hansen 1975, 159, 163, 169, nos. 16, 36a; Spycket 1981, 56f., fig. 20); these figures are bearded. Hansen dates the Umma and Agrab figures to the ED I period, mentioning the difficulty in some cases of separating and distinguishing works of each period; other scholars date them all to the ED II period (e.g., Frankfort 1939, 11, 25; Strommenger 1960, 40ff.; Moortgat 1969, 33).

The posture, the structure of the eyes, mouth, ears, shoulder, and chest, and the freedom of the arms from the body of the present statuette also conform in part to the characteristic features isolated and recognized on another class of stone statuettes, those known as *Beterstatuetten*. These are usually dated to the ED II period (Strommenger 1960, 10ff.; Canby 1968, 117ff.; Moortgat 1969, 33ff.; Braun-Holzinger 1977, 29, 34), although a few scholars would date some slightly earlier, to ED I (Hrouda 1971, 112; Hansen 1975, 159f.; Pelzel, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 97 [1977], 72).⁴

It would seem, then, that our statuette was created sometime within the late ED I–ED II Diyala cultural period of Sumerian–Mesopotamian history. Inasmuch, however, as this statuette is manifestly better modeled than any of the related examples brought forth, even the well-modeled figures from Khafaje, and to my eyes demonstrates a tendency in posture and leg position toward naturalism (although the head remains abstract or stylized), it may be suggested that it should be recognized as a product of the later part of the ED II period, not far from the “Fara-Zeit,” or ED IIb–IIIa (see also Noveck in Muscarella 1981a, 71f., for ED II–III distinctions). I leave it to the specialists to clarify this issue. In exact chronological terms the date of manufacture will have been about 2700–2600/2500 B.C., and one may suggest that the place of manufacture was a site in the Diyala region.⁵

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Crawford 1960, 246ff., fig. 6; Crawford 1965, 213, fig. 4; Crawford et al. 1966, 9, fig. 12; *MMA Guide* 1972, 43, no. 2; Hansen 1975, 170, no. 40b; Spycket 1981, 59, pl. 40; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 1; *MMA Guide* 1983, 51, no. 15; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 11, no. 7.

NOTES

1. The metal composition under the base is: Cu: 95.5%, As: 2.4%, Sn: 0.03%; under base, second drilling: Cu: 98.1%, As: 2.2% Sn: 0.04%. Could the 2.4% As be part of the natural copper ore? Cf. Nos. 466, 467.

2. The figure on the Khafaje plaque carries a knife and follows an animal; presumably a sacrifice scene is indicated (Moortgat 1969, pl. 42). The Mari plaques are too fragmentary to give us information, except that they have head cushions (A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari III* [Paris, 1967], 236, fig. 271, pl. LXII:2457, 2458).

3. One of the figures from Khafaje and one from Tell Agrab have an object on the head that may be a base for holding another object. The other Khafaje figures and the two others from Tell Agrab carry nothing on their heads. The wrestlers each balance a vessel on their heads, as does the stone kneeling figure from Tell Agrab mentioned below in this catalogue entry. Thus, some of these figures served as stands; see No. 467.

4. For a stratigraphical-chronological problem similar to that encountered in dating the hoard of *Beterstatuetten* under the Square Temple at Tell Asmar, see the hoard at Nippur, McCown, Haines, Hansen 1978, 22, 32, pls. 3A, 67–70.

5. J. V. Canby (1968, 115ff.) has called attention to the striking similarities between a number of Syrian bronze statuettes and Mesopotamian ED II examples, and singles out the Metropolitan Museum's piece under discussion here as a good representation of the parallels (p. 119). The Syrian examples, especially an example in the Walters Art Gallery (Canby 1968, pl. xxvi), which is nude, has outstretched arms with clenched fists, and is placed on a plinth (ancient?) with one foot forward, do indeed formally share posture and abstraction with our bronze. Canby believes that the Syrian figures are therefore to be dated to the ED II period, about 2700 B.C., but her conclusion has not received positive reception: Negbi 1976, 11; Seeden 1980, 23, n. 24; Spycket 1981, 277, all of whom date the Syrian statuettes later, to the very late third millennium or early second millennium B.C. For regional style groups in Early Dynastic, see Boehmer 1969.

465. Bull's-Head Protome

47.100.81; purchase; Fletcher Fund, 1947

Bronze;¹ height (including horns) 15 cm

THE BULL'S HEAD is cast in one piece, except for the inlaid eyes of shell and lapis lazuli (?). The muzzle is relatively short, distinguished by a symmetrical volute curve representing the nostrils, and a small closed mouth, best viewed from the side. Above the nostrils is a double raised line which is one unit with the slightly outcurving beard, and which may indicate the securing of a false beard (Woolley 1934, 301). Pendant on either side of horizontally projecting spoon-shaped ears are two hair locks, sculpted like the beard to represent hair strands, and also ending in curled-up tufts. Six hair locks on the forehead do not delineate hair strands but they may have been worn away from use; here there are no curls. The oval eyes are set obliquely below three grooves representing brows. The horns curve out first sideways,

then forward and upward. The interior of the head is hollow up to the lower ends of the brows and a short shallow cylindrical socket exists at the rear, obviously for attachment to another object.

On the basis of excavated documentation, the object to which this bull was most probably attached was a lyre; it would have been placed at the top front of the sound box and at the base of the front supporting upright arm. A total of eight lyres with a bull's-head protome made of gold, silver, or bronze has been excavated within six tombs at Ur, in southern Mesopotamia (Woolley 1934, pls. 107–11, 114–20).² While all relate formally to the Metropolitan Museum's bull protome, the closest parallels in individual features and details are found among the gold examples, one in particular. Three tombs contained lyres with hammered gold bull protomes, PG 789, 800, 1237, the last having the closest relationship to ours (Woolley 1934, pls. 114–17 right). On this bull made from one sheet of gold we note the same bearded head with "false beard" lines over the muzzle, the hair locks at the sides and forehead, the spoon-shaped ears, voluted muzzle, grooved brows, and inlaid eyes. The eyes are set almost horizontally, the ears are oblique to the head, there are multiple curls on the beard hair tips, and the horns are crescent shaped, features that distinguish, but do not separate, the Ur head stylistically and formally from the Metropolitan Museum's bull. The other gold bull heads (Woolley 1934, pls. 107–10) also have beards, but they are made separately of lapis lazuli and there is no "false beard" line on the muzzle. However, they, like the bronze example here, also have the volute muzzle, the spoon-shaped ears, and the grooved brows (cf. also the small gold bulls from the diadem of Pu-Abi, Woolley 1934, pl. 141b).

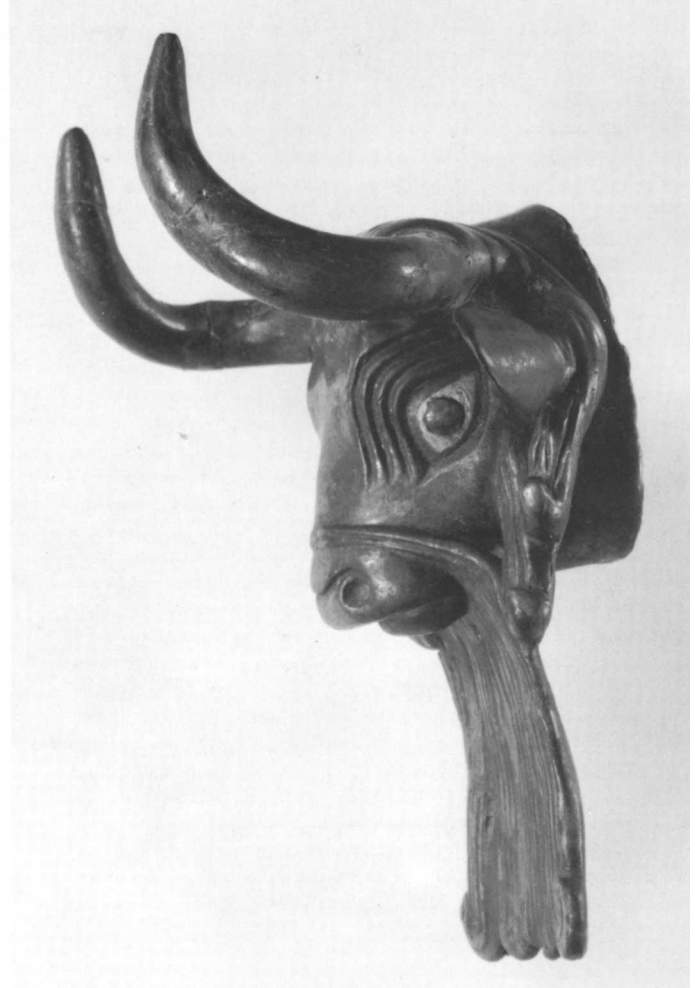
The cast bronze and silver lyre bull protomes from Ur (Woolley 1934, pls. 111, 116, 117 left, 118–20) have no beards or hair locks, and their head shape is different from the gold examples and the bronze head.³ These examples are similar to two bronze bull's-head protomes excavated at Tello (de Sarzec and Heuzey 1884–1912, pl. 5 ter:2a, b) and to a bronze example excavated at Khafaje (Frankfort 1939, 16, 42, pl. 104). It is not certain whether the Tello protomes belonged to lyres, but Frankfort believed that the Khafaje head had that function, although it was found within a wall of Sin Temple IX. This last bull has an inlaid triangle on the forehead, a feature found also on the bronze lyre bull protome from PG 1332 at Ur (Woolley 1934, pl. 116).⁴ I know of one unexcavated bull's-head protome that may also be placed within this group, an example in Berlin, which Moortgat (1969, 32, 44, pl. 53) believed also belonged to a lyre.⁵



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Aside from the excavated gold bull protomes from Ur, there are two other parallels for the Metropolitan Museum's protome, one of which may have adorned a lyre. This last piece is an unprovenienced bronze bull's head (height 23.5 cm) in St. Louis, Missouri (*Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* 37, 4 [1952], 2f., cover; *ILN*, 13 September 1952, supp. 1 facing p. 414). The most striking parallels to our head are the beard with the "false beard" line across the muzzle, the spoon-shaped ears, and the volute muzzle. The St. Louis bull has forehead curls, but no side locks, the eyes are horizontally placed and have no brows, and the horns are short. The other parallel, known to me only from a small photograph published by Calmeyer (1964b, 69, 82, no. E, pl. 15:1), is a complete bull on a rein ring (see No. 466). The head has a full beard and Calmeyer compares it to the Ur lyre bull protomes and to the Pu-Abi gold pendants.

The evidence collected clearly indicates that the Metropolitan Museum's bull protome once belonged to a



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lyre and that it is to be dated to the same chronological period as the Ur examples; this will have been in the Early Dynastic IIIa period, using Diyala terminology, or the "Meskalamdug-Stufe," approximately to 2600–2550 B.C. I suggest that the St. Louis bull is also contemporary.⁶

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Museum News, 1 March 1949, 17; Wilkinson 1949, 191, left; A. Bowlin and B. Farwell, *Small Sculptures in Bronze* (MMA, New York, 1950), cover, 6; *Art Treasures of the Metropolitan* (New York, 1952), 18, 217, no. 3.

NOTES

1. Cu: 87.3%. Sn: 11.0%, Pb: .521%, Zn: .000% (1986).
2. A total of nine lyres was excavated at Ur. One (Woolley 1934, pl. 112) from PG 1237 is the silver "boat lyre" now in Philadelphia; it has a rampant goat at the front but no bull protome, similar to a lyre represented on a relief from Tello (de Sarzec and Heuzey 1884–1912, pl. 23). There were also at least two harps excavated at Ur: one from PG 1130 (Woolley 1934, fig. 43) and one from PG 800 (Pu-Abi) recognized after reconstruction work in the British Museum (Rimmer 1969, 15ff., figs. 2, 3, which is R. D. Barnett, in *Iraq* 31, 2 [1969], 99f., pl.

xvii). Rimmer (1969, 19) also claims that there is a harp amalgamated by crushing with the "boat lyre," a view rejected by Barnett (*Iraq* 31, 101, with the wrong Rimmer citation). Note that only lyres, not harps, have the bull protome.

3. Of some interest is the fact that while the lyre from PG 789 (now in the University Museum, Philadelphia) has a bearded gold bull protome, a shell plaque on its sounding box depicting animals playing a lyre illustrates a beardless bull protome (Woolley 1934, pl. 105), which, judging from the excavated examples, would presumably have been made of silver or bronze. The forepart of the bull is also depicted. On the Ur Standard mosaic a beardless bull is also depicted on a lyre, here just the protome, and on two seals from Ur apparently full-bodied bulls form the sound box (Woolley 1934, pls. 91, 193, no. 31, 194, no. 22). A beardless bull protome is also depicted on a shell plaque from Mari (A. Parrot, *Mission archéologique de Mari* III [Paris, 1967], 208, fig. 251, pl. LX:2459).

4. Both the Khafaje and Ur bull protomes have an inlaid triangle on the forehead. H. A. Liebowitz, in *The Legacy of Sumer*, ed. D. Schmandt-Besserat (Malibu, 1976), 90, claims this feature does not occur at Ur, and he cites only "the two bulls' heads from the Royal Cemetery," seemingly unaware of the other bull protomes on lyres.

5. Moortgat referred to the Ur lyre as a harp. He compared the Berlin bull to Woolley's plate 115, the gold example from PG 1237, which, as I have pointed out, is not apt. The Berlin bull clearly belongs with the beardless bronze and silver examples in style, not only by material.

6. Thus, we would have, if my interpretation concerning function is correct, two unexcavated bronze bull's-head lyre protomes that are bearded: whereas all the excavated bearded examples are of gold. This anomaly might be more apparent than real, for the Metropolitan Museum's and the St. Louis protomes could have derived either from a site other than Ur, where different standards obtained, or from Ur itself, representing a standard not revealed from the remains of the Royal Cemetery. Our example came from the Brummer estate; their records state that the vendor (E. David) claimed that the piece derived from Larsa: an attribution not capable of being tested.

466. Chariot Rein Ring

51.174; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1951

Arsenical copper;¹ height 14.5 cm, length of bull 7 cm

A BULL in the round on a plinth is at the juncture of two connected rings and at right angles to them; below the rings are three vertical rods that join a concave bar whose ends turn up into hooks. All the elements are seemingly cast in one piece. The bull is simply but carefully modeled; its proper front and rear left legs are placed slightly forward, indicating a walking rather than a standing position. No eyes or mouth line are evident, the ears project slightly forward as do the short horns, and no sex is depicted. The object is a rein ring that was attached to the yoke pole which connected the flanking draft animals to the passenger box of carts and chariots. Reins passed from the head harness on each animal through the two rings back to the driver, and the rings served to prevent snarling of the multiple reins and to allow for ease of control (e.g., Potratz 1966, 79). The lower, concave bar was tied onto the pole by rope or

leather, the hooks serving to secure the ends (e.g., Woolley 1934, pls. 30, 34, 39b, 181b; Watelin 1934, 33, pl. xxiv:1; Calmeyer 1964b, 72, figs. 12, 13).²

Bronze rein rings have been excavated at three sites in the Near East, at Kish and Ur in southern Mesopotamia, and at Til Barsip in North Syria; bronze figured objects from Lchashen on Lake Sevan in Soviet Armenia have also been called rein rings, but they probably served another function (see below). In addition to the excavated examples, there are, aside from ours, nine Near Eastern rein rings which have derived from the antiquities market and lack specific proveniences.

In tombs PG 789 and PG 800 at Ur, Woolley (1934, 64, 78, pls. 166, 167a) excavated, respectively, a silver rein ring with a bull "mascot" figure on the rings, and a silver example with an electrum equid; a copper/bronze example with a bull top in PG 789 was found disintegrated. Further, from the shaft of tomb PG 580, Woolley (1934, 48, fig. 3) recovered a simple rein ring, exactly like the others in basic form but without an animal on the rings. Each of the Ur examples has below the rings a short unit connected to a concave bar with end hooks that have an extension below; the two figured examples have an additional pair of hooks at right angles to the other two. At Kish, three or four burials contained rein rings, for a total of at least five examples (Watelin 1934, 30, 33, pl. xxv; Rostovtzeff 1932, 326, pl. LXI:3).³ One is like those from Ur, an equid on two rings set above a single rod; the concave bar ends in hooks with an extension, but there are no additional hooks. Two examples, one with a stag, the other with an equid, have three rods below the rings, and are exactly like the Metropolitan Museum's example. Two others are plain, with no animals on the rings. On one of these examples two loose rings are attached to the fixed ones, while on the other the rings are uniquely looped into a figure eight. The single example from Til Barsip also derives from a tomb (the Hypogeum, Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, 108, pl. xxxi:7) and is a fragment; all that survives are the rings (one of which is broken away), with two rampant caprids touching a central rod above. Except for the Til Barsip rein ring, all the excavated examples were recovered in situ with carts/chariots and associated animals.

The alleged Armenian rein rings derive from tumuli and are of a form and type that differ from those described above; they relate better, especially in the manner of attachment to the chariot pole, to the so-called Anatolian group (see below); about six have been published (A. Mnatsakanyan, *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* 1960, 2, figs. 4, 5, 7, 15–17; *ILN*, 15 April 1967, 28f., figs. 7, 12, 13; Calmeyer 1964b, 74ff., 77, fig. 19; Orthmann 1967, 45f.). Significantly distinguishing them is the lack

of rings for reins, and on these examples the figures are connected directly to a single rod that joins a straight bar with hooks at its ends; only one example has a slightly concave bar. To Calmeyer the rings “sind anscheinend vergessen,” but I suggest this was not the case. Rein rings need rings and these Armenian objects more probably served as *Aufsätze*, tied to the yoke pole for some purpose; but they were not *Zügelringe*. This conclusion basically agrees with that of Orthmann (1967, 52f., n. 90: although he leaves open the question whether they might also have held reins; on p. 48, Orthmann dates, with the excavators, the Armenian objects to the thirteenth–twelfth century B.C.).

Properly studied alongside the excavated rein rings themselves are a good number that are represented on excavated works of art, on stone and shell plaques, on seals and as mosaics, from Ur, Tello, Khafaje, and Mari (conveniently collected together by Calmeyer 1964b, 70ff., nos. 1, K, L, Q–T, X and Y, figs. 7, 11–13, 17, 18). Most of these examples depict simple double rings with no figure on the rings. However, a figured rein ring is unequivocally illustrated on the well-known Vulture Stele of Eannatum (de Sarzec and Heuzey 1884–1912, pl. 48; Calmeyer 1964b, 74f., fig. 17), but here placed just in front of the chariot box, not forward, between the horses. Aside from this unexpected position of the rein ring, it is an illustration of a typical Mesopotamian example, a striding animal in the round on two rings; the rod or rods are not depicted, so we do not know whether this section was of the Ur or of the prevalent Kish form. Calmeyer (1964b, 72f., no. Q, fig. 11) also argues that a mosaic from the Standard of Mari represents a figured rein ring, a bull on two rings with reins in place, and not the top of a standard, as Parrot (*Mission archéologique de Mari I* [Paris, 1956], 140, 146, no. 458, pls. LVI, LVII:C) assumed. Calmeyer’s argument is ingenious and convincing, all the more so as a chariot is part of the scene on the Standard.

When we turn to the nine unexcavated rein rings and survey the literature that seeks to place them correctly either in their original homeland or final place of deposition, we find a decisive lack of attention to archaeological precision and its proper sense of provenience. Scholars have seen fit to allot them to three distinct geographical and cultural areas, Luristan, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia.

The “Luristan” group consists of four examples: one in the Louvre with a kneeling figure being touched or harmed (thus, *Kampfszene*) by a standing figure; another in the British Museum with two rampant caprids on either side of a tree; and two examples in the Foroughi collection (present whereabouts unknown), one with a striding bearded bull, the other with four equids, both

figured forms being unique. All four have double rings below the animals, each of which, except for the British Museum example (cf. the Zurich example mentioned below), stands on a plinth; and all are provided with three supporting rods connected to a concave bar with up-turned ends. These features obviously connect them without reservations to the Mesopotamian rein rings, in particular to the prevalent Kish forms.⁴ One or two, or all of them, have been assigned over the years to Luristan, in Iran: S. Smith, in *British Museum Quarterly* 6, 2 (1931), 32f., pl. 15a; Dussaud 1932, 228ff., figs. 2–4; Dussaud 1938/1964, 255ff., pl. 26B, c; Pope 1934, 19; Diez 1944, 16; Schaeffer 1948, 485, fig. 264:4; Salonen 1951, 197; Vieyra 1955, 87; Calmeyer 1964b, 68ff., 81f, 83, nos. C, D, E, G; Orthmann 1967, 43; vanden Berghe 1968b, 40f., 154, fig. 7:2; Belloni 1969, pl. 16; Calmeyer 1969a, 8f., 177; vanden Berghe 1973e, iv. Contenau (1947, 2212f.) challenged the Luristan provenience of the *Kampfszene* and the British Museum examples on the basis of style and iconography, attributing the former to Anatolia, the latter to northern Mesopotamia; the

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British Museum piece was in turn reassigned by Porada (1964a, 30; 1965, 64) to Elam.⁵

There of course is no Luristan group (nor to date an Elamite group). All the pieces arbitrarily placed there are canonical Mesopotamian examples and are to be considered in archaeological discussion not only as representations of that group, but equally as originally deriving from there. They all recently derive from antiquities dealers, two apparently in Europe, and two (Foroughi) apparently in Iran. That two were purchased within Iran can have no meaningful relevance with regard to their final resting place, to the site from which they had been plundered. Objects acquired in Iran surely could have been found there, but they could equally have been brought from Iraq by nomads or traveling dealers in recent times (see above, "The Luristan Bronzes," and *passim*); these individuals would normally convey smuggled goods to major market centers (Hamadan or Tehran, among others). If they had in fact been plundered from Iranian sites, we would not be in a position to know of the event or the locus of the find. Therefore,

we cannot assume or posit such activity, and it follows logically that there is no Luristan group.⁶

The next group, consisting of three pieces, may be dealt with quickly. The first, in a private London collection, is claimed to derive from southern Mesopotamia—Nasiriyah (Mallowan, in *Iraq* 10, 1 [1948], 51ff., pls. vii, viii; Salonen 1951, 197, pl. 1). It has an equid on a plinth, a single rod, and a concave bar with upturned hooks and extensions below; it clearly relates to the Ur form and to the Kish equid example in Chicago (see note 3). The second is a unique example in Zurich (Rostovtzeff 1932, 325f., pl. LXI:1; see note 5 here) and has two heraldic recumbent lions with adjacent plants resting directly on the rings; here there are three rods, of the prevalent Kish form. The third example, in the Louvre, consists now only of a bull inlaid with silver that stands on a plinth (Calmeyer 1964b, 74f., no. w, fig. 16); the parts below are missing. If this is indeed a rein ring (I cannot be certain), it is of a later date than the others discussed.⁷ All three, certainly the first two, are manifestly of Mesopotamian background and fit into

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the Mesopotamian group—as does the Metropolitan Museum's example.

The final group of unexcavated rein rings that remains to be discussed consists of only two examples, one in the Louvre, one in Berlin; each is distinguished from the Mesopotamian group in style and in the manner of attachment to the chariot pole. Both examples have a figure on a plinth connected by a tang to a single ring; this ring is halved by a vertical shaft that creates two passages for the sets of reins, in effect like the double rings. The shaft continues below the ring as a single rod that terminates in hooks; there is no concave bar to fit over the pole, and the piece may have been attached by nailing as well as by tying (Andrae 1929, 69; Dussaud 1938/1964, 256). The Louvre example was purchased in Yozgat, south of Boğazköy, in 1893; it has a unique figured scene of an upright and stylized horse with a long neck, resting its front legs on the shoulders of a male figure who in turn grasps the horse at the waist. The Berlin ring was purchased in Istanbul in 1929 (Rostovtzeff 1931b, 48); it too has the same stylized, long-necked horse, in this example standing alone.⁸

Because of the area of purchase and their distinct style and form, these two rein rings have been considered to be Anatolian products, adaptations of the Mesopotamian examples with which they share certain features: the figured scene, the halved rings, and the attachment hooks (Andrae 1929, 70; Calmeyer 1964b, 76). This conclusion is viable and probably correct (see note 5). And it would appear that the Armenian *Aufsätze* mentioned above probably derived from these (or similar examples) rather than directly from the more distant (in space and form) Mesopotamian forms. While the Louvre rein ring is usually attributed to Anatolia in general, the Berlin piece is usually attributed specifically (and sometimes categorically) to Boğazköy (e.g., H. R. Hall, in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 17 [1930], 3; Rostovtzeff 1931b, 49; S. Smith, in *British Museum Quarterly* 6, 2 [1931], 33; Przeworski 1939, 65; Vieyra 1955, 87; Barnett 1957, 34). Bittel (1959, 28, n. 47a) correctly rejected the Boğazköy attribution—"ich weiss nicht, aus welchem Grund . . .," a position shared here.⁹

To summarize, we have available for study a large Mesopotamian group of figured rein rings and a small putative Anatolian group. The former are all dated to the mid-third millennium B.C., the Kish examples probably being the earliest of the corpus, Early Dynastic IIb, about 2650–2600 B.C. (Moorey 1978, 105). They are followed shortly by the Ur examples, Early Dynastic IIIa/"Meskalamdug Stufe," about 2600–2500 B.C. (Calmeyer 1964b, 79; Nissen 1966, pl. 37 [with a lower chronology]; Boehmer 1969, 267ff., fig. 55; Porada 1965a, 163f., 178); the Eannatum stele representation follows, Early Dynastic IIIb/Ur I, about 2500–2400 B.C. The Metropolitan

Museum example, and most probably all the stray Mesopotamian pieces, could be placed either in ED IIb or in ED IIIa, to the former date for most if it were possible to be sure that the three-rod support was an earlier manifestation. The placement of the Til Barsip rein ring is not fully secure (Calmeyer 1964b, 80f.), but recent research dates the Hypogeum assemblage to ED IIIb–Akkadian times (Tubb 1982, 4ff.; Watkins 1983, 18, 22). Calmeyer (1964b, 81f.; 1969a, 140) dates the Louvre *Kampfszene* to the ED II/"Mesilim-Zeit," but because of the facial characteristics and the activity involved I wonder if it might not be dated slightly later, to the ED IIb–IIIa period ("Fara-Zeit"). The chronological range, as Calmeyer has already indicated, encompasses the ED II period to the ED III–Ur I period for the manufacture of Mesopotamian rein rings.

The Anatolian group is more difficult to date precisely. Some scholars have placed those rings in the second half of the second millennium B.C., presumably because of the alleged Boğazköy connection and the concomitant assumption that they were Hittite artifacts (Dussaud 1932, 229; Dussaud 1938/1964, 256f.; Przeworski 1939, 65; Bossert 1942, 60). Others date them to the late third millennium (Andrae 1929, 70f.; Rostovtzeff 1931b, 50f.; Bittel 1959, 28, n. 47a; Bittel 1976, figs. 21, 26; Calmeyer 1964b, 76; Orthmann 1967, 42). This last chronology is based on the probability that they are later than the Mesopotamian examples, because derived from there, and more important because they seem stylistically close to the Horoztepe bronzes, especially the tubular body and raised rump. This is the position of Calmeyer, Bittel, and Orthmann, and a late third-millennium B.C. date seems appropriate (see below, "Early Bronze Age Anatolia" and No. 530).

NOTES

1. Cu: 89.3%, Sn: .049%, Pb: 7.43%, Zn: .019%, As: 2.44% (1986). Note the high Pb content.

2. These objects are usually called rein rings in English, *passe-guides* in French, and *Zügelringe* in German. Potratz (1966, 8, 80) calls them *Deichseldoppelringe*, or *Deichselringe*, which is actually a more accurate term than *Zügelringe* inasmuch as reins passed through other forms of rings; Potratz uses the latter term for these other rings.

3. Calmeyer (1964b, 68, 70) listed only four examples (1964b, 68, 70, nos. A, B, F, H), missing Rostovtzeff 1932, pl. LXI:3; this piece was added to Calmeyer's list by Seidl in *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 6 (1966), 196f., fig. 2. However, Seidl says it is in the Ashmolean Museum, whereas it is in Chicago (Moorey 1978, 107): Rostovtzeff saw photographs of this object (along with Calmeyer's no. F, the stag, which is also in Chicago), not the actual objects. Moorey (1978, 109, 110, k. 707) mentions two other possible rein rings from Kish from burials II and VI (both in Chicago). For the appearance of the cleaned stag rein ring from Kish see Pijoán 1931, 47, fig. 61. Two rein rings (Watelin 1934, pl. XXV:2, 4, which are Calmeyer 1964a, nos. A, B) are in Baghdad.

4. Calmeyer (1964b, 77) also noted the relationship of the Mesopotamian (excavated) to the "Luristan" group (but did not separate the Ur from the Kish forms). I cannot tell whether all the Kish rings

(except for the plain example in Baghdad) have a clamp on the common central loop, a feature found on the Ur examples, the "Luristan" group, and most others. Nor can I tell whether it exists on the Metropolitan Museum's example as there is much corrosion; I see no evidence for it. A stray, previously unrecorded, fragmented example in Los Angeles (Moorey 1981, 50, no. 201) is a pastiche and not readily classified as of the Ur or Kish form.

5. The British Museum rein ring has thus been assigned three separate proveniences, that is, a piece "excavated" at three separate sites! (See also Muscarella 1980a, 30, 34f.; and No. 494.) Aside from Contenau, Potratz (1963, 138f.; 1966, 80) also challenged a Luristan provenience for the group, in particular the Louvre and British Museum pieces—because he considered them to be forgeries. He also considered the Anatolian group below and an example in Zurich to be forgeries. Unfortunately, Potratz confused forgeries of provenience with forgeries of artifacts. For while Potratz was correct to reject a Luristan provenience, he should have been able to recognize them, one could argue, to be genuine objects that had unthinkingly been geographically misattributed. And Calmeyer (1969a, 140) on the other hand, while correctly defending the Louvre ring as genuine, created a false provenience for it by attributing it to Luristan.

The Anatolian group is also to my mind genuine, although Potratz was correct to note the oddity of the iconography of the horse and man scene. The Zurich example is also odd, unique, but there is no compelling reason to reject it. For the record, I have not personally examined any of the rein rings discussed here. I know of only one unambiguous forgery of a published rein ring, an example in the Metropolitan Museum (1972.118.23), noted first by Calmeyer 1964b, 76, no. i, and later by Muscarella 1977a, 188, no. 211, illus. 9.

6. One thus accepts the full force and archaeological meaning of Contenau (1947, 2212), "... en l'absence d'une provenance de fouilles régulières, son [the Louvre ring] origine est incertaine. ..." I of course accept Calmeyer's (1964b, 81) rejection of Porada's attribution and dating of the British Museum rein ring to Elam, twelfth–eleventh century B.C., and his assignment of the Louvre example to the Mesopotamian corpus.

7. I cannot tell from the publication whether there is firm evidence for the double rings, although Calmeyer (1964b, 77) says they are readily restored on the basis of what he sees. Also, the bull is in a resting, not a walking, position, which seems to be the case with all the other ring animals. This feature could of course be a later iconography: Calmeyer dates it to the Akkadian or to a later period.

8. Przeworski (1939, 65) refers to giraffes as one of the represented animals on rein rings: could he have had the Berlin example in mind?

9. Rostovtzeff (1931b, 49) also assumed that the Louvre piece may have come from Boğazköy. Barnett (1957, 34) inexplicably stated that both Anatolian examples were actually found at Boğazköy; and J. G. Macqueen (*The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor* [Boulder, 1975], 143) stated that the Louvre example was found at Yozgat.

467. Zoomorphic Vessel Stand

1974.190; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1974

Arsenical copper;¹ height 40 cm, greatest width at base 23.8 cm

THE STAND is composed in three sections, each separately made and joined by different means: a base or stand proper, a central animal in the round, and a superstructure support with four rings presumably for holding vessels. The animal is hollow cast by the lost-wax

method.² The head and the body were cast separately, the head joined by a tongue to the body and held by a pin; both the seam and the pin are visible. Judging from the ridges on the curved-back horns, the animal is apparently an ibex, and it is naturalistically rendered, with no body markings. Small ears face forward, inlaid eyes are set obliquely, and there is a solid triangular beard below the muzzle, which has no mouth but two indentations for nostrils. The ibex stands in repose, evenly on its four legs. The front legs are straight except for a swelling at knee level; the rear legs curve naturalistically and lack the knee swellings. All four legs have prominent, sharp fetlocks. In the proper right eye is a shell inlay that is probably original, in its left is modern wax, and both eyes have lapis lazuli inlays that may or may not be original.

The superstructure consists of a vertical, hollow supporting rod topped by three prongs, all cast as a unit. Cast on to this is a separately cast unit of four rings, three large rings framing a smaller one. The vertical supporting rod is set into the ibex for the full thickness of its body.

The base, cast in one piece, consists of a rectangular open frame supported at each corner by a distinctive concave strut that terminates in a vertical, plain foot with a knob base; bars connect the strut across the front and back. Four holes were cut into the rectangular frame to receive the tenons that were cast with the hooves of the ibex; the fitting was secured by cast-on knobs (see note 2).

The stand has been known to the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art at the Metropolitan Museum since 1950, although the dealer claimed he acquired it in 1947. He further claimed it derived from Tell Sifr in southern Mesopotamia, about 15–20 miles west of al-Hiba (Lagash). The dealer's assignment notwithstanding, the closest parallels for the stand occur, as noted below, in the Diyala region, near Baghdad, in central Mesopotamia.

With regard to form and function, the closest parallel known is an animal set on an open horizontal frame and with a vertical rod joined to three prongs (only one is extant) supporting a single ring that is now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Canby 1974, no. 40).³ There is no stand preserved under the frame, and whether one similar or the same as ours originally existed is, of course, not known. The Baltimore animal is not stylistically close to the present ibex, except for a bulge at the chest and a small tail. The animal walks and has small fetlocks and no swellings on the front legs; it has larger horns and more ridges than ours, and a small mouth is depicted; there is also body hair incised on the back and chest. The head is also disproportionately small, with no beard, and the body is heavier and less graceful than our ibex.⁴ The Baltimore animal is not readily dated on its



stylistic attributes, and over the years it has been assigned an Iranian provenience (where many strays difficult to define culturally are conveniently placed; see note 3). Nevertheless, that the Baltimore stand is at least formally, if not necessarily chronologically (although this is not excluded), related to the Metropolitan Museum's stand is to my mind almost certain, and the probability of its having derived originally from Mesopotamia cannot be excluded.

By far the best parallels available for the Metropolitan Museum's stand with concern for function, and specifically for the presence of the footed base with its distinctive concave struts, occur on excavated stands from Khafaje in the Diyala region of Mesopotamia. Three anthropomorphic stands from this site (Frankfort 1939, pls. 98–103; Frankfort 1943, pl. 95) have this distinctive base; and one (Frankfort 1939, no. 181) has a three-

pronged support for a vessel on top of its head, indicating that it is a stand. A crushed four-footed stand was also found at Tell Agrab (Frankfort 1943, pl. 61B). In addition to these examples, a cylindrical copper/bronze openwork stand with a stone vessel in situ from Kish has a similar, if not exact, concave-strut base (Watelin 1934, 20f., fig. 4, pl. XXI:2). The Kish piece is dated to the Early Dynastic I/II period (probably the latter), the Khafaje examples to the Early Dynastic II/III period (Frankfort 1939, 41; Hansen 1975, 169f., no. 39a; Moorey 1982b, 26f.). Moorey (1982b, 28) has in fact cited these stand parallels when discussing the present stand.

The Kish, and in particular the Khafaje, parallels are crucial for dating the Metropolitan Museum stand, especially since the ibex itself is not easily placed chronologically. We may conclude with some certainty that the stand was made either in the Early Dynastic II or III period, about 2700–2600/2500 B.C., and the close parallel to the Khafaje bases suggests that our piece was made in the Diyala region. The stand is a fine example of the skill we have come to expect from Early Dynastic craftsmen, as noted by Moorey (1982b, 29).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

MMA Notable Acquisitions 1965–1975 (New York, 1975), 40; H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), no. 102; Moorey 1982b, 28, pl. 1b; *MMA Guide* 1983, 52, no. 17; *MMA Selections* 1983, fig. 9 (Japanese text); *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 44, no. 60.

NOTES

1. A sample from the proper right foot of the ibex: Cu: 94.0%, As: 2.6%, Zn: 0.9%, Pb: 0.2%, Sn: 0.2%. A sample of clay from the interior of the ibex was tested by TL analysis and yielded a date "between 2500 and 3850 years ago." The broad range may result from a low internal radioactivity. Compare the As content to Nos. 464 and 466, and see note 3 here.

2. I include the full technical report here: "A series of X-ray radiographs were obtained of each of the three separate parts: the ibex, the stand and the superstructure. The X-ray radiograph of the ibex revealed that the body was hollow cast around a core, most likely ceramic, which appears still to be in place. The bronze chaplets, visible to the naked eye on the surface, are shown to extend through the shoulders and haunches. They served to hold the core in place during casting. The bronze pole through the center of the back extends down vertically through the core and juts out under the belly. On the radiograph the pole appears hollow, indicating that it may have been cast around a core of wood or similar organic material. . . .

"The head is solid and cast separately. It is joined in a complicated way to the body, somewhat similar to the 'tongue in groove' method: a flange (male), appr. $2.5 \times 0.6 \times 4$ cm extends out perpendicular to the back edge of the head. Its length and width are visible to the naked eye, its height in the radiograph. A groove (female) to accommodate the flange was cut into the neck of the body. The neck seems to extend conically about 0.7 cm into the head as is indicated in the radiographs. Once the head was in place a pin was inserted through the neck and flange assuring a firm join. It is not obvious if this method of separately casting the head and body was originally intended. It could be that the artist tried to cast the animal in one piece, found the head unacceptable and subsequently cast the head separately.



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"The bronze base is cast probably in one piece; casting fins resulting from cracks in the investment appear as continuous lines on the inside of the legs and underside of the rectangular base. In addition, the radiographs do not show any interruption in the metal in the areas where joins could have been expected. Actually the presence of a series of air pockets in some of these areas supports the fact of a one piece casting. The provisions for the attachment of the ibex to the rectangular base were two fold. First, holes were cut into the base to hold the tangs extending from the ibex's hooves. Second, additional metal was cast on for support. Under the holes for the tangs of the rear legs, one observes two large metal knobs, which probably served to anchor the hoof tangs. They may have been applied as follows: after the ibex was in place, the entire piece was turned upside down and the knobs were cast on by puddling, that is, making a clay dam, firing it, and pouring molten metal into it. The molten metal was intended to fuse with both the base and hoof tangs and thus to secure the ibex.

"A similar technique might have been used for the front hoof tangs although there are no knobs. However, the amount of extra metal around the holes is too much to be simply displaced metal from the holes.

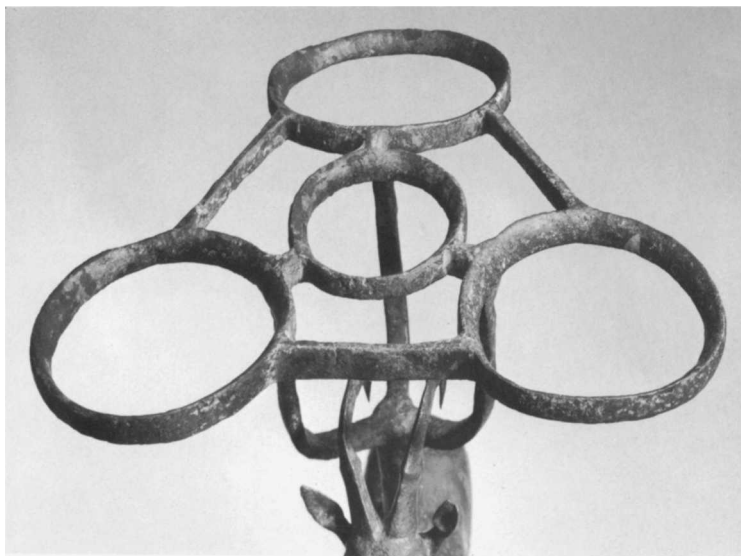


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"The horizontal part of the superstructure, a 4-ring ornament, was also cast in one piece, possibly in an open mold. The three vertical members were probably cast on separately.

"Although not impossible, it is not likely that the superstructure and the ibex were cast in one piece. The two parts were probably joined together, through the three vertical rods, in a different casting operation. It is difficult, however, to reconstruct exactly the step by step operations as they were performed." (Technical report, 28 March 1974, files of Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, Metropolitan Museum.)

3. The Baltimore stand was formerly in the Brummer collection (sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet, New York, 20–23 April 1949, Joseph Brummer Estate, pt. 1, no. 96, where it was labeled "Pre-Achaemenid," and the animal was described as an antelope). Previously it had been published by M. S. Villard, in *Parnassus* 3, 2 (1931), 30, as "probably sixth century" B.C.; by Casson 1938/1964, 347f., fig. 81, as "pre-Achaemenid," and assigned to Kurdistan/Azerbaijan; Pope 1945, 17, pl. 19, also attributed it to northwestern Iran but dated it to the second millennium B.C., and the animal was called a deer. In 1949 it was purchased by the Walters Art Gallery (*Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* 2, 1 [1949], 1f.), there called "Persian, 1000–600 B.C."



Detail of No. 467.

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Canby 1974, no. 40, assigns it to Iran but gives no date. In 1975 the Baltimore stand was tested at the Metropolitan Museum and yielded the following results: from the base—Cu: 94.1%, Sn: 1.1%, As: 1.8%, Pb: 8.7%, Fe: 0.14%, Zn: not detected; from the head of the animal—Cu: 100.0%, As: 2.3%, Fe: 0.12%, Sn, Pb, and Zn: not detected (the total of over 100% was a result of the analytical method). Thus the animal seems to be made of arsenical copper, the base of a leaded bronze/copper.

4. From the photographs published, one sees no seams to indicate whether the head and body were cast separately; no tenons on the Baltimore animal's hooves are evident, and it may be the animal and frame were either cast together or cast-on to one another.

An animal stand similar in form to the Baltimore example is published in the sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 22 May 1980, no. 375. The animal is a collared dog (?) that stands on a round, open frame; the superstructure is a vertical rod with three prongs below a single ring; there is no lower base. To my knowledge there are no other similar animal ring stands published, but at least two examples were available on the art market in 1973 (known to me from photographs). One animal seems to be a ram, the other a bull, both supporting a single ring set on three prongs over a vertical rod, and both placed on an open rectangular frame; neither has a base. In short, all three stands are essentially the same in basic details, except in style, to the Baltimore stand as it is preserved. I am uncertain about the authenticity of the three pieces and consider them to be suspect, not necessarily ancient.

468. Inscribed Vessel

48.178.2; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1948
Copper; height 5.3 cm

THE VESSEL has a sharp carinated body below a narrow neck and everted lip; the base is round and slightly raised. In a rectangular marked-off area, there is an inscription in Akkadian that reads: "[To] Sharkali-sharri, the mighty, the god of the land ALAN [?], the just in judgment Shu-irsatim thy servant [has dedicated]."

A fairly large number of bowls bearing Akkadian inscriptions, most, like this one, mentioning the name of a king, are known from excavations and from the antiquities market. About twelve are of copper, others are of stone, apparently calcite (Calmeyer 1969a, 27ff., Group 28; Heim and Sweet in Muscarella 1981a, nos. 32–34; sale catalogue, Sotheby's, London, 21 April 1975, no. 238). Of the corpus, only two bronze bowls have been excavated, both at Mari on the upper Euphrates, and a fragment of a stone vessel comes from Babylon (Nagel, in *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 6 [1966], 11f., 15, fig. 1). To my knowledge, the Metropolitan Museum's vessel is the only one of its shape with an Akkadian inscription; all the others are simple bowls.

Notwithstanding that the few excavated examples of bowls with Akkadian inscriptions derive from Mesopotamian sites, scholars persist in attributing all the strays to Iran, in particular to Luristan (e.g., Calmeyer 1969a, 28f., including the present bowl). Pope (1932, 667) en-

tertain the possibility, only to reject it, that a bronze bowl now in Philadelphia may have been brought into Iran from Iraq in modern times. He insisted that the bowl (Pope 1932, fig. 9; Legrain 1934, 19, no. 61, pl. xxiii) "with definite assurance . . . was found in Luristan . . .," but he neglected to inform his readers what the nature of the assurance was.¹ For the sake of archaeological integrity and the desire to avoid confusing modern trade patterns with those of the past, one must conclude that none of the strays has a known provenience, and therefore none can be "said to come from Iran."

The date of the present bowl obviously falls within the reign of Sharkali-sharri, about 2217–2193 B.C. (or late third millennium B.C.).²

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Pope 1934, 20, fig. 2; *SPA* 1938/1964, 281, fig. 69; Herzfeld 1941, 115, fig. 227; Calmeyer 1969a, 29, no. J, fig. 28 (listed as still in a dealer's shop); *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 36.

NOTES

1. But note that in a letter quoted by Legrain (1934), Pope (apparently the vendor) gives as the source of the bowl the site of Piravend, which is not in Luristan. This site is accepted as the archaeological source of the bowl with no reservation by vanden Berghe 1959, 111; Calmeyer 1969a, 28, no. E; Moorey 1971a, 168: cf. Dussaud 1938/1964, 274, "if it was really found in Luristan. . . ."

2. A stone vessel, a jar, in the Yale Babylonian Collection has an Akkadian inscription of Naram Sin, king of Akkad, which is an exact duplicate of the inscription on the stone vessel from Babylon. Nagel (in *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 6 [1966], 15f., figs. 1–3) considers the Yale inscription a modern addition.

469. Figures with Roller

1980.407.1; Purchase, Norbert Schimmel and Schimmel Foundation Inc. Gifts and Rogers Fund, 1980
Bronze; height 10 cm, width 10.5 cm

470. Roller

1980.407.3; Purchase, Norbert Schimmel and Schimmel Foundation Inc. Gifts and Rogers Fund, 1980
Bronze; width 6.6 cm

ON NO. 469, two identical kneeling male figures in the round support with both hands vertical elements that are pierced at the top to receive a horizontal pin. On the pin rotates a roller which is now corroded and immobile. The figures kneel on a flat base with a squared loop below. They wear knee-length kilts, belts visible at the waists, and they seem to be bare chested as well as barefoot. Facial characteristics are no longer clear but one notes the lack of a beard, intense eyes, relatively large ears, and a head that is apparently bald except for a forelock evident above the forehead. While the lower part of the body is depicted in profile, the chest and

head are shown in front view. Macroscopically, the whole unit except for the roller and its pin appears to have been cast in one piece. The roller frame (No. 469) has been published in a preliminary note by P. O. Harper (1981, 7), who is preparing a more comprehensive report. Therefore the following comments will be presented in the nature of a summary.

The roller frame belongs to a class of objects that may be divided into at least three subgroups, and which may be related to still others. Some of the objects of the class have elaborate sculptural frames with rollers, others have sculptural frames without rollers, and some, seemingly complete, consist only of rollers. The group into which the Metropolitan Museum's roller frame immediately fits consists of three examples, two previously known, and only one of which has been excavated. The excavated example, deriving from Kültepe in central Anatolia (Level Ib, early eighteenth century B.C., the Karum period), has two standing nude females who support a roller over their heads; it will be published by Dr. Harper. One of the unexcavated examples (Barnett 1964, pl. 4:2, 3; Moorey 1977b, 140, fig. 2), by far the most elaborate and ambitious of the group and class, is in the Ashmolean Museum (formerly the Bomford collection). It has two kilted males mastering lions above which are two heraldic animals, and above them, seated on a curved bar, are two squatting monkeys holding a loop or handle. Directly below the lions is a hollow frame that contains a roller. The other unexcavated example, in the Louvre (Moorey 1977b, 141, fig. 4), is composed of three figures, two standing kilted males and a third male, nude but with a belt, who is in a floating position between them and holds their shoulders for support. A roller exists below the floating male, and its pin is held by the pierced feet of the flanking figures; a loop or handle at the top connects their heads.

Each of the four roller frames is iconographically distinct but interrelated primarily by the roller, which in two instances is placed above the figure unit and in two instances below. Only the Metropolitan Museum's roller frame has the flanking figures actually holding the roller.

The second group, conveniently called plaques, has seven known examples and is more uniform in iconography. There is one each at Yale University and in the E. S. David collection; the Foroughi collection has two, one still unpublished (Barnett 1964, pl. 4:3, pl. 5:3, fig. 2; Moorey 1977b, 139, figs. 1, 2, p. 141); one was excavated at Bismaya (Banks 1912, 380; cf. an example in Istanbul,¹ claimed to derive from Babylon: Calmeyer 1969a, 178, fig. 149); and one in the British Museum (Barnett 1964, pl. 5:1, 2) derives probably from Mesopotamia, but where is uncertain. These examples have a flat central openwork section. This openwork section is



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flanked either by standing nude females in the round, who hold one hand to their breasts while the other holds the openwork section from behind, or by standing kilted males with forelocks, who hold the central section with both hands. Above the upper looped unit is a squarish loop or handle, which on the Istanbul–Bismaya plaque(s) is flanked by squatting monkeys; on the David plaque this area is occupied by two kneeling males holding with both hands a round loop or handle.² An eighth example, attenuated but probably related, was excavated at Tello in southern Mesopotamia (Moorey 1977b, 149, fig. 9). It has or preserves only the upper part of the openwork section; if it had a lower part and flanking figures, they are no longer extant. None of these plaques has a roller. The interrelationship of this group with the elaborate roller frames in the round is determined by the style of the human figures, the presence of nude females, kilted males with forelocks, and squatting monkeys.

In the third group within the class are two excavated examples, one from Gezer, the other from Kültepe (Moorey 1977b, 146, figs. 6, 7). In this group there is only a roller within a three-sided frame, the two side bars of which terminate in human hands that grip the pin of the roller, which completes the square. The top of the Kültepe frame has one loop, that from Gezer has two. The example in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 470) is exactly the same as these two, except that it has no loop at the top and the hands have bracelets, apparently lacking on the excavated pieces.³ The connection of the three hand rollers to the roller frames is self-evident.

We thus have fifteen interrelated pieces, four of which definitely derive from excavations, from Kültepe (a roller frame and a hand roller), Bismaya (a plaque), and Gezer (a hand roller), that is from Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and the Levant. The example in the British Museum and the one in Istanbul were also probably from Mesopotamia. And it must be understood without need of further commentary that a Luristan provenience for stray examples, as posited by Calmeyer (1969a, 177f.), Moorey (1977b, 137f., 149f.), and Crouwel (1972, 53), has no archaeological support and should be dropped from discussion. Crouwel (1972, 53f.) has obliquely related the hand rollers and the class in general with a bronze loop held by human hands, examples of which were excavated at Susa and Kültepe (de Mecquenem 1943, fig. 67:27; Crouwel 1972, 50f., figs. 1a, 3). The lack of a roller, however, suggests to me that the hand loops had a different function, that they were buckles, which the rollers were not. The human hand holding an object occurs, as Crouwel has noted (1972, 59), on other Near Eastern artifacts, and is not confined to rollers or the loops.⁴



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The date of the rollers and related plaques can be determined by style, primarily of the human figures. And the consensus, based on evidence of representations of nude females in the round, and on terracotta plaques and cylinder seals for the males with a forelock, indicates a time in the Old Babylonian period, eighteenth century B.C. (Calmeyer 1969a, 177f.; Moorey 1977b, 147ff.; Crouwel 1972, 54; Harper 1981, 7). The majority of the roller frames and plaques manifestly must have been manufactured in Mesopotamia, although the Louvre roller frame might be Elamite and the example from Kültepe might be Anatolian. The widespread centers of manufacture apparent here are not surprising given the increased cultural contact during this period.

The function of the rollers and plaques is more problematic and none is represented in art. Barnett (1964, 24, 26) and Ghirshman (in *Sept Mille Ans* 1961–62, no. 289) believe them to be horse-harness trappings; Calmeyer (1969a, 176) and Crouwel (1972, 54, n. 4) consider them to be buckles (but not for belts), and Moorey (1977b, 147f.) considers them to have been some form of apparatus used in the manufacture of clothing, probably for a deity. Moorey sees the rollers to have been heddle pulleys and the plaques to have been pendant weights or counterpoises. That they seem not to have been harness paraphernalia or buckles is, to my mind, clear, but Moorey's provocative interpretation deserves more study.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Nouveau Drouot, Paris, sale catalogue, 26 September 1980, no. 22; Harper 1981, 7.

NOTES

1. Dr. Harper has suggested to me that it is possible the Istanbul example may be the same piece as the one excavated at Bismaya, which is otherwise lost.

2. Barnett (1964, 25) is correct in assuming that the roller illustrated with the David plaque is a recent addition, not part of the original ensemble. On the David plaque the various elements seem, from macroscopic examination, to have been cast separately and joined together (by solder?). Corrosion on the head of one of the kneeling males makes it impossible to decide if a protrusion is a forelock.

3. No. 469 was acquired with Nos. 470 and 471 as an auction lot.

4. Crouwel mentions horse bits and fibulae; we may add stone, Egyptian blue, and ivory hand and lion bowls (Muscarella 1980a, 192f.). Crouwel's assignment of examples of the hand loop to Luristan or northwestern Iran (1972, 49, 55) is without archaeological value.

471. Roller (?)

1980.407.2; Purchase, Norbert Schimmel and Schimmel Foundation Inc. Gifts and Rogers Fund, 1980
Bronze; length 6.4 cm



471

THIS ROLLER was acquired along with Nos. 469 and 470 as an auction lot. It is solid with two raised disks or flanges at each end, and does not seem to have functioned as a roller, like those of Nos. 469 and 470. Whether it belongs originally with those two pieces or is a gratuitous addition is not known to me.

472. Curved Sword

11.166.1; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1911
Bronze;¹ length 54.3 cm

THE SWORD is cast in one piece. The blade, with a cutting edge only on the convex side, curves gently toward a short, vertical base that joins a flanged grip now missing its inlays; the tip was originally pointed but is now broken. One edge of the grip is oblique, the other, the one facing the working edge of the blade, is concave and has a curved pommel to prevent slippage of the fingers.

On the obverse, the sword is decorated at the middle of the base of the blade with an incised antelope recum-

bent on some type of platform, and along the blunt edge of the blade, following the contour, is a continuous cuneiform inscription. On the reverse, the antelope and platform appear again, at the center of the blade, and the same cuneiform inscription is in two columns on the base. The inscription is repeated a third time on the narrow, blunt edge of the blade's concave curve. The inscription, in Assyrian, reads: "The Palace of Adad-nirari, King of the Universe, the son of Arik-den-ilu, King of Assyria, the son of Enlil-nirari, King of Assyria." Thus, the sword belonged to King Adad-nirari I who reigned during 1307/05–1275/73 B.C.²

Typologically this sword is a later version of a group that has an ancient history in the Near East, one that can be traced through well-documented and dated finds. On the earlier examples, the blade has a high vertical base that projects slightly forward before curving upward in a convex fashion and terminating in a hook or a flattened tip. On these, as on the later examples, only the convex edge of the blade was sharpened and only this part functioned as the weapon. What distinguishes the early examples from the later ones is that their blade part is shorter than the base and has a more pronounced curve, the grip was separately made, presumably of wood, and the tip is not pointed. Thus the early examples functioned more like an axe than a sword.

The earliest examples of curved swords are those represented in relief on stone objects from Tello, on the so-called "Base circulaire" and on the Vulture Stele of Eannatum, both third millennium B.C. (Strommenger 1962, pls. 44, 68). Actual examples dated to the early second millennium B.C. also were recovered from Tello, as well as from Susa, and in the west from Byblos and Schechem to Egypt (Bonnet 1926, figs. 33, 34; Maxwell-Hyslop 1946, 41f., no. 34; Yadin 1963, figs. on p. 172; Solyman 1968, 55ff., pls. xiv, xv; de Mecquenem 1943, figs. 67:36, 73:6; Börker-Klähn 1970, 22, pl. 12:4, 5); a related example is claimed to have recently come out of Afghanistan (Amiet 1978a, 155, fig. 7), which, if true, makes it the easternmost example known. Another early example allegedly derives from the estate of John Garstang and is claimed to come from his excavations at Abydos in Egypt (Yadin 1963, 172, second fig. from left; Heim in Muscarella 1981a, no. 216; see Montet 1928–29, 178f., figs. 79, 80, for Egyptian examples). A modified example represented in art derives from Haft Tepe, near Susa in Iran (Negahban 1973, fig. 10).

The later examples have been excavated in late second-millennium B.C. contexts at Gezer and Ugarit, and in Egypt, among other places in Tutankhamen's tomb, and are represented at Yazilikaya in Anatolia (Bonnet 1926, fig. 35; Schaeffer 1948, fig. 158; Yadin 1963, figs. on pp. 205, 207).³ The Metropolitan Museum sword

shares the same flanged grip with curved pommel and the short blade base with these examples, but it has a gentler curve to the blade. If the dates assigned to the excavated examples, first half of the fourteenth century B.C., are correct, it may be that the Metropolitan Museum sword, which is neatly dated to a slightly later time, may be the latest example of the curved sword: no curved sword is known to date to a time later than the one made for Adad-nirari I.

The fact that the present sword is inscribed with a royal name reinforces the opinion held for some time that curved swords eventually came to represent a symbol of authority, both of kingship and of divinity. This is clear from the fact that on wall paintings (Mari), cylinder seals, and terracotta plaques, male and female divinities and kings or heroes are depicted holding a curved sword (Bonnet 1926, 92f.; Yadin 1963, figs. on p. 173; Heim in Muscarella 1981a, no. 216; see both Bonnet and Heim for fuller discussion and bibliography of curved swords). It seems, then, almost certain that the sword under discussion here may have been the personal sword of the Assyrian king, one not necessarily used in battle, but rather functioning in a ceremonial fashion to demonstrate his power.⁴

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

W. St. Chad Boscawen, "Notes on an Ancient Assyrian Bronze Sword Bearing a Cuneiform Inscription," *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 6, 2 (1876), 347f.: "obtained at Nardin from the Arabs, but where it originally came from was not ascertained"; "Un Glaive en bronze," *Revue Archéologique* 3d ser., 2 (1883), 146f., pl. xx; R. F. Burton, *The Book of the Sword* (London, 1884), 207f., fig. 221: "found near Diarbekr"; G. Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations: Egypt, Syria, and Assyria* (New York, 1897), 607: "found near Diarbekr, among the ruins of Ancient Amida"; H. S. Cowper, *The Art of Attack: Being a Study in the Development of Weapons...* (Ulverston, 1906), 146, fig. 200: "It is supposed that it was... an offering... at Amida near Diarbekr, where it was discovered"; B. Dean, "An Assyrian Sword," *MMAB* 7, 1 (1912), 3f.; E. von Lenz, "Eine Säbelstudie," *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde* 6 (1912-14), 188f., fig. 20; Oscar Montelius, *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* (Stockholm, 1916-23), 308, fig. 1025: "Umgegend von Mardi"; W. M. F. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (London, 1917), 26, pl. 27, no. 201; Bonnet 1926, 87, fig. 36; E. A. O. Unger, *Assyrische und babylonische Kunst* (Breslau, 1927), 100:28, 29; S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B.C.* (London, 1928), 137f., fig. 12, 379, n. 10; B. Dean, *Handbook of Arms and Armor*, 4th ed. (MMA, New York, 1930), 31, fig. 4; Przeworski 1939, 53: from "Nardi"; Yadin 1963, 207, left; Solyman 1968, 56, pl. xv:148; Nickel 1969, 13; P. Knauth et al., *The Metalsmiths* (New York, 1974), 98f.

NOTES

1. Cu: 86.3%, Sn: 13.2%, Pb: .005%, Zn: .000% (1986).

2. As originally recorded by Boscawen, and repeated by Burton, the sword was *purchased* by Col. Hanbury at Nardin (could this be Mardin?), near Diarbakir in southeastern Turkey: and it was specifically stated that the provenience of the sword was unknown. Later writers, Maspero and Cowper, for reasons not revealed, embellished this straightforward information by stating as fact that it came from



a temple in ancient Diyarbakir (Amida) itself. All we know is that the sword was purchased from Arabs; its provenience remains unknown; nor do we know how many hands it passed through before Hanbury encountered it.

3. An Anatolian curved dagger occurs at Kültepe Ib, early second millennium B.C. in date (T. Özgüç 1959, 56, 109, fig. 62, pl. XLVIII:2; cf. also pl. XLVIII:3, which is not excavated but derives from Anatolia). It is characterized by a hooked tip, and if it is consciously a variant of the Near Eastern type, is quite individual; it has no direct relationship to those represented at Yazilikaya. Note also that lead figurines from Kültepe Ib and Boğazköy are said to hold "sickle-like" weapons (Emre 1971, 67, 143f., figs. 25, 27, pl. v:6, 7), but my eyes cannot judge, either from the drawings or from the photographs, if the object carried is in fact a curved weapon. In any event, the objects do not seem to be related to the type under review here—nor to the curved dagger mentioned above. Note that an example in the Ishiguro collection (1976, 180f., no. 179) has an angular transition from the base of the blade to the curved part and a convex tip, as well as a convex grip, similar in all details to later examples from Gezer and Ras Shamra/Ugarit: see Solyman 1968, pl. xv:150, 151.

4. That in the later neo-Assyrian period the authoritative force of the sickle weapon was still in effect is indicated by its being held in royal dignity by Ashurnasirpal II (Strommenger 1970, 16f., fig. 5, pl. 6, see also p. 14, fig. 2, pl. 1; Mallowan 1966, 58, fig. 21; see also Barnett 1983, 69).

473. Fragments from a Bronze Receptacle

No. 473a: 51.29.2a; purchase; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1951

Bronze; length 76.3 cm, width 5.5 cm

No. 473b: 57.96; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1957

Bronze; length 24.7 cm, width 5.1 cm

No. 473c: 51.29.2b, c; purchase; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1951

Bronze; length 68.6 cm, width 9 cm

FRAGMENT NO. 473a is a thick section of a curved rim bent on the inside at right angles to form a short vertical strip; this strip is riveted by two uniform rows of studs to a sheet of bronze that is the remains of the wall of the receptacle (see also Amandry 1966, pl. xxiii:5). The flat surface of the rim is decorated with forty-eight extant figures of officials and tribute bearers framed by a running guilloche pattern.

The scene may be intelligently understood if one starts at the approximate center of the preserved fragment (see Fig. 33). Here, facing right, is a beardless official distinguished both by his elaborately decorated long garment and mantle and by a fillet headband. He greets ten beardless men of rank, all identically dressed in long official garments with a sword at their belts and holding their clasped hands before them (for this motif in ancient art, see Root 1979, 274ff.); they have the same hair style as

the official but no fillets. On the basis of style of execution and dress, the official and the dignitaries are Assyrians. At the end of the row of dignitaries is another who acts as an usher, for he beckons with upraised arm to eight extant bearded foreigners who carry animal horns, wine skins, and apparently staves as gifts for the official. These tribute bearers wear calf-length spotted, fringed garments covered by fringed mantles or capes, boots with upturned toes, and apparently leggings, and they have turbans on their heads; two figures have an additional curved fringe under the cape. The spots presumably represent animal skins (see Wäfler 1975, 266ff., 280, n. 1443). The fragment breaks off here.

Behind the official is an attendant carrying a fly whisk and a towel (?); he is followed by four figures dressed like the dignitaries facing the official but here they carry bows and maces in addition to the swords. Following these are four figures similarly armed but dressed in plaid kilts with a long fringed object—an animal tail?—hanging from their belts; they are bearded and barefoot. These eight figures are probably palace guards, four Assyrians and four foreign auxiliaries. Immediately behind the auxiliaries, led by an usher and facing left, that is away from the official and his entourage, are nine tribute bearers—not captives, as there is no escort (see Reade 1980, 10)—dressed like the other tribute bearers, here carrying animal horns (plain), staves, and apparently a model of a city (see fragment No. 473b); two carry nothing but hold their hands in a greeting, suppliant position. To the left—in front—of the usher is a group of nine extant Assyrian dignitaries, matching in all details those before the official. It may be that there was a tenth figure at the left (where the fragment terminates) who again was faced by the official, that is, a repetition of the scene preserved. If a fragment published by Amandry (1966, 110f., fig. 1, which is Ghirshman 1950, fig. 2) actually belongs to the left of fragment No. 473a, then indeed the scene was repeated; but this fragment could instead belong to the opposite part of the rim, where the official would have been represented, balancing the scene on the other side.

Fragment No. 473b is a section of the square corner of the receptacle. Here there are no Assyrians depicted, only the same tribute bearers, fourteen extant figures moving right. They also carry horns, staves, and model cities, but in addition they carry a bowl and two animal-headed situlae (cf. No. 5), one apparently a gazelle (?), the other another animal, perhaps a lion (?). The other square end of the receptacle is in Teheran (Amandry 1966, pl. xxiii:4); this fragment also depicts the same tribute bearers, here however moving left.

Fragment No. 473c, two joining sections, is a complete unit consisting of two vertical plates set back to



473a

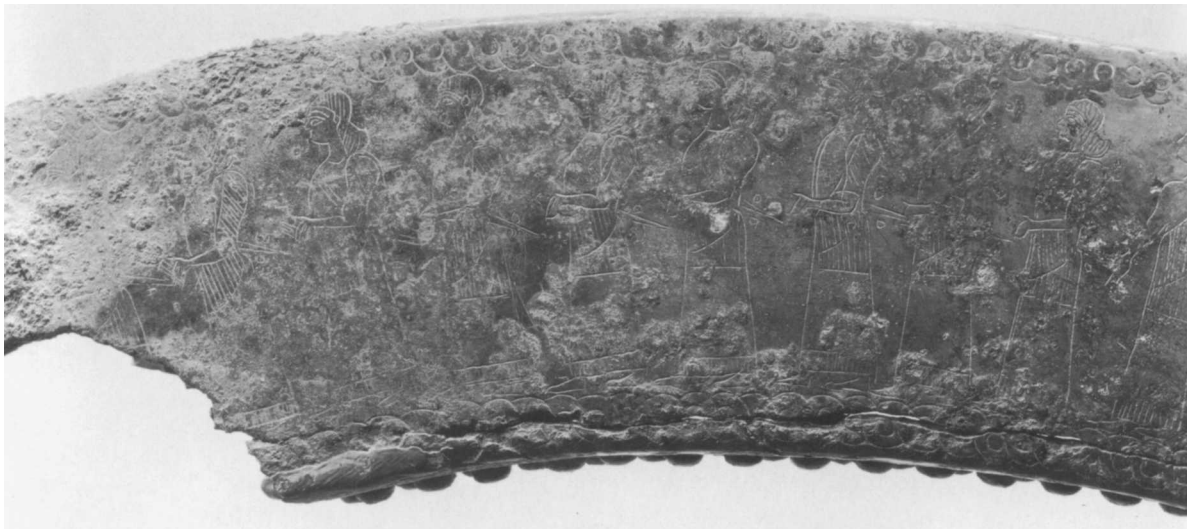
back joined to a metal sheet in between, part of the wall of the receptacle. Identically decorated, each plate has five goats, each standing on a rosette, placed one over the other, all framed by a border of studs that holds the plates together.

The shape of the receptacle is easily reconstructed both from internal evidence and because three complete bronze examples of the exact shape and construction are known from excavations. Two come from Ur in Mesopotamia and contained burials (Woolley 1962, pls. 17, 18; Barnett 1956, pls. xvi, xvii); the third was excavated at Zincirli in North Syria where it was found in a house (Andrae 1943, 118f., pl. 57). The Metropolitan Museum fragments thus are part of a receptacle that was about 70 centimeters deep with a flat everted rim, rounded at one end, squared at the other. At midpoint on both sides decorated vertical support strips were secured by studs back to back, on the exterior and the interior walls; thus each receptacle had four such plates, or two pairs (Godard 1950, 17f., fig. 2; Amandry 1966, 109). At the round end were two vertical loop handles. Fragments Nos. 473a, b, and c consist of a large part of one side of the rim close to the round end, a fragment from the squared end, and one complete vertical support strip. Both the Ur coffins had the vertical strips decorated in the same manner as No. 473c, a series of goats on rosettes,¹ but the rims were undecorated. The Zincirli basin has no decoration, either on its rim or on the vertical strips (have they been cleaned? cf. Barnett 1956, 116, where it is stated that the decoration on the Ur coffins was discovered only after cleaning).

The Metropolitan Museum fragments are part of a group scattered in various collections that apparently belong to the same receptacle. Beginning with Godard (1950, 13ff.), and subsequently accepted by a large number of scholars, it has been assumed that the receptacle was found by peasants at Ziwiye in northwestern Iran, and that it contained most, if not all, of the hundreds of gold, silver, bronze, etc., objects attributed to that site. Of course, neither the site attribution nor the alleged repository function of the receptacle can be verified, but this issue need not concern us with regard to the present discussion (for an overview of the “Ziwiye” collection and its modern history, see Muscarella 1977c).²

Fragments closely related to the Metropolitan Museum's exist in Teheran (Godard 1950, 17, figs. 4, 5, 9; Amandry 1966, pl. xxiii:1–4; B. Goldman 1974–77, pl. 39 fig. 19), two large sections of the other pair of vertical strips and another fragment of the squared end; and in Brussels (Amandry 1966, 110, 111, n. 1, pl. xxiii:1–3—at least two of these, pl. xxiii:5) there are small fragments of the paired vertical strip, joining those in Teheran, and part of the decorated rim. Ghirshman (1950, 183, fig. 3) published part of a vertical strip that could be one published by Amandry (1966, pl. xxiii:3?).³ B. Goldman (1974–77, 63) says there are fragments from the receptacle in the Cernuschi Museum in Paris and in the Seattle Art Museum.

The tribute scene represented on the rim is classically Assyrian with regard to both style of execution and iconography; it apparently does not occur there before the ninth century. For more than a century and a half



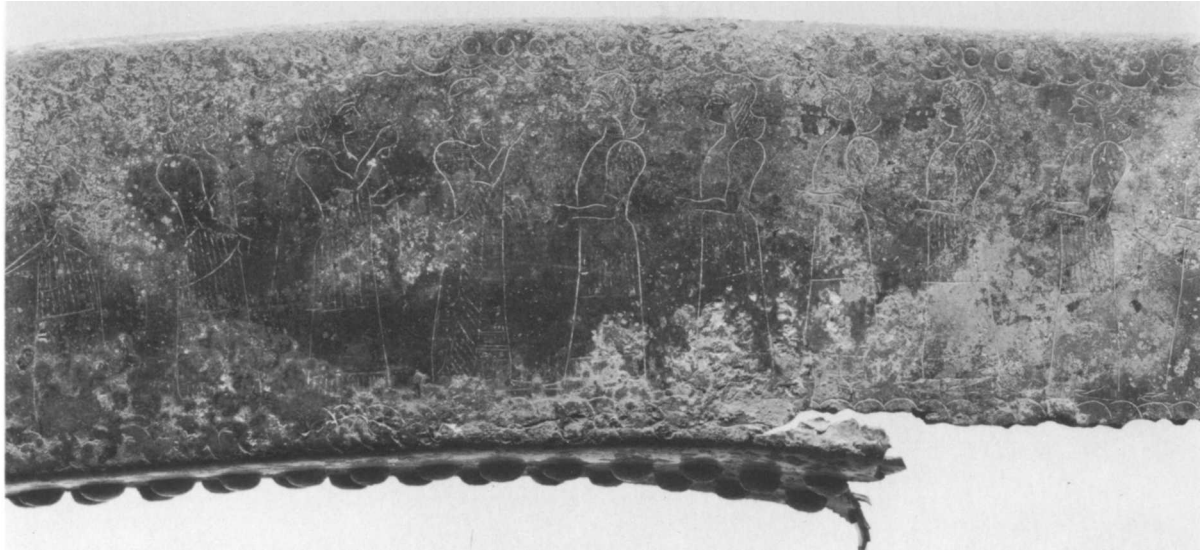
Detail of No. 473a.



Detail of No. 473a.



Detail of No. 473a.



Detail of No. 473a.



FIG. 33. Drawing of figures on No. 473a.

the formal motif of a king accompanied by his retainers and bodyguard receiving foreign tribute bearers led by an usher with raised arm was represented in art with little variation. The so-called Rassam Obelisk of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) depicts the tributary scene, here with the addition of an umbrella (Reade 1980, pls. 11ff.). The fully preserved Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.; Layard 1849, pls. 53–56) depicts the king surrounded by dignitaries and a bodyguard carrying bows, swords, and maces, and an usher with upraised arm beckoning the approaching tribute bearers. The latter represent different peoples, three of which, from east and west of Assyria, wear fringed garments, boots, and turbans, and they carry staves, vessels, and wineskins, among other goods. The scene is repeated on the throne dais of the same king found at

Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, 447ff., fig. 377a, g, North Syrians and Babylonians), on the Balawat Gate reliefs (Barnett n.d., pls. 140, 148, 149, 153, 158), as well as on probably ninth-century ivory panels from the same site (Mallowan 1966, 248ff., figs. 209–10, 215; cf. 183, fig. 119). Turning to the eighth century, to Khorsabad and the reliefs sculpted during the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.; Loud 1936, figs. 34, 35), we find the very same scenario. And here too the tribute bearers wear fringed garments, boots, and turbans, and they carry city models, bowls, and wineskins; other tribute bearers at Khorsabad also carry animal-headed situlae (Loud 1936, fig. 45). The dignitary receiving the gifts on the Metropolitan Museum's fragment, however, is surely not the Assyrian king, as Wilkinson (1960a, 215, 219) has already pointed out. He is unbearded and wears no royal



Detail of No. 473a.



Detail of No. 473a.



FIG. 34. Drawing of figures on No. 473a.

headdress, suggesting that he is probably a prince or an Assyrian governor or viceroy of a local region (he is certainly not the Scythian king! as Sulimirski 1978, 26, and in *Cambridge History of Iran II* [1985], 172). For a fine and fuller discussion of neo-Assyrian tribute scenes, see Root 1979, 252ff.

The close relationship of the scene on the Metropoli-

tan Museum's fragments to those at Khorsabad, in particular the clothing worn and objects carried, suggests that they are more or less contemporary. Some scholars have previously dated the fragments to a period close to 700 B.C. (Moorey 1971a, 260; B. Goldman 1974–77, 63), or, more precisely, to some decades earlier (Wilkinson 1960a, 219; Wilkinson 1975, 9; Porada 1965, 125). Bar-

nett (1956, 114ff.) argued that the Ur and Zincirli receptacles are seventh century B.C. in date and that based on this knowledge the "Ziwiye" example was made about 600 B.C. This conclusion, however, ignores the decorated scene on the rim, and unless one can satisfactorily date it to a later time, I suggest that a late-eighth-century date be accepted.

Are we able to identify the ethnic or national background of the tribute bearers on the Metropolitan Museum's receptacle? I believe that we cannot identify them, other than generally (see below), based on our present knowledge of foreign peoples represented in art, although

in the past several scholars have attempted to do so. The fact that several different peoples have been presented as candidates illustrates that there is no consensus—other than that easterners are depicted; specific identification is based on guesswork. The tribute bearers have been called Manneans (Godard 1950, 18), Iranians of unknown stock (Porada 1965, 124; Malloyan 1966, 250), Medes (Barnett 1956, 116; Culican 1965, 48; Wilkinson 1960a, 217; cf. Wilkinson 1975, 9: northwest Iranians or Armenians), Medes and Urartians (Sulimirski 1978, 26; in *Cambridge History of Iran II* [1985], 172, he added Manneans). Wilkinson (1960a, 217f.), followed



473b

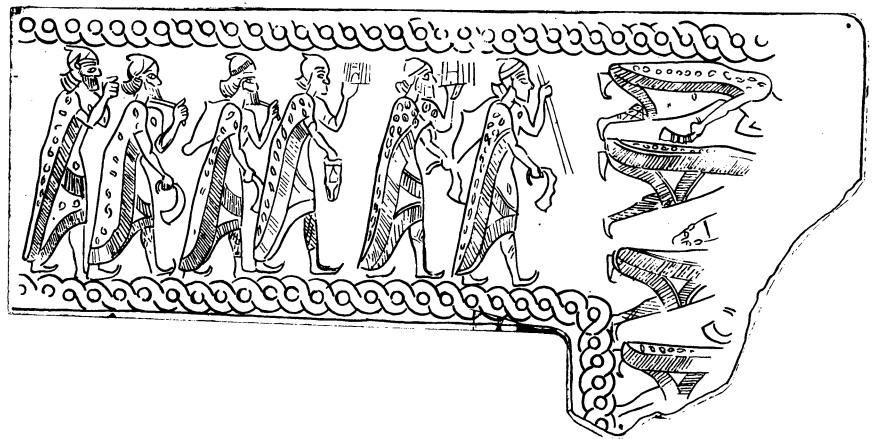


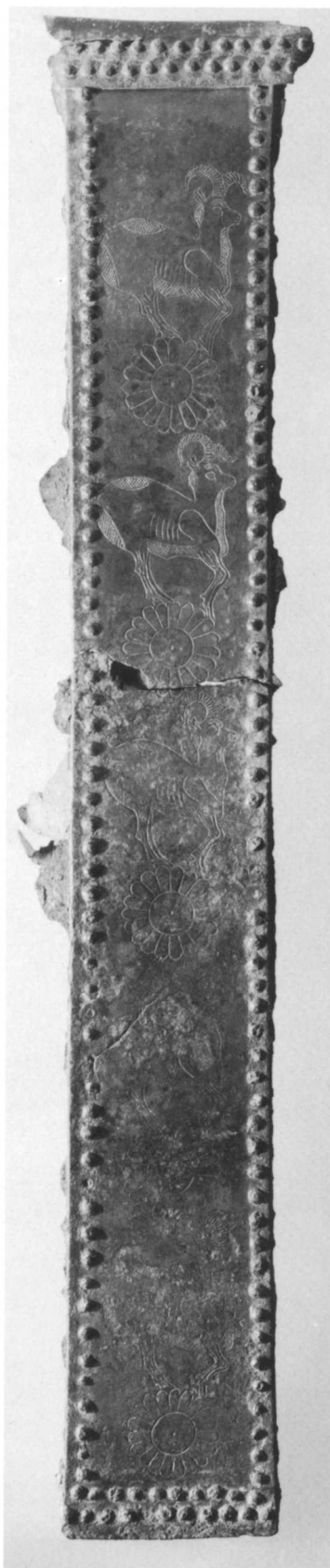
FIG. 35. Drawing of figures on No. 473b.



FIG. 36. Drawing of figures on No. 473b.



473c



473c

by Porada and Sulimirski, believed that three separate peoples ("races") were represented among the tribute bearers, a conclusion I cannot accept, given the identical clothing and posture of figures: one people is represented on both fragments.⁴

Fringed garments, turbans,⁵ and boots were worn by peoples from different parts of the Near East, to the west and east of Assyria. And it would seem that the clothing type alone cannot help us resolve the problem of identity, as Mallowan (1966, 350, no. 31) has noted (see also Madhlloom 1970, 72f.; Reade 1980, 9ff.). However, if we follow the arguments and evidence presented by Wäfler (1975, 11, 61 n. 292, 210 n. 1089, 266ff.) that those foreigners represented on Assyrian reliefs with animal skin cloaks are collectively stereotyped "Zagrosbewohner," then the tribute bearers are a people from an area somewhere east of Assyria (where exactly, of course, one cannot state).⁶ And with regard to animal-headed vessels, they too occur in several areas of the Near East (see No. 5) and by themselves cannot furnish us with archaeological clues concerning specific origin. Nor can model cities carried by foreigners of unidentified backgrounds during the Sargonid period help us in this respect (Madhlloom 1970, pls. LVIII:2, LIX; Loud 1936, figs. 34, 35); actual models are known from Urartu (Barnett 1950, 5f., pl. 1), but there is no reason to assume they only existed there. Apparently the earliest representation of model cities carried as tribute to an Assyrian king appears on the throne dais of Shalmaneser III at Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, 447f., panel g: pointed out to me by Pauline Albenda). Here the tribute bearers are Chaldaeans from southern Babylonia, and inasmuch as the Syrian tribute bearers on the same dais do not carry model cities, it is possible (as Albenda suggested to me) that the iconography reflects a Babylonian concept. It does not necessarily follow, however, that in the time of Sargon only Babylonians are depicted with model cities, for by this time it may have become a standard motif of submission in the Assyrian iconography, as evidenced by the scene under review here (see Root 1979, 264, n. 99, who claims that model cities carried by tribute bearers occur only in the Sargonid period).

To summarize, the tribute bearers remain unidentified, except to note, following Wäfler, that they are probably a Zagros people, thus "Iranians." Equally unidentified are the Assyrian dignitary and the geographical area wherein the depicted event is enacted: Assyria or Iran? Parenthetically it should be noted that because the receptacle was reported to come from Iran scholars have automatically assumed that the scene was executed in Iran and must represent an Iranian event, with the Assyrian king's representative receiving local tribute. But it is surely possible that even if the receptacle was found

in Iran it could have been imported from Assyria complete with the decoration for reasons unknown to us. We shall never know.⁷

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Wilkinson 1952, 238f.; Barnett 1956, pl. xv; Wilkinson 1960a, 214ff., figs. 1–6, pl. xix; Ghirshman 1964, 307, fig. 369; Culican 1965, 48, fig. 16; Hrouda 1965, pl. 45:2, 3; Porada 1965, 124f., figs. 68, 69; Wilkinson, in *SPA XIV* (1967), 2980, fig. 1045; Wäfler 1975, 280, pl. 28; Wilkinson 1975, 8ff., figs. A–D; Sulimirski 1978, 25ff., fig. 14; Root 1979, pl. 61b.

NOTES

1. The decoration on the vertical strip of the Ur example in the British Museum is almost identical to the one here in the manner of drawing the goats and rosettes; the vertical strip of the Ur example in Birmingham is slightly different in execution: the leaves of the rosette are sharp, there is a rectangular unit separating each goat and rosette, and there is a slight difference in body markings on the goats.

2. In Muscarella 1977a, nos. 155–65 and 1977c, 211f., I presented a list of objects published as deriving from Ziwiye but which I consider to be forgeries. Another object I also consider to be spurious has since been published as coming from Ziwiye: S. Mazzoni, *Studi sugli avori di Ziwiye* (Rome, 1977), pl. xxxi:L8. It is a gold plaque in the Metropolitan Museum and was not mentioned by me previously because it had not been published.

Note that in Calmeyer 1979, 198, n. 25, and in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 70 (1981), 288, n. 34, I am charged with making (in 1977c) incorrect claims about the role of A. Godard in the creation of the Ziwiye problem, and with misunderstanding both the distinction in French (*fouiller*) between digging and excavating and the sequence of the alleged plundering first by villagers and later by a dealer. These charges are of course manifestly incorrect, and they represent a misreading of the views presented in my article. Those interested in these problems may read my paper for the actual statements I presented, none of which I wish to alter.

I have no intention of reviewing here the claims of R. Ghirshman in his Parthian shot (*Tombe princière de Ziwiye et le début de l'art animalier scythe* [Paris and Leiden, 1979], 9f.) regarding “l’histoire véridique” of the “Ziwiye” adventures, except to note that they add still another variation to the many stories already told in print by him and others (summarized in my 1977c paper). For those concerned with these stories as sociological-psychological events in the history of archaeological research, it will be of some interest to learn that in a letter to me dated 22 November 1977 (acknowledging receipt of my 1977c Ziwiye paper), Ghirshman told still another story. In this letter he wrote that the discovery occurred in 1947, and that “un homme de confiance” was sent by the Teheran museum to Ziwiye (and who, Ghirshman claims, independently purchased material from the villagers and subsequently sold it in Switzerland and the United States). In Ghirshman’s 1979 story (p. 9), the date of discovery is 1946, and there we are told it was *three* dealers in antiquities, followed shortly by a rug dealer, who were allegedly sent to Ziwiye to purchase material for the museum in Teheran. Ghirshman also claims that A. and Y. Godard both participated in the commercial digging that lasted for three years. As proof Ghirshman cites a photograph (*Tombe princière*, pl. xx:2) in which he says Mme Godard may be recognized. My eyes see a nondescript person who appears to be dressed in Kurdish clothing, with cummerbund and white arm wrap.

It is unfortunate that Ghirshman’s fictional history of the nature of the “Ziwiye” find has been presented as a reality by T. Sulimirski, in *Cambridge History of Iran II* (1985), 171.

3. Ghirshman (1950, 182f., fig. 4) associated a bronze plaque, decorated

in a completely different manner, with the receptacle fragments although in function and style it has nothing to do with them (see Godard, in *ArAsiae* 14 [1951], 241). Moorey (1971a, 259f.) rightly rejected a vertical strip in the Ashmolean Museum as being part of the “Ziwiye” receptacle; he compares it to one of the Ur coffins, that in Birmingham.

4. For an insight into the problems of identifying foreigners represented in Assyrian art, see Wäfler (1975, *passim*, and nn. 67, 72, 163, 426, 737, 1089, 1302, 1303, 1408), where he offers his views on the issue of specific identification, often against the conclusions of other scholars.

5. Wäfler (1975, 264, nn. 1344, 1345) notes that the hats on our tribute bearers are similar to those worn by men from Gilzanu (probably a Zagros people, but it is not clear exactly where they lived: Levine 1974, 120), and by Syrians and Palestinians; see also Wäfler 1975, 201, 210 n. 1089, 215. Fringed garments occur in the west, but not with spotted, skin material.

6. Wäfler (1975, 266, n. 1356) suggests that there are exceptions to this general stereotyping pattern and cites a ninth-century relief (British Museum no. 124559) depicting a cavalryman shooting an arrow backwards (the Parthian shot), which he, following received opinion, says “mit guten Gründen . . . Nordiranier zeigen. . .” However, he notes that the rider does not wear a skin cloak. I have noted elsewhere (1977b, 52f., nn. 48, 49) that there is no objective reason to accept the Iranian attribution for the cavalryman: therefore, this relief neither proves nor disproves Wäfler’s thesis regarding stereotyping.

There are further, theoretical, problems with Wäfler’s conclusions that the Assyrians represented all Zagros peoples in a collectivized manner, problems deriving from ethnographic research. Wobst (1977, 328ff.), Conkey (1978, 67), and Hodder (1978, 48, 52, 58) have demonstrated that clothing is a significant “artifact-cum-message,” that ethnic populations in border-sensitive areas self-consciously wear distinct clothing and hats (also hair styles, Hodder 1981, 85) to identify themselves and to distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups. Thus, we would expect the many ethnic groups in the Zagros to wear different clothing as a stylistic message, as a “signalling of identities” to their neighbors and certainly their enemies. Surely we can hypothesize that all Zagros peoples did not wear skin cloaks of the same cut and fashion, nor even that all wore skin cloaks. Why, then, did the Assyrians, inasmuch as they recognized that clothing depiction is a vehicle for communicating ethnicity, fail to similarly depict the easterners? For if they did fail to make the distinction among the many Zagros peoples, not only did they neutralize the “artifact-cum-message” value of clothing for modern scholars, they equally neutralized the message for their contemporaries, not an Assyrian characteristic. This problem remains to be further investigated and Wäfler’s suggestion (1975, 267f.) that an old tradition was continued does not seem to be a sufficient cause (see below, “Phrygians and Urartians,” note 5).

7. Recently, a quiver, now in a Swiss collection, decorated in three panels with a tribute scene in Assyrian style, has been published as deriving from eastern Turkey, Urartu (vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, no. 30). Actually, both its place of manufacture and final resting place remain unknown. [Now see Curtis 1983, 85–95, seen by me some time after completing the above text. Curtis reexamines and reinterprets the stratigraphy and the grave goods of the two Ur tombs that contained the bronze coffins. He concludes that all the containers are coffins, not bathtubs reused, and that they were manufactured in Assyria in the late eighth, or probably the seventh, century B.C. He also publishes another, complete, bronze coffin, exactly the same in form as the others, and with decorated side strips (Curtis, 1983, pl. xxvi), known on the art market; its alleged provenience “Dailaman-Amlash” obviously has no value and is to be ignored.]



474. Figurine of a Man and Dog

39.30; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1939
Bronze;¹ height 7 cm

THE GROUP consists of a standing man and a seated dog cast in one piece with a base. The man stands erect with his right arm bent at the elbow and his hand held sideways and open; with his left hand he holds the dog gently below the neck. He wears a long, plain beltless garment that seems to have long sleeves; the feet are not depicted. The body is solid, giving the impression of heaviness, with no body contours indicated except for a low ridge on the back that suggests the waist, and the arms and hands are cursorily rendered. By contrast the head is skillfully and aesthetically executed. The small almond-shaped eyes have brows that do not meet over the short and thick nose, the mouth is firm and full, and the hair and beard are rendered as carefully articulated locks; the moustache is plain and ears are depicted. The dog is clearly distinguished as such by his snout and eyes, paws, and curled-up tail. The man and dog are not separated from each other even below the man's left armpit. However, undercutting at the front and back emphasizes their individuality. Kyrieleis (1979), who made a fine study of man and dog figurines, refers to this group as a "Hundehalter."

Although the present group was not excavated and therefore has no provenience, we are able to establish its cultural and chronological position because of the existence of several excavated examples. At Nippur, under a pavement of a Parthian shrine, was discovered a bronze *Hundehalter* together with six bronze dogs (Crawford

1959, fig. on p. 81, 82), and at Isin, apparently from a seventh-century grave, another was recovered (Hrouda 1973, 40f., fig. 12; Hrouda 1977, 52f., pls. 12, 25:IB29). A third example from the Near East was purchased at Susa (Amiet 1966, 530, fig. 406; Kyrieleis 1979, 39, figs. 11, 12; Spycket 1981, 391, fig. 252), but whether it was actually stolen from the site itself or was brought there from elsewhere to be sold is not known (Amiet, Kyrieleis, and Spycket accept its provenience as Susa). Further, three examples were excavated in the Heraion on the island of Samos, where they are rightly assumed to have been votive offerings (Jantzen 1972, 70, 73, pl. 72:BB779; Kyrieleis 1979, 32ff., figs. 1–10).² Inasmuch as almost all the excavated examples derive from temples (the Isin one is the exception), it seems evident that they had a charged, votive quality (see also No. 437). As noted in connection with the discussion of No. 444, dogs are known to have been associated with certain deities, especially Gula, in her various manifestations. Therefore, the group is not to be interpreted as merely a representation of a man and his dog, and one may conclude that it is connected with votive offerings to Gula, as Kyrieleis (1979, 42), Hrouda (1973, 41), Calmeyer (1973b, 129), and Fuhr (in Hrouda 1977, 136) have suggested.³ Moreover, because the man is clearly depicted as a lay person, given the lack of royal or divine attributes (cf. Moorey 1976b, 44, pl. xxx), we may assume that the donor himself is represented as a worshiper; the position of his open right hand reinforces this conclusion (Kyrieleis 1979, 43; Börker-Klähn 1973, 55ff.: only the Isin example has the hand touching the head).

In addition to the six excavated examples, and the present example, three others without provenience are known: one is in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, one in the Ashmolean Museum (bought in Aleppo), and two in the British Museum (Kyrieleis 1979, 40ff., figs. 13–18 for no. 94346; the other, no. 86262, remains unpublished).

Their sizes range from 4 centimeters (Isin) to 20.7 centimeters (Susa), the average example being 6 to 8.5 centimeters. Of interest is the fact that one-half of all the excavated examples, and one-third of the known corpus, derive from Samos. Kyrieleis (1979, 44ff.) believes that the objects were brought to Samos by Near Easterners who, equating Hera and Gula with regard to their attributes and functions, dedicated them accordingly (see also Calmeyer 1973b, 129).

As noted by several scholars, at first view the *Hundehalter* appears to be Assyrian in style (Crawford 1959, 82; Jantzen 1972, 70; Muscarella 1973b, 237; Börker-Klähn 1975, 543; Moorey 1976b, 44, pl. xxx). But Calmeyer (1973b, 128) and Kyrieleis (1979, 36ff.) have concluded, correctly to my mind, that in fact we are dealing with examples of Babylonian art in the round, hitherto a rare category (Woolley 1962, pl. 21:U456, a gold figurine, may also be Babylonian). In particular, Kyrieleis has systematically analyzed the clothing (see also Hrouda 1965, 39, pl. 49:1), hair and beard, and the body proportions to demonstrate that they differ significantly in details and expression from the characteristics of Assyrian statuary: the folds at the back of one of the examples from Samos, the flatness of the back of the hair resting on the shoulder, the squatness of the body, and the lack of a defined hip. Kyrieleis has noted cogent parallels with the Babylonian figures represented on kudurrus and metal beakers (see Nos. 342, 343) to support his conclusions.

Concerning the chronology of the *Hundehalter* group, we have a terminus ante quem from Samos of the seventh century B.C. (Jantzen 1972, 87f.; Kyrieleis 1979, 35). The Nippur and Isin finds are dated to the first millennium B.C., and the apparent Susa example carries no date. One may surmise that they all date to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., although some may be later. For an earlier, probably Elamite, example of a man with dogs, see Achilles in Muscarella 1981a, no. 161, esp. p. 200.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Kyrieleis 1979, figs. 19, 20.

NOTES

1. Cu: 89.3%, Sn: 7.90%, Pb: 2.04%, Zn: .095% (1986).

2. For a discussion of the "orientalizing" influence in the Greek world of dogs, dog leaders, dog sacrifices, and dogs associated with

Greek deities, see Walter Buckert, "Itinerant Diviners and Magicians: A Neglected Element in Cultural Contacts," *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation* (Stockholm, 1983), 118.

3. For the suggestion that the apotropaic value of the dog was known in Meluhha (Indus civilization), see C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, in *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia*, ed. P. L. Kohl (Armonk, N.Y., 1981), 389.

475. Amulet

86.II.3; Purchase, 1886

Bronze; height 4.2 cm

THIS SOLID cast amulet, defined as such by a pierced oblong loop at the top, is decorated on both faces with intaglio scenes. On one, No. 475a, is a goddess seated on a high-backed throne that rests on a winged lion. She holds a ring in her right hand which she extends to a bearded worshiper. Behind the throne are six stars. The goddess is surely Ishtar, identified by the stars and the lion, and by a star and crescent moon found on parallel pieces. On the other face, No. 475b, are two winged creatures with feline heads and bird-of-prey feet. The amulet is pockmarked on both faces.



475a



475b



FIG. 37. Lamashtu stone plaque, MMA 86.II.2.

This amulet is exactly paralleled in material, shape, and scenes by an example in the Louvre (Pottier 1924, 142, no. 172, pl. xxviii), except that the Louvre amulet has a star and crescent moon above the worshiper and goddess. In addition, the old de Clercq collection once had five terracotta impressions of the very same scenes; three are illustrated (de Clercq 1903, 100f., pl. x:8–10): number 8 is a duplicate of side No. 475a but with the star and crescent moon; number 9 is the same scene, but apparently without the star and crescent moon; and number 10 is a duplicate of side No. 475b. It is not known to me if the impressions are ancient, but they were clearly not impressed from either the Louvre or the Metropolitan Museum amulet. Of interest is that the Louvre piece and one of the de Clercq impressions have a double ledge at the top of only one side whereas the Metropolitan Museum amulet has it symmetrically on both.

That the amulets were used for apotropaic purposes seems certain from our knowledge of many other types, but whether they had more than one specific purpose is not clear. The winged creatures on side No. 475b are identical to representations of the wicked fever deity Lamashtu, depicted and identified by inscriptions on other amulets (Klengel 1960, 341f., nos. 34, 35, figs. 3, 4, pl. iv:3, 4). It is possible that on the Metropolitan Museum amulet each side had separate powers, side No. 475a to invoke Ishtar, side No. 475b to ward off Lamashtu and the sickness she conveyed (Muscarella 1981a, 141f.); or, one could equally assume that Ishtar helped to eliminate Lamashtu's influences, and that both sides were intended to be integrated in purpose.

The present amulet, with its Ishtar representation, is not a typical, canonical (anti) Lamashtu amulet or plaque, which is made of bronze or stone, and which varies in size

and in iconographical details. To the list of fifty published examples of these Lamashtu plaques collected by H. Klengel (1960; *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 8 [1961], 24ff.), W. Farber (*RLA* VI [1980–83], 441) has added thirteen more plus a list of about eleven (plus) others that remain unpublished.¹ Aside from the unprovenanced examples, the majority, more than two dozen, derive from excavations. To the list of sites mentioned in Muscarella 1981a, 141 (Assur, Babylon, Nimrud, Uruk, Ur, Zincirli, and Susa), add, from Farber, Byblos and K. al-Janabi, in Iraq, and a mold from Nineveh (Klengel 1960, 336, no. 10); the example mentioned by Farber (*RLA* VI [1980–83], 442) as from Carchemish was in fact purchased, not excavated. Note also that the Metropolitan Museum has a fragment of a canonical Lamashtu plaque in stone (Fig. 37).

Based on the iconography and the evidence derived from the excavated examples it seems that the present amulet is to be dated in the first millennium B.C., probably in the eighth or seventh century B.C., and it clearly derived from Mesopotamia.²

NOTES

1. For fuller discussion and bibliography, see Klengel 1960, Muscarella 1981a, 319, no. 103, and Farber, in *RLA* VI (1980–83), 439–46. See also G. Wilhelm, "Ein neues Lamaštu-Amulett," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 69 (1979), 34–40, figs. 1, 2. See also F. A. M. Wiggermann, "Lamastu, Dochter van Anu," *Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"* XXIII (Leiden, 1983), 96f., 116, for about a half dozen more examples.

2. While there is no doubt that the majority of Lamashtu plaques, especially those with elaborate ritual scenes (Fig. 37), date to the first millennium B.C., a number with sketchy depictions of Lamashtu alone, for example a few from Ur (Farber, in *RLA* VI [1980–83], 442f., fig. 2, and 441, no. 57), may be from the second millennium B.C.

III SOUTH ARABIA

General Objects

476. Censer

49.71.2; Gift of Dr. Sidney A. Charlat, in memory of his parents, Newman and Adele Charlat, 1949
Bronze; height 27.5 cm, width 23.8 cm, length of ibex 7.4 cm, height of ibex 15.5 cm

A CIRCULAR basin/vessel with a high front is set on a conical base; projecting from the front is a standing ibex in the round. The vessel seems to be solid cast, with the base apparently added separately; the interior of the base is solid except for a central depression. Raised bands decorate the vessel at the top and bottom; these bands join a raised band that borders the high front on three sides. Seven spikes project above the top band on the front and their stubs continue in relief below; three of the spikes were extant when the object was first known, before it came to the Metropolitan Museum (see illus.; Rossini 1926–27, 747). In relief on the obverse of the high front are two snakes running almost the full height, and between them is a round disk set within a crescent; the front tapers from top to bottom. The ibex, identified by its ridged horns, was separately made and joined to the front by a tang that projects from the hollow plinth under the ibex, and apparently also by a mass of solder (ancient?) that fills the area from rear end to hocks. The horns touch the upright ears but there is no neat connection as a curved section actually forms the bridge. Eyes are in relief and the mouth is a slit; there are no tail, genitals, or beard,¹ and no body markings. While the ibex is convincingly and almost naturalistically modeled, the head seems to be slightly large in proportion to the body (see No. 477).

Presumably the object is an incense burner or censer, perhaps for myrrh or frankincense, with the ibex functioning in a dual role, as cult object and as handle. The interior of the vessel is filled with a mass of corroded material, probably metal.

The censer was first published by Rossini (1926–27, 747) in his report on two albums of photographs in Rome

recording South Arabian material in the collection of a Parsee dealer living in Aden, one Kaiky Muncherjee; it, along with other objects in the albums, was attributed to Ausan, in southwest Yemen.² Sometime before 1940 the censer came into the possession of J. Brummer (Ackerman 1940, 300, no. 1), whose estate sold it in 1949; Bossert (1951, no. 1352) mistakenly considered it still to be in the possession of Muncherjee.

Both excavated and circumstantial evidence collectively indicate a South Arabian origin for the Metropolitan Museum's censer. B. Doe (1971, 221) cited various bronzes excavated at Timna by the American Foundation for the Study of Man, among them "two bronze circular incense burners, with high backs on a raised base, and with a freestanding ibex forming the handle, from near the temple." To my knowledge, these objects have not been published, but judging from the description given by Doe they can only be examples of the same type of censer as the present example. The circumstantial evidence is the existence of the present example in the Muncherjee collection in Aden along with a large number of objects manifestly South Arabian in origin. The same collection also contained another censer like ours, including the sun disk, crescent, and snakes on the front, but lacking the ibex.³ Note that an example just like this, without the ibex, is in the University Museum, Philadelphia (no. 30-47-97; L. Legrain, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 11 [1934], 83, fig. 49). Further, the British Museum possesses an exact parallel to the Metropolitan Museum piece in form and detail, except that it is a few centimeters shorter and there are no snakes on the front (Barnett 1964a, 4f., pl. 1:3-4; Barnett, in *British Museum Quarterly* 27 [1963-64], 87,



pl. XLVIIIa). According to Barnett the censer was "obtained in Yemen," and donated as a gift to the British Museum. Collectively then, the evidence suggests a South Arabian origin for our censer, as has long been assumed (see also No. 352 and note 1).

Incense burners of stone seem to have been quite popular in South Arabia (Bowen and Albright 1958, 149ff., fig. 96, 274, nos. 118, 119, 121, 122; Cleveland 1965, 118ff., pl. 90). Bronze examples are less common, but we can now refer to at least six known examples.

One more issue remains to be discussed. Barnett (1964a, 4f.) has called attention to the formal resemblance between the Metropolitan Museum and the British Museum censers and an ivory cup carved in one piece with a handle in the form of an ibex standing on a plinth (1964a, pl. 1:1, 2). The cup was excavated at Hama in Syria and is dated to the early first millennium B.C. It is a cup, not a censer, and there is no conical base or high front, but the placement of the ibex handle is the factor in the discussion. From this Barnett concludes that the "ivory cup . . . and the bronze censers are closely connected, and that the ivory cup is Arabian work and forms the prototype of the Hellenistic censer." Barnett

is aware of the age difference (surely seven or eight centuries), and his conclusions necessarily argue that the Arabians were making ibex-handled vessels for various uses for about a millennium, and that they were exporting them from the earliest period. To my mind this is a big leap. The chronological differences better suggest that *if* the two groups were indeed related, in the sense that a tradition existed over the centuries, the Hama cup, albeit unique in Syria, was of local manufacture; no Arabian influence need be considered, rather the reverse makes more sense. However, I see no compelling reason to assume a direct and conscious cultural relationship in the first place: we are concerned with two different objects made of different material in two distinct cultures and at different periods of time, and all details are not shared. Thus, the similarity in basic form may be coincidental, or, for the Arabian pieces, merely reflect knowledge of a general background of Near Eastern motifs, which surely is the case for the sun and crescent motif (Karageorghis 1973–74, pls. CXXVIII, CCLXXV–VI; Seidl 1980, 76f., pls. 14–16).

A general dating for the destruction of Timna, where bronze censers have been excavated, is suggested to be



476

about A.D. 10, and the finds there would be slightly earlier, probably first century B.C. If this chronology holds up, we then have a date to this period for our censer.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Rossini 1926–27, 747; H. T. Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes IV* (Berlin, 1930), 351, fig. 2; sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet, New York, 11–14 May 1949 (Estate of Joseph Brummer, pt. 2), no. 91; Bossert 1951, no. 1352; Barnett 1964a, pl. II.

NOTES

1. Barnett (1964a, 4) claimed that, on the basis of viewing the photograph of the censer in its uncleaned state, there originally was a beard. Viewing the same photograph I do not see a beard, nor is there evidence of it on the original. The censer was cleaned by the time it was offered for sale by the Brummer estate.

2. A number of pieces published by Rossini have inscriptions of Ausan; see also Doe 1971, 107, pls. IV, V.

3. It seems that Muncherjee sent out to various institutions a number of photograph albums, of undetermined number per set, offering his goods for sale. I have seen three of the albums belonging to the Oriental Institute, Chicago, one for gold, one for stone, and one for bronze objects. The Metropolitan Museum's censer is not one of the objects pictured in this set, but the album in Rome in 1926 did contain our piece, indicating that there existed at least four albums per set.



No. 476 as it appeared in Rossini 1926–27, 747.

477. Ibex Figurine

53.47.2; Gift of Alastair Bradley Martin, 1953
Bronze;¹ height 12.8 cm, length 7 cm

THIS STANDING IBEX is cast in the same form and style as that on the censer, No. 476. Here, however, the head is thinner in proportion to the body, the horns touch the tips of the upright ears without a bridge, and genitals, a beard, and a tail exist. Eyes are in relief on either side of a vertical ridge that extends from between the horns to the muzzle, a feature lacking on the censer ibex; no mouth is depicted. The plinth was cast hollow but inlaid with metal to fill the space. Two rivets at the front and back pierce the plinth and presumably hold the inlay. There is evidence of a broken tang at the rear of the plinth.

One's immediate conclusion regarding the function of this ibex is that it served as a handle of a censer like No. 476. In the discussion of the censer it was noted that an example in the Muncherjee collection and another in the University Museum, Philadelphia, both lack



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ibex handles, and it is not improbable to suggest that at some time these had become detached and separated. An exact parallel to the present ibex, known from the Muncherjee collection (Rossini 1926–27, 746), also fits into this category of apparent detached handles. The Muncherjee piece is clearly not the present ibex for its eyes are hollow and it lacks at least one rivet. Although the ibex on the Metropolitan Museum censer lacks a tail, that on the British Museum censer (Barnett 1964a, pl. 1:3–4) has one (if I read the photograph correctly), so the existence of a tail on the present example is not an argument against its function as a handle. What remains puzzling is the presence of rivets in the plinth of both the Metropolitan Museum and the Muncherjee ibex and the inlay they hold. Could these features indicate a secondary use: that they originally functioned as handles and were later used as individual figurines in a cultic environment (cf. Cleveland 1965, pl. 55)? That our ibex has evidence of a tang on the plinth suggests that originally it did serve as a censer handle.

NOTE

1. Cu: 74.1%, Sn: 11.6%, Pb: 13.4%, Zn: .032% (1986). Compare the Pb content to No. 478.

478. Bull Statuette

47.100.85; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1947

Bronze;¹ length 23.2 cm, height 22.2 cm

THE BULL and double-base plinth are light and hollow cast. They were made separately, and at the four corners of the plinth's interior are visible corroded lumps, obviously the ends of tangs on the bull's feet. The head is strongly sculpted with a raised bone structure between the moderate-size horns that curve slightly up and inward. Behind the horns, not visible from the front view, are upright ears each with crease lines. Heavy brows overlap the eyes in the upper area only; grooves mark off the muzzle and mouth. Six wavy lines depict the neck and chest creases on each side, and they join on the lower neck at the crest a short raised ridge which might be a depiction of hair. The body is otherwise plain. Genitalia are in the round and, creating a pleasant composition that suggests alertness, rather than dormancy, the tail curves up, toward the body.

While I can find no bronze parallels for this bull, a number of examples, including one exactly like this one, with its tail upright and with crease lines on the neck and chest, were in the Muncherjee collection in Aden.² However, standing bulls sculpted in stone with double or multi-layer plinths, and similar in size to the present bronze example, have been excavated in South Arabia (Bowen and Albright 1958, 273, nos. 49, 50–62, pls. 207, 208). Their tails are held against their bodies, perhaps because of the use of stone, and there are no body creases depicted. On other excavated stone bull heads there are the same heavy brows over the eyes as on our bull (Cleveland 1965, pls. 62–69).

It would seem, then, that this bronze bull fits into a South Arabian background, where, as with the ibex, the bull was commonly represented in art. Its date of manufacture will presumably have been in the last centuries of the first millennium B.C.

NOTES

1. Cu: 81.9%, Sn: 13.1%, Pb: 4.18%, Zn: .026% (1986).

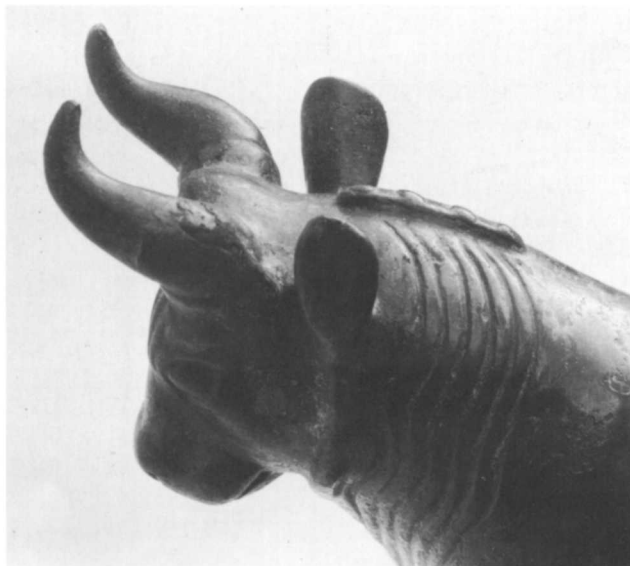
2. I know of the Muncherjee bulls from the photograph albums in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, mentioned in No. 476, note 3. It is possible that the Muncherjee bull that looks exactly like the Metropolitan Museum bull is the same one. The Metropolitan Museum bull was purchased from the Estate of J. Brummer, who got it (recorded in the Metropolitan Museum's files) "from a Mr. Gadzar. . . ." Where he got it, we do not know, but it could easily have been from Muncherjee. There were at least five bronze bulls in his collection.



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Detail of No. 478.



Detail of No. 478.

IV LEVANT

Excavated Objects

Tawilan

TAWILAN is a small village in Jordan, northeast of Petra, in the area of ancient Edom. Three seasons of excavations (1968–70) were undertaken by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. In 1969 the Metropolitan Museum, through the generosity of the H. Dunscombe Colt Fund, contributed to the expenses of the campaign. To date only one brief report has appeared on the ex-

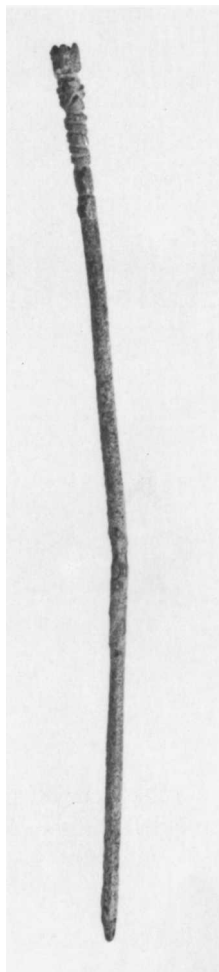
cavations of the site, one that does not allow clarification of the specific findspots of the objects (Bennett 1971), except that the earliest occupation uncovered does not predate the eighth century B.C. In 1977 twenty-four small artifacts were acquired by the Metropolitan Museum as its share of the finds divided with the Jordanian authorities; seven of these are of metal.

OBJECTS

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479. Fragment of a Bracelet (?)

1977.234.10; Tawilan, no. 501; level II.31. +
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1977
Bronze; preserved length 3 cm

THIS CURVED fragment, possibly from a bracelet, has preserved in relief a quadruped in a galloping position, its front feet extended. If this is from a bracelet, the decoration would have been seen from the side.

480. Pin

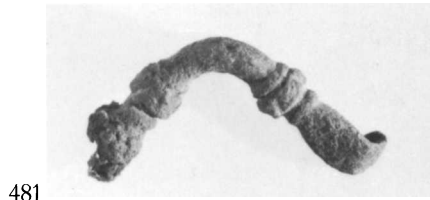
1977.234.2; Tawilan, no. 171; level III.8.1
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1977
Bronze; length 12.42 cm

LONG and thin, this completely preserved pin has at its head a turret-like crown set above moldings of lozenges and horizontal bands.

481. Fibula

1977.234.1; Tawilan, no. 12; level III.1.4
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1977
Bronze; length 3.8 cm, height 1.8 cm

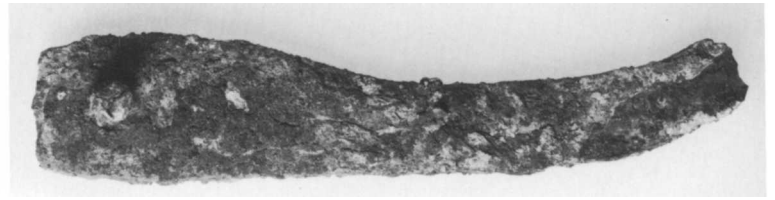
THE APEX of the arc is curved, rather than pointed (cf. No. 502), and is framed on either side with a molding



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in the form of a flat bead between two disks. The pin and its spring are missing, but judging from the oblique position of the catch, the pin was curved.

This fibula type belongs within Stronach's Type II (1959, 190ff.) and Birmingham's (1963, 104ff.) arched-bow examples. It is typically Near Eastern–Eastern Mediterranean and is found on Cyprus and on the western Mediterranean mainland, in Syria and Palestine. The apparent curvature of the pin on the present example may indicate a Cypriote origin (Birmingham 1963, 107f., fig. 11a, d, e, f; Blinkenberg 1926, figs. 282, 283), although examples with this feature also occur on the mainland (like the present example; see also Moorey 1980, fig. 12:333).

There is no evidence that this type was made before the late eighth century B.C., and it seems the example here may be seventh century (Bennett 1971, vii); the type continued in use for a long time.

482. Fibula

1977.234.11; Tawilan, no. 508; level III.14.13
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1977
Bronze; length 4.6 cm, height 2.1 cm

THE ARC is asymmetrical, one arm being shorter than the other; it is plain, with a rectangular molding at the catch end. The catch is oblique, like No. 481, and here too the missing pin may have been curved. This type of fibula, although apparently not common, is also clearly a Near Eastern–Eastern Mediterranean form (see Lamon

and Shipton 1939, pl. 78:9—cf. for shape pl. 79:2; Hrouda 1962, pl. 35:8, 11; Andrae 1943, pl. 43:1).

The chronology of this fibula parallels that of No. 481.

483. Sickle/Knife Blade

1977.234.23; Tawilan, no. 692; level I.39.4
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1977
Iron; length 15.1 cm

THE CURVE of the blade suggests that the object is a sickle or a curved knife, the tip of which is broken away. The butt end is intact and preserves a rivet that held a handle, probably of wood (cf. No. 75).

484. Arrowhead

1977.234.24; Tawilan, no. 5086; level III.18.12
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1977
Bronze; length 3.8 cm

485. Arrowhead

1977.234.22; Tawilan, no. 656; level I.39.1
Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1977
Iron; preserved length 4.7 cm

NO. 484 is very corroded, but it seems to be pyramidal in section on a square tang. No. 485 is a fragment of a biconical blade.

General Objects

486. Smiting God Figurine

32.18.2; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height with base 13.7 cm

487. Smiting God Figurine

57.51.46; Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956
Bronze; height with base 18.2 cm

BOTH FIGURINES are members of the same subgroup within the class known as the Smiting God, an attribute based on the position of the arms and the presence of weapons (not snakes and staffs, as Vieyra 1955, 87). The figurines are relatively flat and nude. They stand on a base that is the remains of the pouring tube in casting, which indicates that they were cast in a closed mold with the head down. Arms are extended forward at chest level and curve inward, and the hands are clenched into fists that are pierced. Further characterizing the figurines is the highly stylized head, in particular the over-large, raptor-like beaked nose and the round goggle eyes. No. 486 has dot pupils, while No. 487 has recently added pierced beads.

No. 486 has a small loop above the head and a dagger in relief at the belt. Its pierced fists no longer hold miniature weapons, but surely at one time they held a sword and a lance; the latter is still preserved with No. 486, and at one time the sword was extant (Ronzevalle 1935, pl. VII, center; Seeden 1980, no. 47). No. 486 has nipples and a small swelling in the genitalia area; No. 487 has no nipples evident (perhaps due to corrosion), and there is a small dormant penis. Only the front part of the body is articulated in both examples, and the back is flat.

The figurines fit into a corpus of metal examples known from thousands excavated in the Levant, and hundreds derived from the art market. The particular form and style of the present examples have been labeled the "Syrian Group" by Negbi (1976, 8f.) and "North Syrian" figurines by Seeden (1980, 15ff.). That is, both scholars assign the figurines to an area in Syria. Inasmuch as the closest related example that derives from an excavation is a female figurine from Megiddo in Israel¹ (Loud 1948, pl. 233:4; Negbi 1976, 178, no. 1541; Seeden 1980, 27, no. 90), and all the others isolated derive from

dealers, the "Syrian" attribute and proveniences must be held in abeyance.² Muhly (1980, 155) believes the bronze Smiting Gods to be Canaanite, that is Levantine, not Phoenician or North Syrian, and he correctly challenges Negbi's terminology, which results in misleading cultural implications.³

With concern for identity, Seeden (1980, 133, 148ff.) convincingly discusses the characteristics of the figurines, their nudity and armament, and suggests that these attributes identify them as representing the forces both of fertility and of military power. Based on literary and iconographical evidence, she identifies the figurines as representing either Ba'al or Reshef (Muhly 1980, 154, agrees but prefers Reshef). Seeden suggests that the figurines were dedicated in temples (where hundreds were excavated) in order to insure protection of health, growth of families, and equally the protection of warriors and hunters; they are thus material manifestations of prayer. (See Moorey 1984, 78ff., for a criticism that all figurines are gods.)

For the closest parallels to the two present examples, see Seeden 1980, nos. 41–44, strays in the Louvre and in the American University of Beirut. Seeden (1980, 131) also cites two figurines with loops, both on the backs, not the head as on No. 486. One (no. 1825) has a tang, the other (no. 1819), from Sounion in Greece and about seventh century B.C. in date, does not. Seeden concludes that the loop would have allowed a figurine to function both as an amulet and as a fixed, dedicatory element at different times. Stone bases with holes to secure the tangs or feet of the bronze figurines have been recovered at Byblos (Seeden 1980, 5, pl. 111).

With regard to chronology, both Negbi and Seeden date these figurines to about the same period, to the early second millennium B.C. or to the late third–early second millennium B.C.⁴

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Ronzevalle 1935, pl. VII, center (No. 487); Negbi 1976, nos. 28, 35; Seeden 1980, nos. 45, 47.

NOTES

1. Negbi 1976, 9, no. 39, from Megiddo, is considered by her to be the sole excavated example from this subgroup; I find it too corroded to allow for independent judgment, and Seeden does not cite it.

2. Negbi (1976) assigns No. 486 (her no. 35) to "Phoenicia" and No. 487 (her no. 28) to "North Syria"; Seeden (1980, nos. 45, 47) assigns them respectively to "Phoenicia" and to "Homs, Syria." Both give no explanation for these fictional proveniences.

3. Not even with excavated examples are cultural problems of importance resolved. Muhly (1980, 150ff.) has argued that the earliest known examples of the Smiting God, the cache of three pairs of male and female bronze figurines excavated at Tell el-Judeideh, represent the earliest examples of artifacts with tin in the Near East. He accepts and vigorously defends the stratigraphical position and date originally assigned by the excavators for the cache, the early third millennium B.C. (Amuq Phase G or H, Early Bronze II, Early Dynastic period I). He correctly refutes Negbi's (1976, 15, 67, 120) statement that they are copper, and he contests her redating of the cache to the Middle Bronze I, late third millennium B.C. However, in a publication appearing simultaneously with Muhly's, Seeden (1980, 7f.) has demonstrated that there is no archaeological, stratigraphical proof that the figurines can, or must, be assigned to Amuq Phase G or H, and that they could have been deposited in Amuq Phase I or J. This conclusion would place the figurines in the late third millennium B.C., still the earliest date for the type, but not the earliest examples of bronze artifacts available from the Near East. [Now see Moorey 1984, 71, who supports an Early Bronze date, but it is not clear if he supports Seeden's or Muhly's chronology; J. Yakar, in *AnatStud* 34 (1984), 70, accepts an Early Bronze II date.]

4. No other class of Near Eastern objects has had more reference or comments speaking to the issue of forgeries than that of the bronze Levantine figurines: viz. Ronzevalle 1935, 3 nn. 1 and 2, 4ff., 7 n. 3, 10ff., 13f. n. 2, 18f.; Seyrig 1953, 25 n. 1, 27 n. 1, 28, 40 n. 2; Hoopes 1958, 58, 61; Bouzek 1972, 156f.; Collon 1972, 126; Negbi 1976, 16 n. 5, 17 n. 6, 167, no. 1387; Muscarella 1977a, 191f.; Muhly 1980, 148f.; Seeden 1980, 1f., 12ff., 16f., passim; Collon in Muscarella 1981a, 249, nos. 219, 220. [Now add Moorey 1984, 67, and nos. 16, 17, 24, 39, 40; I would be more happy with nos. 8, 14, 19, 23, 28, and 33 if they had intergranulation testing.]

The detection of forgeries among the many strays in existence is not easy, neither for the specialist nor for the concerned but nonspecialist student. This situation exists because of the great variety of forms, styles, and quality among the many excavated examples. Each is cast in a separate mold and many are unfinished and crude; others are neatly cast, tooled, and finished figurines. Both the crude and the elegant derive from the same excavated sites. And as may be expected, given these conditions, the specialists disagree among themselves about the authenticity of a number of strays. Thus Seeden (1980, nos. 13, 13 bis, 16f, 23f, 1784) indicts as forgeries or as suspicious some examples published by Ronzevalle and Seyrig, both of whom were unusually sensitive to the forgery problem. Seeden also indicts in like manner a large number of figurines published by Negbi (most of which, not so incidentally, have findspots casually assigned to them). Seeden (1980, 30f.) believes that most or possibly all of the figurines with plumed helmets may be forgeries, not only those in eastern collections (cf. Bouzek 1972, 156, 162, n. 5). For a forgery in the Metropolitan Museum, published as such, see Ronzevalle 1935, 7 n. 3, 18f. n. 2; Bossert 1951, no. 590; Seyrig 1953, 27, n. 1; Hoopes 1958, 61, figs. 10, 11, 13, 15; and Seeden 1980, 14, n. 17.

Indeed, the Negbi publication is, aside from three references to other scholars' indictments, innocent of the existence of forgeries among the corpus, surprisingly so, given the earlier writings on this issue. For example, aside from those cited by Seeden, Negbi's no. 1170 is a gross forgery, obvious even to the nonspecialist, and her no. 1646 is obviously a copy of her no. 1644 (to her the former "resembles" the latter; see also Collon in Muscarella 1981a, 249, no. 219; Muscarella 1979a, 5, n. 39; and also Muhly 1980, 149, who



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equally recognized these forgeries). Seeden indicts as forgeries or suspicious forty-two figurines in her work (a second volume is to appear and will no doubt contain more indictments); for convenience a list of her challenges is given here: nos. 13, 13 bis, 16f, 17, 22f, 23f, 27, 28, 38, 49, 50, 61, 62, 66, 81f, 96, 102-05, 109, 1707, 1711, 1746, 1748f, 1750, 1751f, 1757, 1771, 1773f, 1775, 1777, 1779-86, 1824f, 1832. Whether all scholars will agree with these indictments remains to be seen, but it is refreshing to encounter a scholar who confronts an unexcavated object that has anomalies with some skepticism, rather than with the typical acceptance of a strange stray as a bona fide variation.

Speaking now to the issue of proveniences and the all too common claim to know with intuitive ease whence an unexcavated object in fact derived, it is unfortunate that this problem has not been confronted in the same manner (in some instances) as was the case with forgeries. Only Seyrig (1953, 26, 34 n. 1, 37) confronted this issue head on, and his attribution of some of the Lebanese figurines to Jezzine, while ultimately circumstantial, has the validity of personal investigation. Negbi's work suffers grossly from a lack of concern for verisimilitude of provenience. In spite of an isolated (and subsequently non sequitur) statement to the contrary on page 3, she assigns as archaeological reality many stray figurines (a number indicted by Seeden!) as deriving from Megiddo, Byblos, Homs, Schechem, Boğazköy, Luristan (!), etc., or from Syria, Phoenicia, Lebanon, Orontes Valley. And this creation of forged proveniences along with her unconcern for forgeries of objects considerably diminish the value of the book.

Seeden is more sensitive to proveniences and in fact publishes all the excavated finds of concern to her in separate sections. But she, too, trips easily into the creation of forged proveniences by accepting the attributions assigned by dealers and on museum catalogue cards, e.g., Egypt, Syria, Latakia. Yet she correctly removes her number 1740 (113f.) from its persistent and incorrect attribution to Boğazköy; and see number 1820 "Attika" . . . but purchased." Once



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she cites an object (no. 52) as “clandestinely excavated,” and of some others “provenance unknown,” while ignoring the ineluctable conclusion that all strays are clandestinely plundered and warrant the label “provenance unknown.” This issue alone flaws an otherwise fine study of a complex class of material.

I believe that the facts concerned with figurines attributed to Spain and Thessaly (Negbi 1976, nos. 1416, 1410) should be investigated to see whether they were excavated or simply attributed there.

488. Smiting God Figurine

32.18.1; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932

Bronze; height 19.1 cm

SIMILAR in basic pose to the preceding figurines (Nos. 486, 487), this example is cast fully in the round together with a high cylindrical base that is hollow and divided into segments. Rather than the arms being extended forward, the proper left arm is held straight out at right angles to the body while the right is bent at the elbow and raised in a position for striking; as such, it deserves the appellation Smiting God in a more obvious way than Nos. 486 and 487. The right hand holds a rectangular object cast with it that must be a weapon, and an ancient break prevents knowing what was held in the left.

Although the figure is nude, it wears a belt, and there are punched dots all over, front and rear; in addition, the buttocks are marked off by two curved lines. Two raised-dot nipples are awkwardly placed high on the chest; the penis is broken away and testicles are clearly depicted in relief. Raised marks on the chest may be rib lines, and if so they may be intended to represent skin tension caused by the raising of the arms. The eyes, mouth, and nose are proportionally placed in the face, while the ears project out and are pierced almost their full width, which makes them look like loops. Marked off from the head is a pointed helmet, which is decorated with the same punched dots as on the body (and also at the top of the base).

I know of only one close parallel for this figurine, an example in the British Museum that was presented by Heinrich Schliemann (Walters 1899, 13, no. 179; Collon 1972, fig. 5:6; Negbi 1976, 35, n. 27). This figurine has the extended left arm and hand complete, and the shaft of some now-missing object (a shield, a lance?) is extant. The right arm is extant and held in the same position as the one here but the weapon is missing. There is a pointed helmet and the nude body is clothed only in a belt. The body decoration or markings consist not of dots but of incised lines. The origin of the British Museum’s piece is unknown (Walters has a question mark after Ilium, while others who publish it claim, incorrectly, that it is “said to come from Troy”). There is no

doubt that it and the Metropolitan Museum example clearly are differentiated from the other Smiting Gods, and they may derive from an area outside of the Levant. Both Negbi (1976, 35, n. 27) and Collon (1972, 120) believe they were made in Anatolia, primarily because of the arm positions. This conclusion may tentatively be accepted although Negbi insists the figures derive from "Syria and Lebanon," and Seeden (1980, 118ff., nos. 1782–86), while not citing them, believes that a group that is related with regard to arm position might derive from Syria, though they too were not excavated.

489. Figurine Fragment

32.18.4; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 10.2. cm

THE FIGURINE is preserved only from the mid-chest; two small holes exist in the core of the chest and seem to be modern drillings for mounting. In formal characteristics, especially the original standing position and placement of the arms, the figure is the same as Nos. 486 and 487, but differs in stylistic features. Here the hair is articulated in an elaborate manner, eight curls at the rear that project out from the face, and is bound at the brow by a band or hair curl (see below). The eyes are large, as is the nose, which tends toward naturalism. Perhaps also an attempt toward naturalism are the ridges indicating pectorals or collarbones. The clenched fists are pierced to hold weapons.

A member of the Smiting God family of the subgroup to which this figurine belongs has been studied by Canby (1968, 107ff., pls. xxvi–xxxi), Negbi (1976, 11), and Seeden (1980, 20ff., nos. 56–65A). Of thirteen known examples (including the present one), only two have been excavated, at Ugarit (Seeden 1980, nos. 65, 65A), a male and a female made of silver found together in a jar near the Temple of Ba'al. The complete examples indicate that, while nude, the males had an added kilt of gold or a kilt cast with the body, and some wore torques or had a gold-foil collar. The Ugarit male figurine may have carried a mace in its pierced fist, and it is assumed that all the figures with pierced fists had miniature weapons inserted.

Two of the corpus from this subgroup, the Metropolitan Museum's example and another in the Louvre, are considered modern forgeries by Seeden (1980, nos. 61, 62). Seeden indicts the "exaggerated face and hair style" of our example, by which she presumably means the band or curl above the forehead that is lacking on the other examples. Seeden may indeed be correct. And if it is a forgery, this fragment seems to have been cop-

ied from the fragmentary example in Geneva (ex-Reber: Seeden 1980, no. 57).

Whatever label one assigns to the subgroup, "Ugaritic" by Negbi, North Syrian by Seeden, Ugarit remains to date the only site whence they derive, pace dealers' attributions. Canby (1968, 117ff.) dated them to the Early Dynastic II period, but this early dating has been rejected by Negbi (1976, 11), Seeden (1980, 15, 23), Moorey (in *Levant* 2 [1970], 102), and Spycket (1981, 273), who prefer a late third to early second millennium B.C. date.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Seeden 1980, no. 61.

490. Enthroned Figure

32.18.3; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze; height 13 cm

491. Enthroned Figure

32.161.45; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Bronze, gold foil; height 12.7 cm

BOTH FIGURES are cast in a seated position, each with a tang at the feet and another at the buttocks to hold the figure in place on a separately made chair or stool. The body of No. 490 is curved slightly forward. It is dressed in a long gown indicated by a hem below the knees but otherwise not articulated; at the rear the buttocks are delineated as if bare. The staring eyes, which may once have held inlays, occupy the whole width of the face, separated by the straight nose. The outer lines of the nose arch up to form brows; the mouth is small and firm, unsmiling; the ears are prominent. On the head is a conical hat with a small knob at the top. While the feet seem to wear sandals, the toes are not depicted; the feet are cast with a base or low stool. Both hands are held forward from bent elbows, the proper left with open palm up, the right, slightly higher, with open palm down.

No. 491 is primarily distinguished from No. 490 by being covered with a fairly thick layer of gold foil. On this piece the hat and the head are similar to No. 490 in style and form, although here the mouth is slightly open, and the head is set on a longer neck. The proper right arm is missing, while the preserved left ends in an unarticulated hand. The feet are not visible, as they are completely covered by the long gown.

A good number of enthroned figures with tangs for insertion into chairs exist (Negbi 1976, 46ff., 170ff., nos. 1437–84), many of which derive from excavations in Israel and Syria.¹ The closest parallels to the present two



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figures in form, physiognomy, and hat shape, but unclad, are an excavated example from Beth Shemesh and a stray in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University (Negbi 1976, nos. 1450, 1449; Hansen 1957, 13f.: purchased, not excavated as Negbi claims); cf. also Negbi no. 1451 from Megiddo. All the enthroned figures are at rest, some with their hands held in benediction, others holding vessels or scepters, but not weapons; and many are covered with gold or silver foil. Their benign attitude and posture, their hat shape, and the foil overlay collectively indicate that the figures are deities (Porada 1948, 125). Negbi (1976, 116) believes that the Metropolitan Museum's two figures are a pair, a male deity and his consort. However, both pieces seem to be males, and given the fact that both are strays, we know nothing about their provenience, whether or not they were found together, let alone mated together in the past. On the basis of the excavated finds, the two figures should be dated to the late Bronze Age, about fourteenth–

thirteenth century B.C., or slightly later (Negbi 1976, 49; Hansen 1957, 15f., 18f.).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

MMA Guide 1972, 45, no. 6 (No. 491); Negbi 1976, 115, fig. 130, nos. 1440, 1647.

NOTE

1. A seated bronze figure with a tang for enthronelement published in Bach 1973, no. 158, is surely not Iranian as designated, nor does it seem to fit into the Levant: it may not be ancient.

492. Standing Figure

66.104.2; purchase; Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1966
Bronze; height 12.6 cm

A **STANDING FIGURE**, probably a female, wears an ankle-length gown that has a thick open collar and that is apparently open its full length in front (unless the



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groove here is a casting flaw). The collar unit continues around the figure's back where the two sides cross. The hair reaches to the upper neck in back and is delineated in front by grooved curls, vertical across the forehead and horizontal down each side. The face is rigid and calm, with small oval eyes that may have once held inlays, a small, closed mouth, and a moderately sized naturalistically shaped nose; the ears are represented by round units placed unnaturally low and forward on the cheeks (unless the disks are meant to represent side curls). Projecting forward and parallel to each other, the arms are bent at the elbows, and while the fists are clenched, they are not pierced. The bare feet rest on a small platform, and a tang is set below. The tang is loose and therefore seems not to have been cast with the figure but added later. A small bird with outstretched wings rests on the head.

Negbi (1976, 104f., 192, no. 1712) placed this figure in her "Unclassified Female Figurine" category, at the



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same time assigning it to Syria. That the figurine probably derives from Syria seems possible from the facial characteristics, and also from the cut of the gown as known from Syrian seals (Porada 1948, 125f., nos. 945, 946, 949, 950, 953; Merhav and Ornan 1979, 92, figs. 4–6), and on other figurines, those from Ras Shamra (Negbi 1976, nos. 1431, 1630, 1648, figs. 52, 103, 129; cf. also no. 1459, unexcavated but attributed to Mishrife). Furthermore, on some Syrian seals (Porada 1948, 127, no. 956; Merhav 1981, fig. on p. 57) females are depicted with a bird on their heads. As noted by Porada, these females are goddesses, an attribution appropriate for the figure here. Judging from its style and from the comparisons presented, the figure was made sometime in the last centuries of the second millennium B.C.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Negbi 1976, no. 1712; W. Culican, in *Levant* 10 (1978), pl. xxiv c.

NORTH SYRIA

493. Plaques

53.120.1, 2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1953

Bronze; preserved heights 12.6, 13.5 cm

THE TWO plaques are formally and stylistically the same, although, as will be discussed below, there are minor but interesting differences. Each is a repoussé winged sphinx whose body is shown in profile while the head is en face, executed in very high relief. The faces, which can only be described as sublime, are clearly those of serene females, an effect achieved by the placement and symmetry of the features—a small, almost smiling mouth, average-sized nose, and triangular eyes that may once have held inlays. The ears alone are slightly disproportionate in size, but set against the hair that frames the face and rests as thick curls on each shoulder they do not stand out ungracefully. Each sphinx has the same coiffure pattern, neatly incised diagonal lines creating lozenges for the curls, a basket weave at the crown. Both necks are covered with multiple necklaces set above a pattern of incised double semiovals that surely indicate feathers; the same pattern outlines the raised vertical inner border of the wings. The wings are the same on both pieces, beginning at the stomach and continuing upward to rest directly on the back before curving gently outward, free from the body; two vertical zones of herringbone patterning incised on raised horizontal bands represent the feathers.

It is on the neatly decorated bodies that one finds differences between the two sphinxes. The most obvious

is the position of the tails. On No. 493b the tip is seen in relief curling between the rear legs, but on No. 493a the tail extends out from the body and whether it eventually curls up or down is not known. The front right leg of No. 493b is extended, but the corresponding area of No. 493a is broken away, preventing our knowing whether that left front leg was also extended: if there were no distinction in the tail position one would not hesitate to restore the leg of No. 493a in the position of No. 493b. Moreover, the right rear leg of No. 493b is separated from the left, as if the sphinx is walking, but the corresponding area of No. 493a is broken away.

Both bodies have a hair pattern that fills the width of the sharply undercut stomach, another at the rear haunch, a "stitching" pattern on the back, a prominent flame pattern on the rear thigh, a hair swirl on the chest, rib and muscle lines on the sides and rear, a curved triangular motif on the chest, a curved U on the back, and a tulip design on the front legs. In each instance there are observable differences in execution: on No. 493a the stomach hair is a herringbone, on No. 493b a weave pattern; the muscle lines on No. 493a are curved, on No. 493b straight; the flame patterns and leg tulips differ in size and spacing; the hair swirl on No. 493a is neater than on No. 493b; and No. 493a has a choker necklace that is lacking on No. 493b. Thus, while both sphinxes were probably hammered in the same mold, it is possible that two separate artisans incised the decoration. One further detail is of interest: on the reverse of the right rear leg of No. 493b there is a metal strip held by small rivets, the heads of which are visible on the back. On the front the rivets are visible, but only with careful examination. Apparently this is either an ancient repair or a strengthening device made at the time of manufacture to secure the separately made leg (so well masked as not to be noticed).

Two problems confront us. The first is the relationship of the sphinxes to each other in their original setting. It is difficult to assume that they were not made to be connected together in some manner, and they were surely made in the same workshop by the same hand (except possibly for the incisions). Yet the different tail positions suggest that they may not have been paired in a heraldic position. Indeed, one must assume that the extended front leg of No. 493b touched something, but whether it was the leg of No. 493a, or that of another sphinx, or a tree, is not revealed to us. The second problem is one of function. The sphinxes are fairly large and hammered from thick metal, the surrounding areas of which are missing except for one crucial area, the base of No. 493b. This base is not a break but seemingly an original edge. On the one hand this precludes interpre-

ting the sphinxes as having been part of a vessel (as, for example, R. S. Young 1967, fig. 1, pls. xiv–xviii), while on the other hand it may indicate that No. 493b was a plaque (leaving aside the question of whether it was hammered from the same sheet as No. 493a). There are no excavated parallels to guide us and we are left with what we have, two stray pieces. Whether they were originally joined together, with or without additional elements, or whether they were originally two distinct plaques can no longer be known. I do think it can be stated with little risk of error, however, that in antiquity they were meant to be juxtaposed in some fashion and that they were found (clandestinely) together.

Whereas the function of the plaques remains elusive, their attribution is readily perceived. In form and in style, especially the types of body incisions, in particular the flame pattern, the rib marks, the stomach and crown basket-weave hair, the "stitching" on the back, the plaques demonstrate that they were made in a North Syrian workshop (Kantor 1962, 96f., figs. 5, 7; Barnett 1957, 49, 65, pls. xviii–xxii, xxvi; R. S. Young 1967, 148; Muscarella 1980a, 196, 198, nos. 242, 243, 257, 261: note the incisions at the base of the tail; Orthmann 1971, pls. 8f, 10b, 11e–g, 12a, c, 68, 69). The frontal posture of the sphinxes is also a characteristic of North Syrian renditions of sphinxes in the minor arts (Winter 1976, 8), as are the configuration of the hair framing the face and the presence of ears (Barnett 1957, pl. lxiii; Barnett 1964, fig. 1, pls. 2–4; Kantor 1962, 99, 108, pls. xi–xv, fig. 5; R. S. Young 1967, 152, fig. 1, pls. xiv–xviii, xxi). Winter (1976, 7f.) has also noted that the position of the wing resting on the body is a North Syrian feature, albeit not universal (e.g., Muscarella 1970, fig. 11; Sams 1980, 1ff., figs. 2–4).¹ The hair swirl alone is not peculiar to North Syria for, as Kantor (1947) has demonstrated, it occurs all over the Near East for millennia.

Many of the parallels cited above are portable bronze and ivory objects, plaques, horse frontlets, and bowls, which by virtue of style and form clearly belong to the same cultural environment. Nevertheless, minor, non-significant variations in both detailing and quality exist. Thus, if we compare these two plaques with a bronze repoussé North Syrian bowl in Philadelphia that has three pairs of heraldic sphinxes (R. S. Young 1967, fig. 1, pls. xiv–xviii), there are obviously specific similarities in posture and body incisions. But differences exist in the wing pattern, the shape of the eyes, the lack of ears, and the frontal position of the chest, as noted by Young. The comparison of these two plaques with the Philadelphia bowl and with the other portable North Syrian objects cited above allows us to state that the plaques are examples of the finest quality of North Syrian bronze



493a, b

work known to exist, equaled only by the North Syrian ivory carving, a conclusion also reached by Kantor (1962, 97) and Young (1967, 148).

Young (1967, 148) suggested that the Metropolitan Museum plaques are “considerably later” than the Philadelphia bowl and the other North Syrian bronzes cited, all of which are dated to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. This conclusion seems based primarily on the fact that the plaques are superbly executed. But if we compare them with the workmanship on known ninth-century B.C. North Syrian ivories (e.g., Muscarella 1980a, nos. 226–35, 242–45, 256–58), the plaques do not seem out of place. Further, the faces on the Philadelphia bowl, which lack ears, are the same as those on the “siren” cauldron attachments dated to the late eighth and possibly early seventh centuries B.C. (see R. S. Young 1967, 148f., 150, for discussion). It is therefore possible that the differences between the plaques and the Philadelphia bowl are indeed chronological, but in a direction

opposite to that proposed by Young, that is, that the former are earlier. How much earlier is not clear, but I suggest that a ninth–eighth-century general date rather than an eighth–seventh-century date seems more appropriate.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

MMAB 18, 8 (1960), 243, fig. 2 (No. 493b); Kantor 1962, 97, 98, fig. 6 (No. 493b); R. S. Young 1967, pl. xx; *Treasures* 1970, 33, no. 16 (No. 493b); *MMA Guide* 1972, 48, no. 14; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 10; *MMA Guide* 1983, 59, no. 32 (No. 493b).

NOTE

1. Note that Sams has cited as genuine a North Syrian-style scene on a stone pyxis in Cleveland (Sams 1980, 8ff., figs. 8, 9). I believe that the scene is manifestly a modern addition to an ancient, now fragmentary, plain pyxis (Muscarella 1977a, no. 238). Sams’s comparison of the scene on this pyxis to one excavated at Carchemish is unfortunately invalidated by an incorrect reading and interpretation of the scene on the latter.

V NEAR EAST

General Objects

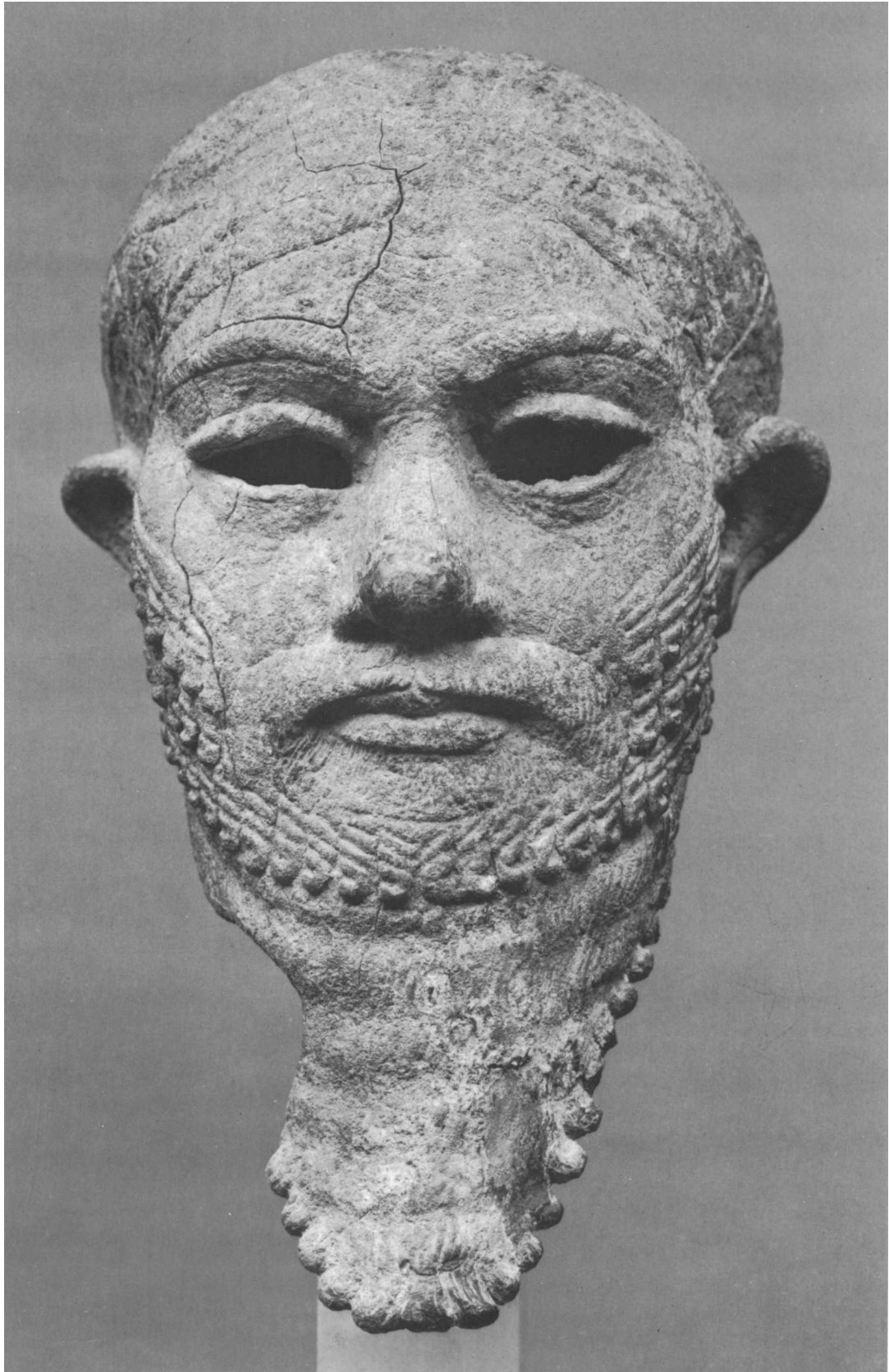
494. Male Head

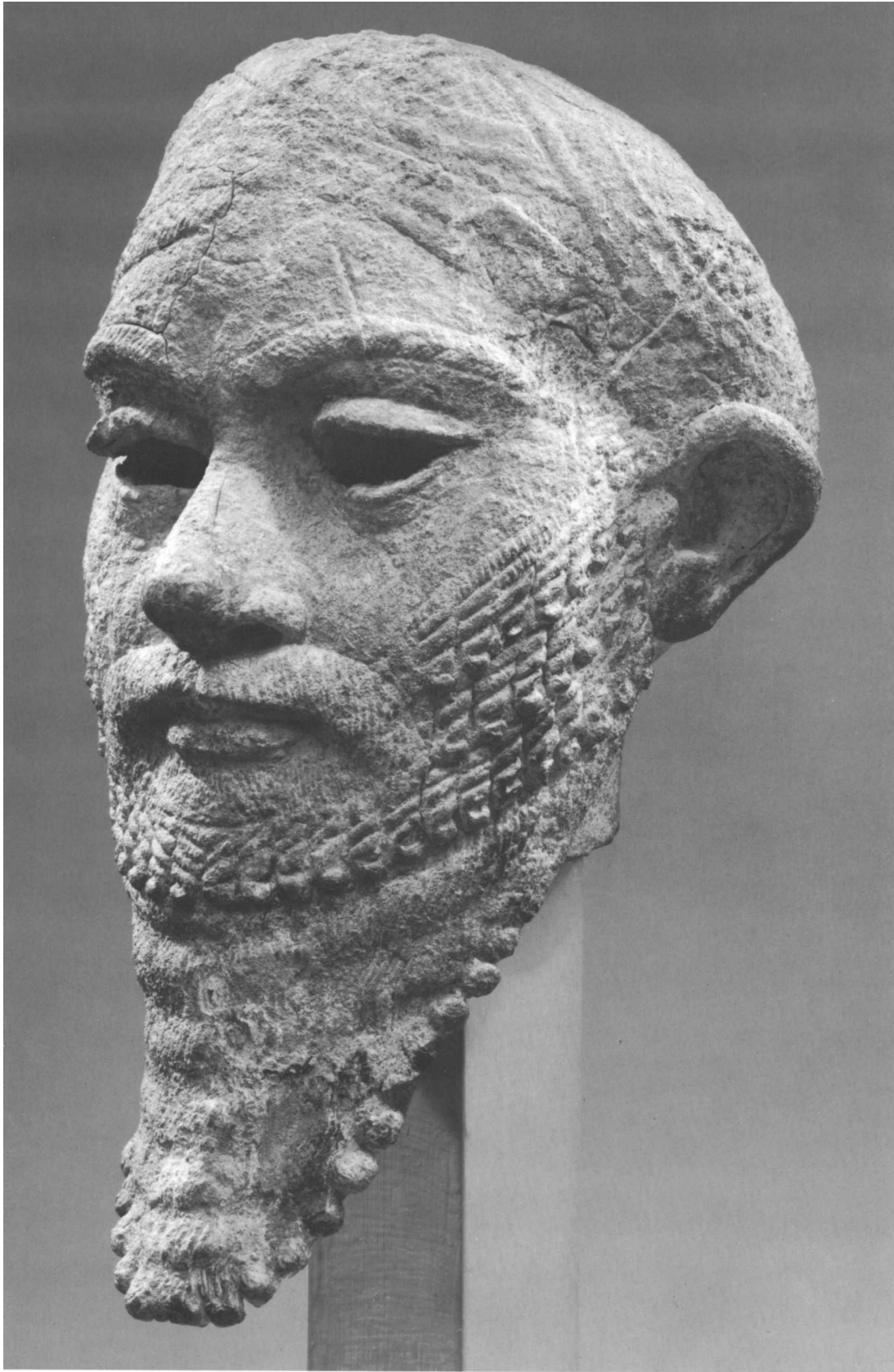
47.100.80; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1947
Arsenical copper;¹ height 34.3 cm

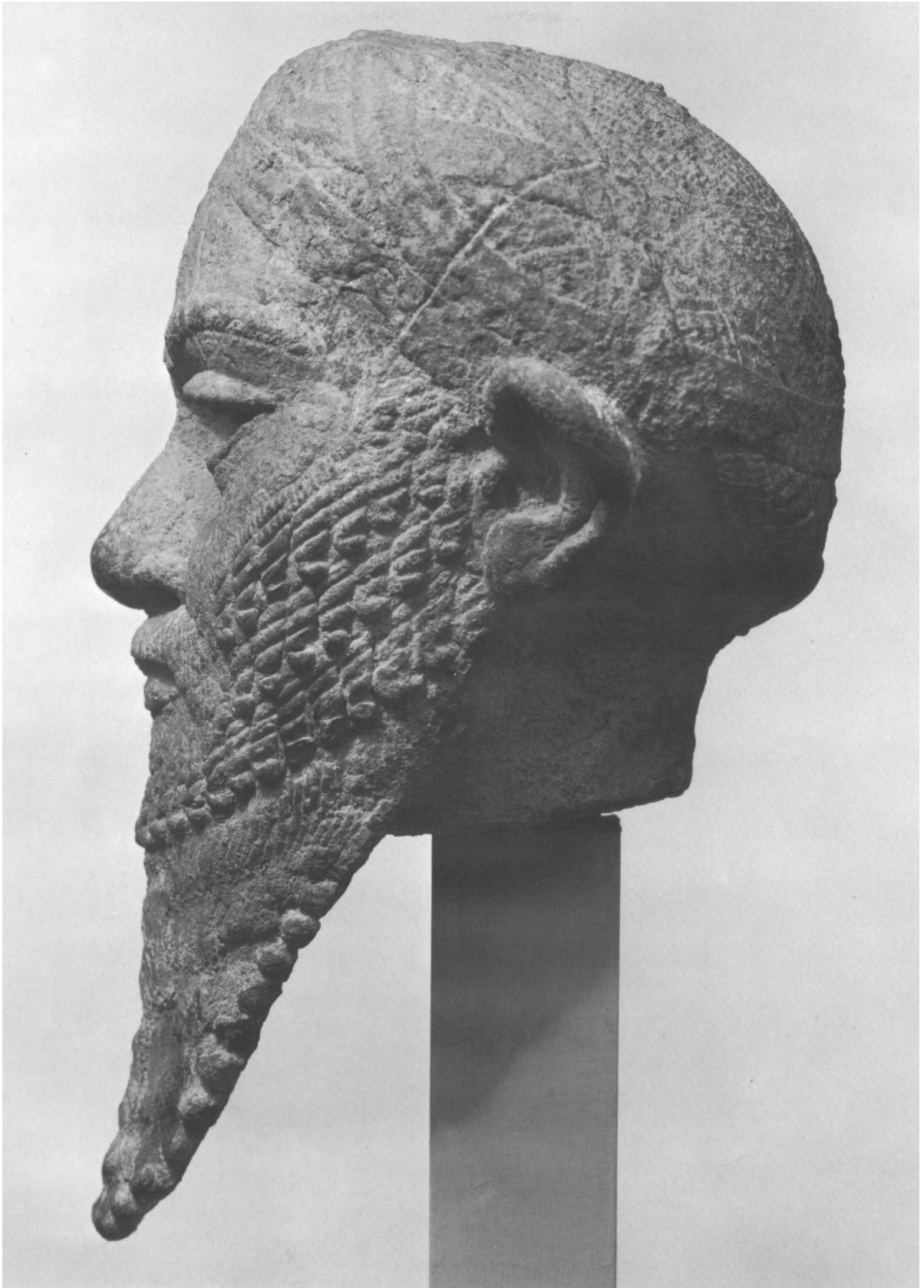
THE HEAD is very heavy and cast almost solid; a cavity within was apparently caused by a solid object or core displaced during the casting process; a rectangular dowel (3.5 × 2.5 cm) was joined (welded?) to the flat base, presumably to fit the head to a body or other support. While we do not know if the head was attached to a now missing (but very solid!) body, the neck is smooth, so it seems certain that the head is complete. The face is striking, and it is surely not a subjective observation to note that it reflects dignity and calmness, as well as inherent power (although no full-face photograph is capable of reflecting these features). As has been noted many times, we have before us an actual portrait of a specific individual and not a formal, standard symbolic representation. The heavy lidded eyes are relatively small and are symmetrically placed in a horizontal position, features that play a significant role in establishing the dignified expression desired by the artist; inlays are missing. The eyebrows, decorated in herringbone fashion, while not too heavy, lend emphasis to the eyes; they do not join over the nose. The slightly rounded nose and the full-lipped mouth are proportionally sculpted, neither too large nor too small. The ears, on the other hand, seem slightly larger than in nature and noticeably curve outward; in front view they are a prominent feature of the head. The beard is intricately modeled. Three rows of corkscrew curls cover the cheeks, while the lowest row continues around the chin, distinctly setting off the full beard. This section is rendered as gently wavy hair terminating in curls, except for the three tufts at the bottom center that simply curve. Above the chin curls, below the lips, is a section of hair rendered as combed tufts, in the same manner as the moustache, which curves from the nose to the cheek curls. The proper right side of the beard is missing, but there is no indication of a recent break. Either an ancient break occurred or, as Casson (1938/1964, 356, n. 2) suggested,

there is a casting flaw (which does seem strange for such a masterpiece). Unique in ancient art is the head covering, which consists of a checkered pattern apparently meant to depict a cloth skullcap; it is held in place by a wound ribbon. Hair appears only on the forehead, at the proper right temple area, where it continues almost to the center, and at the proper left cheek area; the two sides are rendered slightly differently from each other and also from the beard. A small but not readily noticeable detail is wrinkles on the forehead, surely a subtle clue that the head is a portrait.

The head first surfaced in print in an anonymous note in the 10 January 1931 issue of the *Illustrated London News* (frontispiece), where it was announced that it "was found near Hamadan," and that it was in the collection of the Brummer Gallery (where it remained until purchased by the Metropolitan Museum). Over the years the head has been published or cited many times, and at least two additional proveniences have been presented by different scholars (see note 2), none, however, offering any documentation, and few indicating that they were aware of the contradictions (Muscarella 1980b, 34f.). Thus, in the very same year as the *ILN* Hamadan citation, the head, which was on exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1930, was published (*International Exhibition of Persian Art* [London, 1931], 7, no. 3), with a provenience given as "Found in North Western Persia." And in 1931 Pijoán (195, 197, fig. 280) gave still another provenience: "Procedente de la región del Lago de Van," Urartu! From this time scholars divided themselves into those who accepted the Hamadan provenience (Moortgat 1934, 6; Andrae 1939, 702; Diakonoff 1947, 107, 118; W. Speiser 1952, 98; vanden Berghe 1959, 110), and those who preferred northwestern Iran, in particular Azerbaijan, Van having inexplicably disappeared (Casson 1938/1964, 356, n. 3; Ackerman 1940, 309, no. 26; Pope 1945, 17; Wilkinson 1949, 192; Porada 1965, 62; Porada 1975, 381,









no. 284: here modified by “angeblich,” as also Hrouda 1971, 216; Crawford et al. 1966, 23f.; Schlossman 1981–82, 157).² The only conclusion held in common, and accepted as a given fact, was that the head derived from Iran, which acceptance formed the basis for all future discussion. In fact, no one is in a position to verify even this general attribution inasmuch as the head came from the art market.

Except for the anonymous *ILN* note and Casson (1938/1964, 356, n. 2) who attributed the head to the Achaemenian period (for Casson, late Achaemenian!), no doubt because of the assumed Hamadan provenience, most scholars have concluded that the head was Elamite in background and date (Moortgat 1934, 10: second millennium B.C.; Andrae 1939, 702: “um 1400”; Wilkinson 1949, 192: second millennium; W. Speiser 1952, 99, “um 1200”; vanden Berghe 1959, 110: thirteenth–twelfth century B.C.; Parrot 1961, 331: second half of the second millennium; Crawford et al. 1966, 24: late second millennium B.C.; Porada 1965, 62, 233, no. 34: mid-second millennium B.C.; Calmeyer 1972b, 65: “gewiss mittel-elamisch”; Schlossman 1981–82, 157: early second millennium).³ Moortgat (1934, 6, 10) was the first to compare the head to the gold and silver statuettes excavated in the Inshushinak sanctuary at Susa (Porada 1965, pl. 12), pointing out what he perceived as relevant parallels in the beards, hair, and faces, and he concluded that the head and the statuettes represented the same “Volktypus.” W. Speiser (1952, 98f.) agreed with this position, as did Porada, who in her original discussion on the head (1965, 62), despite differences noted by her, believed that all three objects “rendered a related ethnic type.” Porada, however, was puzzled; she recognized Elamite features on the head, but inasmuch as it was “said to come” from Azerbaijan—and rather than reject a dealer’s attribution as meaningless—she chose to conclude that “it is possible that there existed in Azerbaijan a center in which workshops produced objects related to those of Elamite style.”

Although at first view there might be recognized a resemblance between the two Inshushinak statuettes and the head, I believe that careful examination reveals enough differences to discount a direct comparison: on the statuettes the side locks become the moustache, which does not fully cover the upper lip; there is no separately rendered beard hair below the lips; the beard is squared and without curling; the eyebrows join over the nose; the eyes are set in the face obliquely; and the nose is sharp (compare Diakonoff 1947, fig. 1:13 to fig. 2:5).

The only writer who systematically discussed the head and who challenged both the generally held date of late second millennium B.C. and its specific Elamite background was Igor Diakonoff (1947); his conclusions did

not get acceptance until 1975. Diakonoff, first of all, rejected any relationship with the Inshushinak statuettes (1947, 108), and he sought comparative material by a study of the head’s beard. He concluded that the best formal parallel for the head was to be seen on the well-known bronze head of “Sargon” excavated at Nineveh (Strommenger 1962, pls. xxii, xxiii; Amiet 1975, no. 48: see also no. 49 and comments on p. 174), which was likewise a portrait; to him the copper head represents a higher quality, so it was dated slightly later, to the twenty-third century B.C. (Diakonoff 1947, 109ff., 115ff.; cf. fig. 1:13, 14). Diakonoff (1947, 113f.) further concluded that because of the presence of the unusual, non-Mesopotamian headdress, and the non-Semitic face, the head could be a portrait of a king of the Gutī—a western Iranian people—although he did not exclude the possibility that Elamite workmanship (not further explained) was involved. To be sure, although Pope (1945, 17f.) dated the head to about 2000 B.C., and Casson (1938/1964, 356) cited a resemblance to the “Sargon” head, Diakonoff was the first to demonstrate the viability of the earlier dating. In 1975, Porada (381, no. 284) implicitly reversed her previous (1965) rejection of Diakonoff and suggested strongly that the head is to be dated late in the third millennium B.C. Although for some reason not mentioning the “Sargon” head, she cited other relevant late-third-millennium parallels for the moustache and underlip hair (Strommenger 1962, pl. 149; see also pls. 152–54), and she called attention to the copper composition as a sign of early date. Moorey (1969, 133f.) has pointed out that arsenical bronze is almost confined to the fourth and third millennia B.C. in the Near East, although continuing to some extent into the second (Moorey 1982, 86f.). Still another possible indication of an early date was recognized by C. K. Wilkinson (files of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art) who called attention to the checkered hair—not a headdress—depicted on figures represented on two stelae from the Gudea period (Moortgat 1969, pls. 189, 190).

The fact that the literature reflects the lack of a clear consensus concerning the head’s date, which ranged from 2000 B.C. through the fifteenth–twelfth centuries B.C., and even the Achaemenian period, aside from reversals of opinion, indicates that the head does not readily reveal its time of creation (Moortgat 1934, 10). Yet Diakonoff’s analysis concerning specific parallels and the nature of portraiture⁴ appears to me to resolve the matter of chronology in a satisfactory manner. The Metropolitan Museum’s copper head, a self-evident masterpiece, and truly one of the great works of art preserved to us from the past, is matched both in quality and more or less in chronology by the “Sargon” head.⁵ I would

place it in the Akkadian period or later—late third millennium B.C. in date. The only unfortunate issues surrounding the copper head are that we do not know its final resting place or the cultural context in which it existed—Mesopotamian or Iranian—or even the name of the individual represented.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

ILN, 10 January 1931, frontispiece; Pijoán 1931, 195, fig. 280, pl. xii; Moortgat 1934, fig. 8; Casson 1938/1964, pls. 105, 106; Andrae 1939, pl. 153, no. 2; Pope 1945, pls. 24, 25; Diakonoff 1947, pls. II, III; Wilkinson 1949, 193; W. Speiser 1952, pl. 73; H. H. von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser* (Stuttgart, 1956), pl. 15; vanden Berghe 1959, pl. 137a; Crawford 1965, 214, fig. 5; Porada 1965, fig. 38; Crawford et al. 1966, fig. 36; Pope 1968, A/3, fig. A1 b; Porada 1975, no. 284; Muscarella 1980b, fig. 15. Also: *MMAB* 7, 1 (1948), cover; A. Bowlin and B. Farwell, *Small Sculptures in Bronze* (MMA, New York, 1950), 5; *Art Treasures of the Metropolitan* (MMA, New York, 1952), 218, no. 18; *MMAB* 10, 8 (1952), 219; Robert Payne, *The Splendor of Persia* (New York, 1957), pl. facing p. 17; Parrot 1961, 330f., fig. 406; *The Horizon Book of Lost Worlds* (New York, 1962), 175; *Life*, 31 May 1963; *In the Presence of Kings* (exhib. cat., MMA, New York, 1967), no. 7; *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries* (exhib. cat., MMA, New York, 1970), no. 42; *MMA Guide* 1972, 47, fig. 10; *The Grand Gallery* (C.I.N.O.A. exhib. cat., MMA, New York, 1974), 3, fig. 2; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* (Newsweek, New York, 1978), 25; H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), 55, no. 107; Schlossman 1981–82, 156ff., figs. 22–24; *MMA Guide* 1983, 47, no. 4; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 37; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 6f., no. 1.

NOTES

1. Cu: 97.8%, Sn: 0.06%, As: 3.3%.
2. See also the catalogues mentioned here in Previous Publications. W. Speiser, believing both that the head was Elamite and was found in Hamadan, concluded that it “als Beute nach Luristan [sic] verschleppt wurde,” a classic example of how false archaeological and historical conclusions are generated when based on unverifiable dealers’ claims. Even if it could be confirmed that the head had been purchased in Hamadan, we could not speak of its provenience: for Hamadan, like Beirut (Merrillees 1981, 49), was a “central market site” for the sale of plundered artifacts from far-off places, including Iraq.
3. In Muscarella 1980b, 35, n. 24, I stated that an attribution to “Tepe Tikhon” was unpublished: it is in fact mentioned by C. K. Wilkinson in *Art Treasures of the Metropolitan* (MMA, New York, 1952), 218, no. 18. And the Lake Van reference occurs, in addition to Pijoán, in the Metropolitan Museum’s files.
4. Similar late dates are given in the catalogues mentioned here in Previous Publications, except the 1978 Newsweek book, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, which gives a late-third-millennium date.
5. Of small but perhaps significant interest is the fact that both the “Sargon” head and the copper head have wrinkles on the forehead.
6. In *Iraq* 44 (1982), 34, Moorey implicitly accepts an Akkadian date for the Metropolitan Museum’s copper head. Whether or not the head is earlier or later than the “Sargon” head is by no means certain; more study is warranted before one reaches firm conclusions either way. Note that A. U. Pope (1968, A/3) claimed that in 1931 “a curator of one of the world’s most famous museums” considered the head (and another now in Cincinnati) to be a forgery; he fortunately does not name the curator.

R. Mayer-Opificius (1983, 340) claims that the “Sargon” head “dürfte von churrischer Hand stammen,” presumably because it was

excavated at Nineveh, to her a Hurrian place name. This conclusion that the head is Hurrian is sheer guesswork, with no anchoring archaeological evidence; on the issue of alleged Hurrian art, see Barrelet 1977, and No. 495.

495. Lion Foundation Peg¹

48.180; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1948
Copper;² height 11.5 cm

THE FOREPART of a lion is cast in the round; the lower part is a thick, tapering cylindrical peg with a blunt tip. The tip is damaged and slightly bent and has at its base an irregularly shaped cavity. The lion’s legs and paws extend straight out from the body and hover over a thin plaque that curves upward; a bend at one corner may be modern. The lion’s mouth is open in a snarl, baring his fangs and wrinkling his muzzle; his tongue does not protrude. Mane hair is rendered as a thick incised mass divided into tufts that suggest layering, and a raised ruff extends around the head, broken only by the laid-back ears. Isolated hair tufts exist at the elbows and below the powerful, muscled shoulders. The whole execution is one of intentional naturalness, an attitude emphasized by the elevated and leftward turn of the head. Examination of the underside of the plaque where it joins with the lion’s body reveals a slight swelling that seems to be traces of solder. Moreover, the lion’s legs are not physically part of the plaque and do not touch it. It is therefore probable that the plaque was separately made and inserted into a thin slit in the lion’s stomach.

The plaque preserves traces of incised cuneiform signs and is perhaps meant to function as a tablet (see Nos. 338, 339); only a few signs are now legible. Richard Zettler has examined the plaque and given me the following information: “The plate [plaque] of MMA 48.180 has a fourteen-line inscription. Lines 1–12 run from top to bottom along the left side of the plate, that is, between the left leg of the lion and the edge of the plate. Lines 13–14 are cut in the space between the legs of the lion but closer to the left leg. The lines run at a ninety-degree angle to lines 1–12. Much of the inscription is effaced due to corrosion and subsequent cleaning. The left edge of lines 1–10 has not been cleaned . . . so corrosion still obscures that part of the inscription. . . . I examined the inscription briefly in May 1983, with the aid of a magnifying glass only, and could make out lines 1–3. These lines read:

[]-[kš²]-[]-[tal²]
[e]n-da-a[n]
[kèški

The traces are sufficient to indicate that lines 1–3 probably duplicate the opening lines of the stone tablet Louvre AO 19938, that is, Ti-iš-a-tal en-da-an Ur-kèški.”

The lion peg is obviously a foundation peg or deposit (see Nos. 433–436), an interpretation revealed not only by the form of the peg base, but also by an inscription on the stone tablet mentioned in Zettler's report that is associated with another lion peg and inscribed plaque, the mate of the Metropolitan Museum's piece, in the Louvre (AO 19937; Hallo 1962, 11; Ellis 1968, 57). The Louvre's lion peg was also acquired in 1948 (Parrot 1948, 85f., fig. 1; Parrot and Nougayrol 1948, figs. 1–3; it is known to me only from the photographs). Formally and stylistically exactly the same as the Metropolitan Museum piece, it nevertheless was made in a separate mold.

The white stone tablet that the Louvre lion peg was purchased with is inscribed in the Hurrian language, and it seems to fit under the bronze plaque. The text on the tablet is clear and records that "Tišatal, king of Urkish, built the temple of Pirigal [or Nergal?]" and that the temple is placed under the protection of various deities who threaten anyone attempting to destroy it (Parrot and Nougayrol 1948, 11; Schmökel 1955, 278f.). The Louvre lion presumably then held and protected the stone tablet as well as the bronze plaque/tablet, and both it and its mate were placed in the foundations of the Pirigal temple.

Inasmuch as the Metropolitan Museum lion peg lacks a stone tablet, I wondered whether there was objective verification, aside from the juxtaposition in a dealer's shop, that the Louvre lion peg and stone tablet were in fact an ancient ensemble.³ Parrot and Nougayrol (1948, 1, n. 3) stated that the plaque "a laissé son empreinte sur la tablette de pierre," but the nature of the imprint or stain was not explained. I therefore wrote to Pierre Amiet at the Louvre requesting clarification and any further information available. His prompt reply contained technical information establishing that the stone tablet was indeed originally associated with the lion peg, that they were placed together in the foundations of the temple. The stone tablet preserves in two places copper oxide from the plaque. Significantly, the plaque also preserves two signs of the stone tablet that are imprinted in the oxide on the base of the plaque. Further, the bronze plaque was cleaned subsequent to the 1948 publications and some of the signs may now be read, especially part of the crucial first and second lines, which agree with those on the stone tablet. Collectively, the evidence indicates that there can be no doubt that the Louvre lion peg and stone tablet are an ancient ensemble,⁴ and that they have the same basic inscription as on the Metropolitan Museum peg.

Neither the Metropolitan Museum's nor the Louvre's lion peg has an archaeological provenience; both derive from the antiquities market and there is an implication



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495



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that two dealers were originally involved in the two sales. Parrot and Nougayrol (1948, 2) state that the mate (i.e., the Metropolitan Museum piece) was seen “*précédemment chez un antiquaire parisien*,” implying that that dealer was not the same one who sold the Louvre its lion peg. The Metropolitan Museum lion peg was in fact purchased from a New York dealer; how he acquired it, and whether it came directly from the aforementioned Paris dealer, is unknown. In any event, whatever the modern history of the two lion pegs may have been, it may be accepted within the framework of a plausible speculation that both lion pegs were plundered from the same site, and from the foundations of a temple at that site.

What were the ancient and the modern names of that site, and where was it located? The answer to each of these questions is the same: we do not know. A number of scholars have assumed that wherever in the Near East the pegs were found, that mound will have been Urkish, the city mentioned in the inscription (e.g., Parrot 1954, 13; Schmökel 1955, 278; Nougayrol 1960, 213; van Liere 1957, 91; Rashid 1957–71, 658; implied by Mellink 1972–75, 515). However, the text on the stone tablet merely states that a king of Urkish built a temple: it does not say that the temple was built at Urkish—although it is possible the temple was built at Urkish. In this sense, the lion pegs may be known as the Urkish lions, not because of where they were necessarily deposited in antiquity, but because they were deposited by a king of Urkish. The city of Urkish appears in a number of texts from Chagar Bazar and Mari, and on the

bronze so-called Samarra tablet (Thureau-Dangin 1912, *iff.*); it was a major Hurrian political and cultural center (E. Speiser 1953, 313f.; Gelb 1956, 38of.; Mellink 1972–75, 515). All scholars interested in the site locate it in North Mesopotamia, in the Khabur River basin of present-day northeastern Syria and southeastern Turkey.⁵ A few of these scholars have singled out one mound in that area, Tell Amouda, as their candidate for the site of Urkish (van Liere 1957; Edzard and Kammenhuber 1972–75, 509; Kessler 1980, 225f.; Salvini 1983, 27, 33). Only excavation will resolve the issue, and until that is accomplished, Rashid’s (1957–71, 658) statement that Urkish is “*nicht sicher lokalisiert*” and Parayre’s (1977, 126) question mark still obtain.

The Hurrians, a non-Indo-European and non-Semitic speaking people, appear in cuneiform texts from the Akkadian period, the second half of the third millennium B.C. through the second millennium B.C., and Hurrian names continue to appear in the first millennium (Gelb 1944; E. Speiser 1953; Edzard and Kammenhuber 1972–75). The stone tablet and the inscribed lion pegs are the earliest Hurrian documents known to date, and concomitantly the lion pegs are the earliest works of art associated with the Hurrians, manifestly having been deposited in one of their temples. Most cuneiformists agree that the stone tablet was inscribed sometime in the Akkadian period (twenty-fifth–twenty-third centuries B.C.), but there is a difference of opinion concerning exactly when within that period it may be dated. Parrot and Nougayrol (1948, 3; also Parrot 1948, 86; Parrot 1961, 282) date it close to the beginning of this period, a position accepted by E. Speiser (1953, 313). Other scholars date it to the later part of the period (e.g., Gelb 1956, 38of.; Hrouda 1958, 28; Hallo 1962, 11; Ellis 1968, 57; Mellink 1972–75, 515; Barrelet 1977, 7; Spycket 1981, 181; but see n. 168a). Aside from the chronological connection between the lion pegs and the tablet, the lion pegs are accepted by a number of scholars as being independently Akkadian in style (e.g., Crawford et al. 1966, 11; Mellink 1972–75, 515; Parayre 1977, 169; it is a position I tentatively share), although it has been noted that the lions could equally fit stylistically into a later period, Ur III or even Isin-Larsa (Parrot and Nougayrol 1948, 2; Parrot 1954, 12; Parrot 1961, 182). Moreover, Whiting (1976, 175f.) has suggested that the tablet, and thus the lions, could in fact be dated either to the Akkadian period or to Ur III (twenty-third–twenty-second centuries B.C.). Indeed, it is the date of the tablet alone that will eventually confirm the exact chronology of the pegs (Ellis 1968, 57, n. 81).⁶

However, whatever problems may exist regarding the possible “stylistic” range of the lion pegs, or the objective Akkadian or Ur III date of the tablet, and thus of the ensemble, there is no doubt that on the basis of

style the lions fit into a late-third-millennium B.C. Near Eastern, Mesopotamian background. They exhibit no feature that calls attention to itself as distinguished from the art of that general background.⁷ And in this crucial issue, the lion pegs epitomize the essence and the paradox of the problem of "Hurrian art," the problem of recognizing what are the characteristics of Hurrian art and how they may be perceived and defined. For on the single work of art (accepting here the two lions as representing one stylistic work) that may be called Hurrian because of its juxtaposition to a Hurrian text recording its deposition in a temple built by a Hurrian king, the style of the piece exhibits no features that may be called Hurrian, as opposed to general Near Eastern.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

A. Bowlin and B. Farwell, *Small Sculptures in Bronze* (MMA, New York, 1950), 6; Crawford et al. 1966, 10f., fig. 15; J. F. X. McKeon, *The Art of Sumer and Akkad* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1973), no. 23; H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), 56, no. 111; *MMA Guide* 1983, 53, no. 19; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 29, no. 35.

NOTES

1. A more detailed essay on the Metropolitan Museum's lion peg was submitted by me for publication in January 1985: "Observations on the Urkish Lion Pegs," in G. and M. Buccellati et al., *Mozan Preliminary Report 1* (Malibu, 1988), Appendix 9.

2. Cu: 93.3%, As: 1.6%, Sn: 0.2%, Zn: not detected, Pb: 0.2%, Fe: 0.6%.

3. These thoughts occurred to me before I was able to get someone to attempt to read the inscription on the Metropolitan Museum plaque. But even knowing in advance that the plaque mentioned Tišatal, I would still think it important to obtain objective confirmation that the Louvre's peg and tablet were a historical ensemble.

4. The reasons why the Metropolitan Museum lion peg lacks a tablet can no longer be known, or even hypothesized: another example of a lost crucial historical documentation, courtesy of the antiquities market and its clients. We cannot answer the questions we ask: Was the lion peg originally deposited without a tablet? Was there a tablet removed by the plunderers but subsequently discarded or lost? Was it indeed recovered but sold independently of the peg, someday to be recovered? Was it missed inadvertently and still remains in the ground (inshallah)?

5. Except Thureau-Dangin 1912, 3. In addition to Parrot and Nougayrol 1948, 2, 18f.; E. Speiser 1953, 313f.; Hrouda 1958, 28; and Kessler 1980, 224ff., see A. Goetze, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 7, 2 (1953), 62f.

6. It would be significant if Tišatal "the man of Nineveh" mentioned on a tablet excavated at Eshnunna, and dated to the third year of Šu-Sin, king of Ur (Ur III period), is the same person mentioned on the Louvre stone tablet. For, if so, we would be able to date the lion pegs in the twenty-third–twenty-first centuries B.C. But the Eshnunna Tišatal is not called "the man of Urkish," which one might assume he would be called if he were king of Urkish. For discussion, see Whiting 1976, 176ff., who accepts the Eshnunna Tišatal to be the Hurrian king. See also Salvini 1983, 28.

7. The foundation pegs are of course unique in two respects: no other foundation peg known to date is of the same form; and if Akkadian in date, they stand alone, for foundation pegs are otherwise unattested from that period (Ellis 1968, 57f., 85, 154f.; Rashid 1957–71, 657f.; see also Nos. 435, 436, note 5).

496. Cup/Istikhan

62.170.5; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1962

Bronze; height 8.7 cm

THIS CUP is characterized by plain concave sides and a disk base set in from the outward curve of the lower part of the body, i.e., a sharp carination just above the base. T. C. Young (1965, 72f.) has called cups of this shape istikhans, although they are also referred to as beakers.

Recent studies have treated all concave-sided cups as one class (Calmeyer 1969a, 52ff., Group 26; Moorey 1971a, 266f.), regardless of the presence of an indented, carinated base. From this point of view, the shape was prevalent in the Near East for some millennia (Calmeyer 1969a, 54; see now a metal example with handle from Kalleh Nisar of late-third-millennium B.C. date, vanden Berghe 1970a, 70). However, by limiting observation to those with the carinated base, a more restricted, albeit relatively long, life for the type is recognized.

Excavated examples of concave-sided vessels with a carinated base in terracotta occur in Bronze Age Iran at Godin Tepe (T. C. Young 1969, figs. 30:4, 33:1, 2 with handles); Dinkha Tepe and Hasanlu (Dyson 1964c, fig. 3;¹ Muscarella 1968a, fig. 24; Kramer 1974, 148, fig. 1:13); Haftavan (Burney 1972, 133, pl. 11d); Hissar IIIb (Schmidt 1937, pl. xxxviii:5001). Outside of Iran they occur in Iraq at Billa, Nuzi, Tell al Rimah, and in the Diyala region (Kramer 1974, 148); see also Tell Slaimah (*Sumer* 35 [1979], 425, fig. 11). All are dated after the beginning of the second millennium B.C. down to a time about 1500–1400 B.C. That the shape continued slightly later into the Iron I period is indicated by finds from Sialk A (Ghirshman 1938–39, pl. xl:s472) and Haftavan Tepe (Burney, in *Iran* 11 [1973], 164). Two metal examples with



handles from Tepe Guran in Luristan may also be of this date or slightly later (Moorey 1971a, 267); see also a tall example from Ghalekuti (Egami, Fukai, Masuda 1965, pls. XXXI:5, LI:10), late second millennium (or early first) in date. Amiet (1977b, 109, 112f.) claims that istikhans derive from Afghanistan.

Stray, unprovenienced metal examples are recorded by both Calmeyer and Moorey. Three of these warrant special discussion because, unlike all the other known examples—all unexcavated except for the one from Kalleh Nisar—they have body decoration. One is incised with a figure holding at bay two winged creatures which are next to a seated figure (Calmeyer 1969a, 53, fig. 51a): the figures are exactly the same in style and detail as those depicted on a number of silver and bronze objects, all unexcavated and all sharing the same features, none of which are paralleled in ancient art. I have elsewhere cited all these objects as forgeries (Muscarella 1977a, nos. 1–8; the last number is Calmeyer 1969a, fig. 51a). The second example is clear-cut: it is a genuine vessel to which has been added as a handle a Luristan animal from a pin. Potratz (1963, 143, pl. XLII) and Calmeyer (1969a, 139, no. o) both correctly called attention to the embellishment. The third example is not so easily resolved with regard to the question of authenticity. This istikhan (Calmeyer 1973a, III f., 162, no. 4v, fig. 103; Barbier 1970, fig. 21) has in relief an ostrich, which from the photograph looks good in style. Yet excavated istikhans are plain, and the ostrich typically appears on vessels of another shape (Calmeyer 1973a, nos. C4, F6; Amiet 1976, no. 81). I have cited this vessel as suspicious (Muscarella 1977d, 79), but I am not certain that it is modern.² A laboratory analysis to determine whether or not the decoration is original would solve the problem.

All the stray metal istikhans have been attributed to Iran. The two examples from Tepe Guran document objectively that some at least were deposited there.

NOTES

1. Dyson published these vessels as belonging to the Iron I period, Hasanlu V, repeated by T. C. Young 1965, fig. 8. Muscarella 1968a, 195, and Kramer 1974, 148, corrected this misattribution and assigned the vessels to Hasanlu Period VI, the Bronze Age level. Medvedskaya (1977, 100, table II, col. 4) repeats the error and arrives at conclusions about continuity between the Bronze and Iron ages, a position also taken in her 1982 publication. In that book she seems to raise doubts about the presence of istikhans in Hasanlu V (p. 27, footnote), but cf. her fig. 4, where they are included as from Period V.

2. Note that the Ternbach vessel cited with No. 344 has a manifestly ancient decoration of two sphinxes (Fig. 23); its shape is similar to Calmeyer 1973a, fig. 103.

497. Plain Beaker

63.134.1; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles K. Wilkinson, 1963

Bronze;¹ height 18.7 cm

THIS NIPPLE BEAKER has the same shape as the decorated beakers discussed above (Nos. 342, 343), but it is significantly distinguished from them by the complete lack of decoration. Moreover, unlike the decorated beakers, only one of which has been excavated to date in Luristan, Iran, a number of plain ones like No. 497 have been excavated by archaeologists in both Mesopotamia and Iran. In the former area they derive from Mari, Uruk, and Ur; in Iran, from Hasanlu (unpublished: 60–904), Marlik, and War Kabud in Luristan (Muscarella 1974c, 243, n. 19; Calmeyer 1973a, 129ff.; vanden Berghe 1979b, fig. 5:24), dating from the ninth to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Their chronological range is thus more extensive than the decorated beakers.

The present beaker, without any distinguishable features, could have derived from either Mesopotamia or Iran, if not elsewhere, and cannot be dated closer than to a time between the ninth and seventh–sixth centuries B.C.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Muscarella 1974c, 240, 243, pl. 47, fig. 9.

NOTE

1. Cu: major, Sn: 6.1%, As: 0.02%, Pb: 0.02%, Fe: 0.04%, Zn: not detected.

498. Strainer

1971.69; Purchase, H. Dunscombe Colt Gift, 1971

Bronze; height 17.6 cm, diameter 9.5 cm

THIS STRAINER is apparently formed of one piece of metal that consists of a cup-shaped body, a curved handle terminating in a horned animal head, convenient for hanging on a nail or on the rim of a vessel, and a tube with moldings at the top for insertion into a vessel. A separately made perforated disk, the sieve, is inside the bottom of the cup. Grooves are incised outside the lip of the cup and at the base and shoulder of the handle.

A strainer almost the same as this one in all details—cup-shaped body, curved handle ending in an animal head, a tube below, but without moldings—was excavated in a neo-Assyrian tomb at Mari in Syria (Parrot 1952, 188, pl. XVII:1). Moorey (1980a, 193) cites a similar strainer from a neo-Assyrian burial at Tell Billa, published in a description, but without photograph, by E. Speiser. Three other nearly exact parallels to the present example and the one from Mari exist in private collections. One was at one time in the David-Weill collec-

tion (Amiet 1976, 49, no. 94); the others are in Jerusalem (Merhav 1981, no. 100),¹ and in Edinburgh (Moorey 1980a, 194, pl. ivb). Finally, a similar strainer, but missing its handle, was excavated at Nimrud in the last century (Layard 1853, 18of.).

The only other strainer of a similar type known to me that derives from an excavation was discovered at Chamzhi-Mumah in Luristan (vanden Berghe 1977a, 60, center right). This example has a low bowl-shaped body, a curved handle (it is not clear whether it terminates in an animal head), and a short, plain tube. The Chamzhi-Mumah strainer is in turn similar to two strays, one published by A. Godard (1931, 91, fig. 41), the other in the Louvre (Amiet 1976, 49f., fig. 36), which lacks the curved handle and has a winged-bird attachment with a loop on the rim.

The Mari, Tell Billa, and Chamzhi-Mumah examples furnish an eighth–seventh-century chronological range for the Metropolitan Museum’s strainer. Whether it derived from Iran is of course unknown, but the type seems to be an Assyrian production, at least originally. Strainers of this type were used to filter a liquid passing from one vessel to another, and therefore were probably part of a banquet or wine set (Moorey 1980a). Beer seems a likely candidate, for that liquid needed filtering, and A. Godard’s (1931, 90) suggestion that a sacred liquid passed through these strainers, implying a ritual use, seems an unnecessary conclusion.

Strainers of the later Achaemenian period excavated in the western parts of the empire, in North Syria (Til Barsip), Assyria (Nimrud), and Israel (Fara, Schechem), seem to be a development of the presently discussed form, a deep cup and a handle terminating in a duck or animal head (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. XIX:1; Moorey 1980a, pl. 1a; also see pl. 1b, a stray in the British Museum; Stern 1980, fig. 6:5, pl. xva; Stern 1982, 148, fig. 245).²

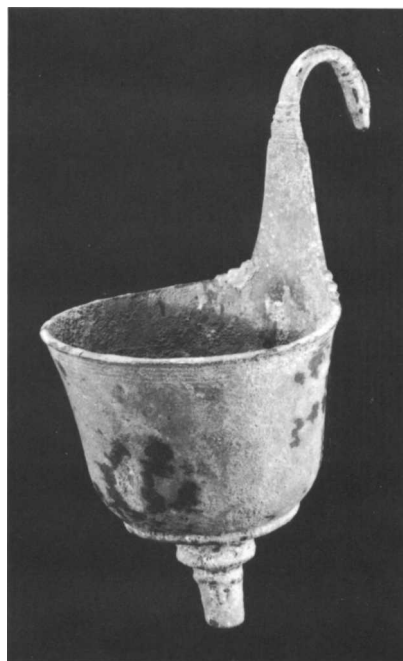
NOTES

1. The “Assyrian” style decoration on the Jerusalem handle of this strainer looks as if it might be a modern addition, although the guilloché pattern seems ancient. Moorey (1980a, 194) rather obliquely raises the question of the decoration’s authenticity.

2. Now see the recent publication of two classic Achaemenian strainers, of silver, in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (D. von Bothmer, *MMAB* 42, 1 [1984], nos. 66, 67), incorrectly called Greek.



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499. Bucket

62.78.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1962

Bronze; height 9.8 cm, diameter at rim 10.2 cm

THIS BUCKET has slightly incurving sides and a flat base. On opposite sides of the everted rim are riveted



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T-shaped, stylized wing-and-tail attachments that extend into loops through which are hooked the ends of a free-swinging handle.

Laboratory and X-ray analyses have determined that the base is soldered onto the walls of the vessel; the base also displays chasing and file marks. It therefore remains uncertain whether the base is a modern addition or was part of the original vessel. And although it is possible that the vessel itself is basically ancient, the decoration, which consists of a hero fighting a lion and a guilloche pattern at the rim and the base, is clearly modern (see Muscarella 1977a, 184, no. 162, and 1979a, 4, no. 27, for bibliography and previous publications).¹

The vessel shape and handle apparatus are typically Near Eastern and have excavated parallels at Hasanlu (see Nos. 7–9) and at Chamzhi-Mumah in Luristan (vanden Berghe 1977a, 60f.; 1979b, fig. 5:19). At both sites, however, the walls of vessels are relatively straight, as is an enexcavated Urartian bucket (Kellner 1976, pl. 10; see also Moorey 1971a, 268f., no. 513). Curved-walled buckets seem to have been more at home in Assyria in the ninth–seventh centuries B.C. (Hrouda 1965, pl. 19:1–3, 6, 7; Merhav 1976, pls. I:5, III:1–4, IV:1, 2, v:4–6), although they have an earlier history (viz. T. Özgüç 1959, 55, 109, fig. 60, pl. 48:5, from Kültepe II).

NOTE

1. Add to the previous publications and citations a reference by G. M. Bellelli, in *Oriens Antiquus* 23 (1984), 187, n. 16. The reference



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is presented with others (including a forgery in n. 19, a gold vessel in Cincinnati) to document the alleged ancient background of—to my eyes—a forgery published by the author. This is a vessel (pl. XIX) that itself may be ancient, but upon which I suggest a forger has added an incised design of two animal friezes; subsequently someone (the same forger?) has added at the lip of the vessel, and partly covering the upper frieze, two caprids in the round (ancient?). This modern, purchased, artifact is considered to be an ancient cult vessel dated to the ninth–seventh centuries B.C.

500. Pyxis

61.147; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1961

Bronze; diameter 14.9 cm, height with lid 4.4 cm

COMPLETE WITH its lid, this pyxis or box is round in shape. The incised decoration on the pyxis itself is simple, consisting of four lines each at base and rim. The decoration on the lid is more elaborate: an outer zone of crosshatched triangles, a larger, inner zone of lotuses and petals, and a central area of a mountain pattern encircling a square frame around a rosette. A vertical pivot on the pyxis fits into a hole in the lid for loose attachment, and a knob on the pyxis wall is matched by a corresponding knob directly above it on the lid. These knobs were used as the handles for opening the lid by swiveling it horizontally.

The decoration does not significantly help one's attempt to assign the vessel to a specific cultural area, except that the hatched triangles and the rosette are more

at home in Iran than elsewhere (Legrain 1934, pl. viii:30; Amiet 1976, fig. 39, no. 56; Moorey 1975c, pl. 11a, b). A round bronze pyxis, minus its lid, deeper than the present one, and with a different pattern of decoration, was excavated at War Kabud by vanden Berghe (1967, 61; 1968b, 118, fig. 30:4, pl. 35), and to date it remains the sole excavated bronze pyxis known from Iran. Another bronze pyxis, also round, but of different form and decoration, was excavated at Til Barsip in North Syria in an Achaemenian tomb (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. 18:1).

As an intelligent guess, it may tentatively be suggested that the present pyxis is Iranian and pre-Achaemenian, or Assyrian, probably seventh–sixth century B.C. in date. A parallel for the knobs may eventually help in resolving the issue.

501. Bowl

55.198; Gift of Khalil Rabenou, 1955
Bronze; diameter 15 cm, height 4.8 cm

IN PROFILE this bowl has a high, flaring neck and lip, a low, bulging body, and a base that is flat at the center, curved at the sides. The interior is decorated in the center with a raised rosette around a raised point, encircled by two series of incised lines; incised lines also decorate the outside neck and lip.

Sheet-metal bowls of this type are known from excavations in Assyria and North Syria, each varying slightly in proportion and body decoration, indicating that variety was desired (see No. 316). An almost exact parallel to the Metropolitan Museum bowl was excavated in an apparent eighth–seventh-century B.C. tomb at Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, I, 116, fig. 59; Hamilton 1966, fig. 1b, pl. 11); it varies from the present one by having the space between the two series of incised interior lines filled with dots. From two tombs at Assur come bowls with a similar interior decoration, especially the rosette. In one case, from Tomb 30 (Haller 1954, 109f., pl. 22c–e; Hamilton 1966, fig. 2b), the bowl is essentially the same in profile as No. 501, but it has an elaborate repoussé decoration; in the other, from Tomb 38, the shape seems to be different from ours (Haller 1954, 116, pl. 25d). The bowl from Tomb 30 bears an inscription of one Assurtaklak, and it has been assumed by a number of scholars that he is the same man who was the eponym in Assyria in 805 B.C. (see Matz 1937, 110ff.; Luschey 1939, 34f.; Calmeyer 1964a, 52; Hamilton 1966, 3; Curtis et al. 1979, 370; de Vries and Mellink in R. S. Young 1981, 198, 234 n. 76, 270). Moreover, related vessels, similar—but not exactly the same—in body decoration, but not shape (de Vries and Mellink in R. S. Young



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1981, 198, n. 16), were excavated at Gordion in Anatolia from Tumuli W and P (only the former has a rosette center), both dated to the second half of the eighth century B.C. (R. S. Young 1981, 14f., P 11, 20f., W 10, figs. 8, 121, pls. 9, 89; Muscarella 1967a, 3f.; for dating of Tumulus W, see Nos. 570–574, the Phrygian fibulae).

That the Assurtaklak of the bowl is not the same man



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who was eponym of 805 B.C. is now certain (Sürenhagen and Renger 1982, 127f.). Further, the deposition of the Assur Tomb 30 and its contents cannot be dated to the ninth century B.C. as the tomb contained a Near Eastern fibula of late eighth–seventh century B.C. date (Haller 1954, pl. 22 i), and a bronze lamp of the same type as one excavated in a tomb at Baba Jan, Luristan, dated to the late eighth–early seventh century B.C. (Goff 1969, 126, n. 3; Muscarella 1982b, 8). It would seem that the bowl in Tomb 30 is a later production, one inscribed by another Assurtaklak.¹

Aside from the Nimrud bowl, others similar to the present one in profile and interior decoration come from Zincirli in North Syria, dated to the late eighth or seventh century B.C. (Andrae 1943, 117f., fig. 165, pl. 56b, d, e, and i; Hamilton 1966, 3, fig. 2a); these have typical omphaloi rather than a small raised center, but all have the interior rosette encircled by incised lines. Stray ex-

amples of bowls with profiles like ours exist in private collections, none with a known provenience (A. Godard 1931, pl. LXIII:226; Dupont-Sommer 1964, 115ff., pl. xxxvii; Amiet 1976, no. 96; Herzfeld 1941, fig. 238, top, with gadrooning). A silver bowl in the Ashmolean Museum, said to come from Hamadan, without verification—and with a modern design added to the interior (Muscarella 1967a, no. 154; 1980b, 33f., n. 21)—is exactly like the present bowl in profile but with a different repoussé pattern.

In addition to the bronze examples, terracotta vessels of this shape have been excavated at Nimrud in the late seventh-century destruction level as well as in slightly earlier periods (Lines 1954, 164ff., nos. 7, 8). The evidence from excavations suggests an Assyrian origin for bowls of this shape (cf. a shallow bowl with rosette and omphalos from War Kabud in Luristan, vanden Berghe 1968b, pl. 32a, b), and a date range of late eighth through the seventh century B.C. Note that the bowl published by Dupont-Sommer (1964) is dated on epigraphical grounds to a time close to 600 B.C.

NOTE

I. P. H. G. Howes Smith, "Two Oriental Bronze Bowls in Utrecht," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving (BABESCH)* 56 (1981), 10, also dated the Assurtaklak bowl later than the ninth century on typological grounds. (This article omits much relevant bibliography in its discussion of Phrygian and other Near Eastern material.) See also note 2 of the Phrygian fibulae, Nos. 570–574, for a discussion of the date of Tumulus W at Gordion; also No. 52, note 3.

502. Fibula

49.112.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1949
Bronze; length 5 cm

THE ARC is triangular, with a sharp bend at the apex (cf. No. 481). Both arms are decorated with three moldings consisting of a vertically grooved cushion-shaped bead framed by two horizontally grooved rectangular beads. The catch is in the form of a human hand; a disk or spring plate is cast with the arc and separates the latter from the separately added pin that is twisted to form a spring.

This fibula is a typical Near Eastern type and belongs to Blinkenberg's Type XIII, 13 (1926, 247) and Stronach's Type IV 2 (1959, 201ff., pl. LI:4, 5; also Nagel 1963, no. 134, and A. Godard 1931, pl. XXIX:101, both unexcavated).¹ It is distinguished from fibulae of similar "elbow" type by its sharp apex (cf. No. 52). This fibula has no provenience, and it could have derived from anywhere in the Near East, from Syria to western Iran (cf. vanden Berghe 1978, 50, 53, 67, figs. 9, 10:17, from Cham Sul, Mumah), or even from the Mediterranean area, where

Near Eastern fibulae were imported, and it could date any time from the late eighth–seventh to the fifth–fourth centuries, if not later. For examples of excavated fibulae from the Near East and discussion of chronology, see Nos. 52, note 1, 317, 481, 482.

NOTE

1. Stronach, on page 203, cited an example of iv 3 form that had been published by Ghirshman 1954a, pl. XIX:6, as from “Susa.” Stronach misinterpreted the plate: nos. 7–11 are from Susa, while nos. 4–6 were said by Ghirshman to come from Luristan (pp. 34, 58), although they were not excavated. In Muscarella 1965, n. 2, I corrected Stronach’s error but inadvertently created or compounded another by accepting Ghirshman’s Luristan attribution. One of the fibulae listed by Ghirshman as from Luristan, number 5, is a hinged fibula, and as vanden Berghe has empirically demonstrated (1978, 67f.), these forms do not occur in Luristan but in the north (see No. 53). Perhaps this is a small point to make, but it is an example (one of many) of how confusion is piled on top of error when proveniences are gratuitously created.

503. Harness Fitting

52.119.7; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1952
Bronze; height 2 cm

504. Harness Fitting

52.119.8; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1952
Bronze; height 2 cm

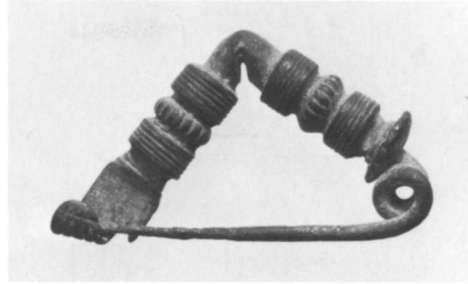
505. Harness Fitting

61.60.2; Gift of Burton Y. Berry, 1961
Bronze; height 2 cm

THESE THREE OBJECTS are harness fittings, used to hold leather reins in place on a horse’s head (see Nos. 328–330). No. 503 is in the form of a ram’s head; Nos. 504 and 505 are in the form of the head of a stylized bird of prey. Characteristic of these examples is the stylization, in particular of the bird head, which is rendered in Scythian style (Borovka 1928/1967, 40ff.; Hauptmann 1983, 264).

Many examples of both forms of fittings have been excavated in the Soviet Union, the Koban region and the Caucasus in general (Borovka 1928/1967, 64, pl. 32f–H; Hauptmann 1983, 264f.), and at Karmir Blur in Urartu (Hauptmann 1983, fig. 5:2–5). In Anatolia they have been excavated at Sardis in the west and at Norşuntepe in the east (Hauptmann 1983, 259, fig. 5:1, 257, 260, 264, fig. 4:8; Waldbaum 1983, 40, no. 85, pl. 6); at Norşuntepe they have been found in a tomb containing three horses that were sacrificed and buried (Hauptmann 1983, 254f., figs. 2, 3), and dating to the late seventh–early sixth century B.C.

Herzfeld (1941, 272), who collected Nos. 503 and 504, claimed that the former “is from Hamadan, Media,”



502



503



503



504



505

presumably meaning that he had acquired it there (see Muscarella 1980b, 32f.). That it derived from Iran is not a problem, given the Scythian presence there, but Hamadan is a marketplace and not the place whence the fitting derived archaeologically.¹ Herzfeld claimed that No. 504 derived from Turkey, and the donor of No. 505 said it came from Siberia. Neither attribution is verifiable. It is possible for these objects to have derived from anywhere in the Near East, including, of course, the Soviet Union. For other stray examples, see Hauptmann 1983, pl. 56:6–11; Waldbaum 1983, 40, pl. 6.

The chronology of the class is established by the excavated finds to the mid-seventh century into the sixth.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Nos. 503 and 504: Herzfeld 1941, 271, fig. 374 top.



506



507

NOTE

1. Pace Calmeyer 1985, 125, n. 6 (and also Calmeyer 1984, 143f., n. 48; see also No. 338, note 4). Hamadan was always a marketplace, not only for objects that may have been found there or for objects found in its vicinity (*Umgebung*), but also, indeed, I suggest, for objects found at a distance within Iran and even probably from Iraq: brought to Hamadan on the great Baghdad-Hamadan road where there was an easier market atmosphere than in Baghdad. This was the thrust of my comments in 1980b, 32–35 and n. 18, concerning “finds from Hamadan.” Thus, although Herzfeld may have purchased the fitting under discussion in Hamadan, we do not know its provenience, and we do not—cannot—know whether it derived from Hamadan itself, or from its *Umgebung*, or from a great distance away.

506. Bell

1978.514.31; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; height 10.2 cm

507. Bell

1978.514.33; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978

Bronze; height 8 cm

No. 506 is pyramidal in shape with a rectangular bottom edge; No. 507 is shaped like a round dome. Neither has a clapper preserved; No. 507 has two holes at the top, No. 506 one hole below the loop, and in both cases they held the clapper support bar.

No. 506 seems to be the same type as some of the examples found at Nimrud and Zincirli (Spear 1978, 102, figs. 96–101; Möbius 1938, pl. 69:2, 4, 5), and No. 507 is like some from Nineveh (Spear 1978, 109, figs. 114–17). No. 507 also seems to be similar to bells represented on the reliefs at Persepolis (Spear 1978, 64f., figs. 35, 37), but not to the excavated examples from Persepolis, nor from Pasargadae and Susa (Schmidt 1957, pl. 44, no. 22; Stronach 1978, fig. 88:21–23, miniatures; Ghirshman 1954a, pls. XIX, XLVI:GS2121). It seems best at present to consider both bells Near Eastern in general,¹ with the broad conclusion that they could have been made sometime between the seventh and fifth (or later?) centuries B.C.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 61f., 65, figs. 33, 36.

NOTE

1. Cf. Richter 1915, nos. 1835–36: from Cyprus? See also Karageorghis 1973–74, pl. CCLIV:163. In this context, Calmeyer's comments (1969b, 430, and 1973b, 130) regarding the difficulty of establishing a specific cultural provenience for the simple, plain bells from Samos are appropriate.

508. Anchor Axe

59.169; Gift of Mrs. Khalil Rabenou, 1959
Bronze;¹ height 11.8 cm, width 10.7 cm

509. Anchor Axe

1980.225.6; Gift of Ben-Zion, 1980
Bronze; height 6.1 cm, width 5.3 cm

THE CAST BLADE is crescent shaped with three tangs connected to an open shaft hole, leaving two openings in the blade. On No. 508 the three tangs are joined to the shaft hole on both sides of the blade except for one section, which is left unconnected, no doubt to facilitate adding the wooden shaft; on No. 509 only the center tang is connected. A solid knob projects from the back center of the shaft hole, probably for securing the binding that held the shaft in position (Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 118; cf. Calmeyer 1969a, 30).

As noted by several scholars who have discussed this specific form, called an anchor axe because of its shape (Przeworski 1939, 32; Hillen 1953, 211; Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 118; Moorey 1971a, 37; Calmeyer 1969a, 30; Erkanal 1977, 23f.), it is clearly developed from the simpler and less stable form consisting of a crescent blade and three tangs that were inserted into the shaft by rivets, and called epsilon axes (Moorey 1971a, 54ff., nos. 22, 23; Yadin 1963, 59; Solyman 1968, 52ff.; cf. Tubb 1982, 10; see Nos. 532, 533). The decision to add the shaft hole obviously created a stronger and longer-lasting weapon, one with a firmer purchase on the shaft. Both types developed in Mesopotamia and spread to other areas of the Near East.

Anchor axes have been excavated in Egypt and at Byblos and Ur (Hillen 1953, 211; Calmeyer 1969a, 30, n. 97; Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 118ff., pl. xxxvii:5—type B2; Tubb 1982, 1ff., fig. 2:1, 2, 4, 5). In recent years a fairly large number have been attributed to Iran, where some have been purchased or seen by scholars (Deshayes 1965, 105f., no. 26; Calmeyer 1969a, 30f., Group 13G-P; Barbier 1970, no. 194; Amiet 1976, 9, no. 13). Dealers have usually claimed that they derive from Gilan in north-western Iran (including Nos. 508 and 509); some scholars have accepted this attribution (Moorey 1971a, 57, no. 24; Erkanal 1977, 24, n. 214; De Waele 1982, 16, no. 5), while others, although accepting Iranian proveniences, have recognized the lack of archaeological value of such specific claims (Calmeyer 1969a, 31: which makes his map on p. 32 misleading; see also Deshayes 1965, 105; it is not clear what Tubb's [1982, 2, 4, 6] position on Iranian provenience is).

The closest published parallel to axe No. 508 is one seen by Deshayes (1965, 105, fig. 25) in Teheran; on this axe it seems that all but one tang join the shaft hole.



508



509

The other examples, like No. 509, in which the shaft hole is joined to the blade by only the center tang, are the same specific type as that excavated at Ur. This Ur axe is the best-dated example, coming from an Akkadian grave, and it furnishes us with a general date for our example to the last quarter of the third millennium B. C. (Calmeyer 1969a, 32; Amiet 1976, 9; Tubb 1982, 4).

Hillen (1953, 214) and Tubb (1982, 4, 10) claimed that these axes developed in Syria whereas Calmeyer, on the basis of the axe from Ur, believes that they developed in Mesopotamia. Porada (1979a, 398), however, has plausibly suggested that the Ur axe could have been booty brought from Syria as a result of an Akkadian campaign there.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

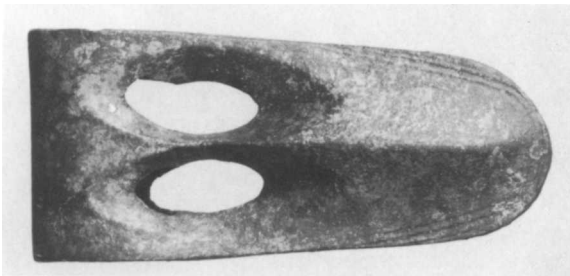
No. 509: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 6.

NOTE

1. Cu: 85.0%, Sn: 13.6%, Pb: .291%, Zn: .025% (1986).

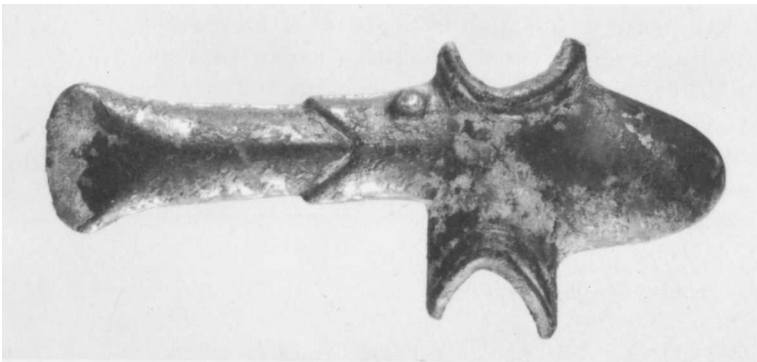


510



511

512



510. Fenestrated Axe

23.10.2; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Everit Macy, 1923
Bronze; height 10 cm, width 8.4 cm

511. Fenestrated Axe

61.29; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1961
Bronze; height 4.5 cm, width 10 cm

THESE TWO cast axes are typologically related, having been transformed and developed from the earlier anchor axe (see Nos. 508, 509; cf. Tubb 1982, 4, who leaves the issue of development or contemporary open). In these developed examples, the socket and blade are joined at the top, bottom, and center, leaving two apertures, and the blade shape has been modified. No. 510 is closer in form to the anchor axe and is usually called an “eye” axe or *Fensteraxt* for obvious reasons; it seems to be typologically earlier than No. 511 (Hillen 1953, 212; but who is not sure if there is a chronological difference as well). No. 511 is heavier and more solid and, surprisingly, rather small. This specific type is usually referred to as a “duckbill” axe because of the blade’s shape, which is both longer and narrower than the eye type, and which has a prominent raised ridge.

Both specific axe types are prevalent in graves in western parts of the Near East, particularly in Syria, Palestine, and to some lesser extent in Mesopotamia (Montet 1928–29, 247, fig. 167, pl. 149:940, 941; Schaeffer 1948, figs. 49, 56, 61, 75, 76; Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 120f.; Hillen 1953, 212ff.; Dunand 1954, 308, 391, figs. 338, 422; Calmeyer 1969a, 45f.; Oren 1973, 61ff.; Erkanal 1977, 22ff.; Seeden 1980, pls. 123, 125–27, 129–30; Buhl 1983, 67, 118, pl. xxii). Recently, both an eye and a duckbill axe were excavated together in an Old Babylonian tomb at Ebla in Syria (Matthiae 1980, 53ff., figs. 11, 12), and from the same site was recovered a basalt fragment depicting an eye axe. Eye axes are also depicted on two unexcavated bronze beakers (probably best attributed to Syria or northern Mesopotamia) dating to the early second millennium B.C., wielded by a hunter and a warrior (Schlossman 1974–77, 149, figs. 1, 2: on p. 149 anchor and eye axes are typologically conflated).

Both types are also known in Anatolia, more so than hitherto reported. First, two examples have been excavated, an eye axe from Kültepe II and a duckbill from Acemhöyük (Erkanal 1977, 22, nos. 69, 70, pl. 6; T. Özgüç 1959, 57, 109f., fig. 64, pl. XLIX:1; Özgüç (1959, 110) also mentions molds for eye axes at Kültepe (N. Özgüç 1965, 52, and Emre 1971, 143, mention only one mold). Further, eye axes seem to be depicted both on seals from Kültepe (N. Özgüç 1965, 52, pl. v:14; possibly also pls. vi:17, x:29, 30, xiii:39, xxi:64) and (judging from the drawings published) on a lead figu-

rine from Kültepe Ib and another from Alishar (Emre 1971, 65, 142f., figs. 23, 24, pls. ix:2, x:6). Collectively the evidence indicates common use in early second-millennium B.C. Anatolia, and good evidence of distribution of the artifacts from Syria.

To my knowledge, no duckbill axe has been excavated in Iran (Potratz 1963, 128; 1968, 11), and only one eye axe comes from Susa, certainly an import (de Morgan 1927, fig. 126; Calmeyer 1969a, 44; Hillen 1953, 213, n. 20); attributions by scholars of strays to Iran are based solely on dealers' statements (e.g., Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 120; Hillen 1953, 213f.; Potratz 1968, 11; Calmeyer 1969a, 44ff.).

The dates of the two Metropolitan Museum axes may safely be placed somewhere in the first half of the second millennium B.C., earlier rather than later within this period (Oren 1973, 62). Probably the eye axe is to be dated in the first two centuries, the duckbill both contemporary and perhaps continuing a little later; if the Acemhöyük evidence indicates that the level in which the axe was recovered is contemporary to Kültepe Ib, as suggested by Emre 1971, 143, then a contemporary date for both subtypes is all the more certain, reinforcing the evidence from Ebla. On the basis of statistical evidence it would seem that our examples could have derived either from the Syria-Palestine area, or from Anatolia.¹

To summarize the chronological sequence, the time trajectory, of the axe group with openings adjacent to the shaft and with crescentic and elongated blade, the earliest would seem to be the epsilon form, followed by the anchor which is in turn followed by the closed form of the fenestrated "eye" and "duckbill" specific types.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

No. 510: Nickel 1969, 10.

NOTE

1. Note a later form of the fenestrated axe excavated in a Mycenaean tomb in Greece, *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1889, 155f., pl. 8:1; J. Muhly, in *Berytus* 19 (1970), 36.

512. Axehead

69.181; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1969

Bronze; length 12.5 cm

A FACETED BLADE with a sharp, crescent-shaped tip issues from the mouth of a nondescript creature, defined as such not only by the mouth but by prominently raised pellet eyes; an incised herringbone decoration exists on the ridge between the eyes. The creature blends without transition into the round socket characterized by concave flanges at top and bottom, and an elongated, blunt, rounded butt.

This type of axe is well known, primarily because its

form—although without the zoomorphic juncture—is represented on the stele of Naramsin the Akkadian king (ca. 2389–2353 B.C.), now in the Louvre (Dussaud 1930, 248, fig. 5; Strommenger 1962, pl. 123; Calmeyer 1969a, 27, n. 83); thus, these axes are sometimes referred to as Naramsin axes. Another example of the very same type, but miniature, was excavated in northern Mesopotamia at Tepe Gawra VI (E. Speiser 1935, pl. XLIX:3; Deshayes 1960, II, no. 1379, pl. XX:14), an apparently Early Dynastic level. Still another, while unexcavated, bears an Akkadian inscription, that of Shudurul, the last king of the Akkadian dynasty (Dossin 1962, pl. XXII, no. 11; Calmeyer 1969a, 27, Group II C, fig. 25). None of these examples has the zoomorphic juncture, a characteristic of No. 512, but there can be no doubt of the interrelationship among them all.

This axe type, then, is surely dated securely to the Akkadian period, to the twenty-fourth–twenty-third centuries B.C., beginning earlier if the Tepe Gawra example is indeed Early Dynastic in date. The axe on the Naramsin stele and the Tepe Gawra example are the only two provenienced axes of this type and both are from Mesopotamia. All the others known, all strays, are attributed by dealers to Iran, in particular to Luristan, but without any possibility of verification (viz. Diez 1944, 20; A. Godard 1962, 72: "provenant authentiquement du Luristan"; Porada 1965a, 167: "from Luristan"). Thus, while it is certainly not impossible that Naramsin-type axes could have reached Iran in antiquity, the objective evidence available supports only a Mesopotamian provenience.¹ The zoomorphic juncture is at home in Iran, but at the same time it is not foreign to Mesopotamia (Moorey 1971a, 287, supports an Elamite origin for the motif; Calmeyer 1969a, 2f., denies that it occurs only in Luristan). All the evidence is not yet available to allow us to automatically assume that the zoomorphic juncture implies an Iranian origin, or to assume a later date for our example because of its existence on later examples (Moorey 1971a, 46; Moorey 1971b, 120; Calmeyer 1969a, 66ff.; see No. 335). Thus, the origin of the Metropolitan Museum axe remains unknown, and its date is best understood as late third millennium B.C.

Most examples of this type deriving from the antiquities market are plain (Herzfeld 1941, fig. 243a; Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 105, pl. XXXV:15; Potratz 1968, no. 283; Amiet 1976, no. 12; De Waele 1982, 14ff., no. 4); others have the zoomorphic juncture between blade and socket (Diez 1944, 20, fig. 6; Maxwell-Hyslop 1949, 105, pl. XXXVIII:10). A distinctly related axe type, one with a spiked butt rather than a rounded one, and also given a Luristan provenience by most scholars (but cf. Potratz 1968, 72), often has the same form of zoomorphic juncture as our example (Calmeyer 1969a, 130f., fig. 136,

Group 62; Schaeffer 1948, fig. 263:2; Nagel 1963, pl. x, no. 22; Potratz 1968, pl. XLVII, no. 281); Calmeyer believes this type continues after the Akkadian period. Still another example of a Naramsin axe type, one that demonstrates overlapping in form with another type, exists in Belgium (Evrard-Derriks 1977–78, 15, no. 2). This axe has the very same blade shape and zoomorphic juncture found on our example, but here they are joined to a long spiked butt. The long butt reminds us of a type also in use in the second half of the third millennium B.C. (see No. 514).

NOTE

1. See Potratz 1963, 127f. In the context of provenience it is of some interest to cite Przeworski's (*Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* 10 [1936], 93) attempt to find a provenience for a stray axe of the present type. The axe is in Stockholm and was purchased in Baghdad. Przeworski wonders whether the axe was removed from a grave in Luristan (he clearly means in modern times) and brought to Baghdad because of the existence of an example, equally a stray, in Brussels (Speleers 1932, 63, fig. 12 D), "aus Luristan," or whether it in fact derives from Mesopotamia. Luristan bronzes are to be found in museums in Baghdad and Istanbul, acquired from dealers: see Basmachi 1963 and Atasoy 1976–77, but cf. Taşyürek 1980, 212ff., who transmogrifies dealers into archaeologists.

513. Pickaxe

32.161.4.; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1932
Arsenical copper;¹ length 12.7 cm

THE HORIZONTAL BLADE is hexagonal in cross section and ends bluntly (an ancient break?); the socket is cut away and slants sharply and is not separated from the flanged butt with its horizontal ridge. This weapon/tool is characterized in type primarily by the slanting socket and the flange at the butt end, not by the blade form, which varies from piece to piece; it could have functioned as a pickaxe, a chisel, or a fighting axe. In typology it belongs to a polythetic group known from excavated examples to date to the mid–late third millennium B.C. (see No. 336).

In form this pickaxe fits into Calmeyer's Group 15 (1969a, 34ff.) and is almost exactly paralleled by an example in the Ashmolean Museum (Calmeyer 1969a, 34, fig. 34, which is Moorey 1971a, no. 32, with an eye;² cf. also Calmeyer 1964a, pl. 3, no. 5, and Nouveau Drouot, Paris, sale catalogue, 26 September 1980, no. 158, with a zoomorphic juncture).

Calmeyer (1969a, 34ff.) lists many examples of similar form as coming from Luristan (add De Waele 1982, 14, nos. 1, 2), but with no objective verification.³ Indeed, one example was excavated at Kalleh Nisar in Luristan (vanden Berghe 1970a, 72, top), and a similar, but miniature, example is known from Surkh Dum (No.

214). Another example was excavated in Iran, at Susa (Amiet 1976, 9, fig. 5), and one derives from the Hypogeum tomb at Til Barsip in Syria (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. xxix:5; Calmeyer 1969a, fig. 32, center).⁴ Vanden Berghe dates the Kalleh Nisar tombs to the last centuries of the third millennium B.C., and recent research on Til Barsip indicates that the Hypogeum is to be dated between 2600 and 2300 B.C., ED IIIb (Tubb 1982, 4ff.; Watkins 1983, 18, 22).

The above data attests factually that the type was known and used both in the West and in Iran (and in this case in both Elam and Luristan, see also Nos. 334 and 515); the provenience of the present axe, however, remains unknown.

NOTES

1. Cu: 84.7%, Sn: .083%, Pb: 1.60%, Zn: .013%, As: 7.59%, Ni: 4.95% (1986). Note the high content of nickel; see Moorey 1971a, 296f.

2. This example is arsenical copper; it has only 0.32% tin and 2.3% arsenic.

3. An example purchased in Istanbul, considered to be a Luristan type by Atasoy (1976–77, 165f.), has an animal atop the blade: is it a recent addition?

4. Calmeyer 1969a, 34, lists two unpublished examples from Mari; and Herzfeld 1941, 126, fig. 243c, claims that an example in the British Museum derived from Nimrud; see also Moorey 1971a, 63—source?

514. Axehead

69.185; Gift of Farhadi and Anavian, 1969
Bronze; length 15.9 cm

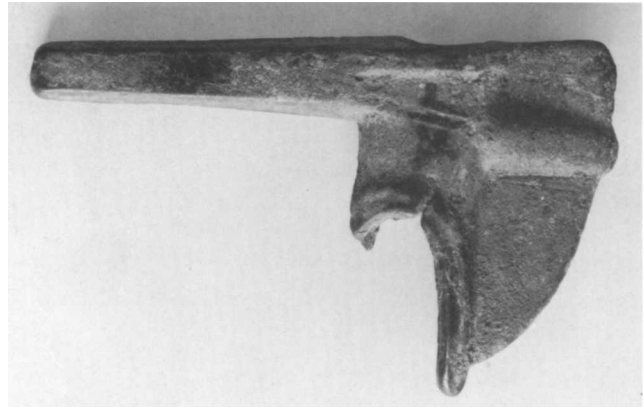
THE PRIMARY typological characteristic of this axehead is the socket's location at a level below the upper edge of the blade. That edge is slightly concave, the lower one has double concave curves, and the fighting edge, damaged from use, is slightly flared; at the back of both the upper and lower edges are reinforcing moldings. The socket, oval in section, is cut away at both top and bottom, and it has a small knob at the upper rear just below an oblique tang that held the binding (cf. No. 334). On both sides of the socket is a striding lion, in low relief, from whose mouth (actually its nose) issue two curved moldings. The lions' bodies are decorated with dots at the rear and haunches, and they have incised manes.

This axe type is fairly well established both chronologically and geographically because of excavated finds, all of which, however, although basically the same in form, are plain, without the lion relief. In Mesopotamia they have been excavated at the northern sites of Assur (Deshayes 1960, II, 73, no. 1419, Type c; Calmeyer 1969a,

39, Group 19c; Amiet 1976, 16, fig. 13), of late-third-millennium date, and at Tepe Shemshara, dated there to the eighteenth century B.C. (Calmeyer 1969a, 40, Group 19q; Moorey 1971a, 46). Two examples, one from Tepe Gawra, one from Tell Billa, are clearly related but have simpler, narrower sockets, without cutaway openings and rear knob (E. Speiser 1935, pl. XLVIII:3; Christian 1940, pl. 323:1; Calmeyer 1969a, 39); they are dated late in the third millennium B.C. Only one example was excavated in Iran, at Susa (Amiet 1976, 16, fig. 14; not known to Calmeyer and Moorey). Other examples, all strays like the present one, and all attributed to Luristan or western Iran, are listed by the above-cited authors (see also De Waele 1982, 22ff., no. 14). At least three plain examples are known from Anatolia, from Kültepe and Acemhöyük (Erkanal 1977, 18ff., pl. 6:63–65).

While none of the excavated examples has lions in relief on the socket, at least four others of the present type in various collections, all almost exact parallels to ours, have this embellishment; thus, counting No. 514, five are known to exist. One is in the David-Weill collection (Amiet 1976, 16f., no. 22), one is in the Ashmolean Museum, one is in the Adam collection (Moorey 1971a, 47, no. 13; 1974a, 40, no. 5), and one is in Los Angeles (Moorey 1981, no. 18). Calmeyer (1969a, 41, Group 19u) adds another to the list, from the Bach collection, but although this example has a lion like ours in relief on one side (Bach 1973, no. 84), it is another type of axe (Calmeyer's Group 20), related, to be sure, to No. 514. A variant example, but without doubt a member of the same class of axeheads as those under discussion, is in the Foroughi collection (Calmeyer 1969a, 132, Group 64, fig. 139). Here the lion, rather than cast in a striding position in relief on the socket, is presented as climbing up and over the socket so that its head is at the level of the upper blade edge; from its mouth issue curved moldings that continue along the upper edge of the blade. In addition, the lower socket opening is not cut away at a slant but is horizontal. There seems no reason to date this example to a time other than that established for the canonical pieces. Note that the blade seems to be broken away.

With regard to chronology, a broad time range rather than a narrow one seems to be suggested from the excavated evidence. Dussaud (1930, 263, fig. 26, 266; Dussaud in Pope 1938/1964, 266) dated the type to the first millennium B.C. because of its relationship to an axe that was reported to come from Hamadan and was thus considered by him to be Median (Calmeyer 1969a, 40f., Group 19t: same as s, fig. 42; see Muscarella 1980b, 34). A. Godard (1931, 49, pl. xvi:50) dated the type to the Kassite period, but later (1962, 72, fig. 97) he dated it earlier and more correctly to the late third and early



513



514

second millennium B.C. Calmeyer (1964a, 7, no. 7; 1969a, 41) and Moorey (1971a, 47; 1974a, 40; 1981, no. 18) have both recognized the range of the occurrences in Mesopotamia from the late third millennium to the Shemshara eighteenth-century find, and they have accordingly dated the type within this period. The Anatolian examples are eighteenth century in date (Erkanal 1977, 19). Calmeyer further suggests that those with the lions in relief belong later in this period.

Inasmuch as none of these axeheads, plain or embellished with lions, has been excavated in Iran outside of Susa (plain), we do not know if any in fact derives from Luristan or other areas north of Elam (which thus makes Erkanal's map—1977, 20, and pl. 9A—highly misleading), although this is usually assumed. It is possible that those examples with the zoomorphic juncture are Iranian. Perhaps, as Maxwell-Hyslop (1949, 102) and Deshayes (1960, I, 178) have posited, the type originated in Assyria—and may have reached Susa on the tin route. The Anatolian examples may also have arrived from the south on the tin route (Erkanal 1977, 19).



515

515. Pickaxe

57.13.5; purchase; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1957
 Arsenical copper;¹ height 13.7 cm, width 15.4 cm

CHARACTERIZING this pickaxe is the socket that is distinguished by being almost as long as the blade. The blade slopes down from the socket and is flat, thinning in width toward the tip; as such it is differentiated from an axe. Further characterizing it is a lion in the round crouching on the back of the socket; its mouth is open, and neat herringbone incisions decorate its body. Whether the pickaxe was employed solely as a tool or as both a tool and a weapon eludes us. The lion might have a symbolic and religious function but as such does not help us with the problem of use.

Pickaxes of this form, with more or less tall sockets, and with sloping blades, are among the earliest kinds of tools known from excavations; all the examples, however, are plain, without the lion. Plain examples have been excavated in Mesopotamia at Ur, Fara, Tepe Gawra, and Assur, and in Iran at Susa (listed in Deshayes 1960, I, 233, 243, II, 95, nos. 1848–55; and Moorey 1971a, 60, no. 30), all dating to the second half of the third millennium B.C. Deshayes (1960, I, 233) mentions that many more than he lists were found at Susa; and recently an example was excavated at al Hiba (unpublished) in southern Mesopotamia, of Early Dynastic date. Most of these pickaxes have sockets shorter than No. 515, but at least one from Susa and one from Assur have tall sockets (Deshayes 1960, II, pl. xxx:5). Aside from the excavated evidence for dating the group,

Calmeyer (1969a, 161, no. 1) refers to a stray unpublished example with an early, probably post-Akkadian inscription;² whether this is an heirloom or a contemporary object is not known from the available evidence (nor do we know what its shape actually is). Calmeyer (1969a, 128f.) further suggests that the examples of our type with the lion on a long socket are among the earliest of the group, both because of the relationship typologically to his early Group 2 of Early Dynastic date and because of the style of the lions.

I know of a number of other pickaxes that parallel the Metropolitan Museum's in all essential details including the animal: Legrain 1934, pl. xiii:45; Moortgat 1932, 14, pl. xi:38; Wijngaarden 1954, pl. iv:13; A. Godard 1962, fig. 113; Pope 1938/1964, pl. 51 D (which is Calmeyer 1969a, fig. 134); Nouveau Drouot, Paris, sale catalogue, 26 September 1980, no. 156, cf. no. 157; Moorey 1981, 20, no. 1. None are excavated pieces, although, like most of the stray, plain examples, they have been arbitrarily attributed to Luristan (e.g., Moorey 1971a, 46, 60: as a result of Elamite influence; Moorey 1981, 20; De Waele 1982, 17, no. 6).³ At the same time it should be noted that axes of roughly the same type and time range have been excavated at Dar Tanha and Takht-i Khan in Luristan by vanden Berghe (1970b, 16, fig. 12; 1973d, figs. on pp. 27, 31), so that it is not impossible that pickaxes were also in use there. And if Moorey (1971a, 45) is correct that the cast zoomorphic figure is an Elamite creation, rather than Mesopotamian, then the particular class of pickaxe of No. 515 would be of Elamite origin; but we cannot speak yet of a Luristan provenience—except for undecorated examples.

For comparison one should also be aware of a related group of axes, all strays, that also have a lion in the round on the back of the socket: A. Godard 1931, pl. xxiv:69, 72; Dussaud in Pope 1938/1964, 266, fig. 58; Deshayes 1960, II, pls. xx:19, xxi:3, lvii:11; Calmeyer 1969a, 129, Group 60, fig. 135; which Calmeyer correctly places as contemporary to the pickaxe type of No. 515; Moorey 1971a, 45, no. 10.

A further parallel to the animal figure on an axe deserves mention. From eastern Iran, from Khinamin in Kerman province, derives an axe typical of that area in shape and embellished with two animals in the round, one over the socket, the other on the butt (Calmeyer 1969a, 182, Group 72a, fig. 151; also Herzfeld 1941, 132f., 248). This axe is certainly Iranian and surely reflects influence from the west—from Elam?

NOTES

1. Cu: 90.8%, As: 2.6%, Sn: 0.91%, Pb: 0.2%, Fe: 0.14%.

2. Moorey 1971a, 39, correctly cites an example of this axe type in Warsaw with the name Darius added in modern times. An example

with an inscription may be seen in Nouveau Drouot, Paris, sale catalogue, 30 March 1981, no. 116.

3. An example of the present axe type claimed for Iran and offered for sale in Hôtel Drouot, 22 May 1980, no. 204, has a strange animal (lion?) with big feet on the socket: I wonder if that was added in recent times? See also no. 215 in the same sale catalogue for a strange and crudely executed motif in the round on another axe form.

516. Cudgel/Mace

56.102.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1956
Arsenical copper;¹ length 25.2 cm

THIS LONG, hollow object is decorated in its upper half by three panels of herringbone design in relief separated by double rows of vertical ridges; the whole is framed by horizontal ridges. Another unit of horizontal ridges is set below the lower, plain half just above the splayed base. Objects such as this are considered to be cudgels or maces rather than handles for scepters, a use which suggests itself from the shape (Moorey 1971a, 95; Calmeyer 1969a, 23).

To my knowledge, only two exact parallels to this piece have been excavated, both examples from Susa (de Mecquenem 1943, 92, fig. 75:4; E. Carter 1975, 235, 242, fig. 4b); a related example comes from Tello (Cros 1910, fig. on p. 77); and several unexcavated, exact parallels are known from private collections (Moorey 1971a, 94f., no. 95; Arne 1962, fig. 6, lower right; Nagel 1963, 42, pl. LXXIII:4, 5; Barbier 1970, no. 86; Legrain 1934, no. 48; Calmeyer 1969a, 23ff., Group 81, fig. 22b, along with related pieces: Q on p. 24 may be the present example).

Disregarding the attribution to Luristan supplied by dealers and concerned only with the excavated pieces, we may conclude with Moorey (1971a, 95) and Calmeyer (1969a, 23) that these objects date to the late third millennium B.C., to the Akkadian period, and fit into a Mesopotamian–Elamite background.

NOTE

1. Cu: 88.8%, As: 4.2%, Sn: 0.11%, Pb: 0.1%, Fe: 0.42%, Zn: not detected.



516



517

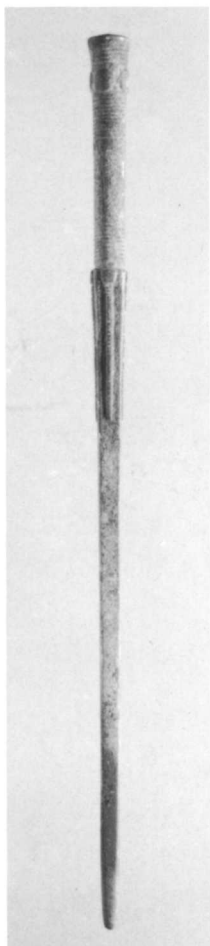
517. Axehead

41.160.213; Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941
Bronze; length 14 cm

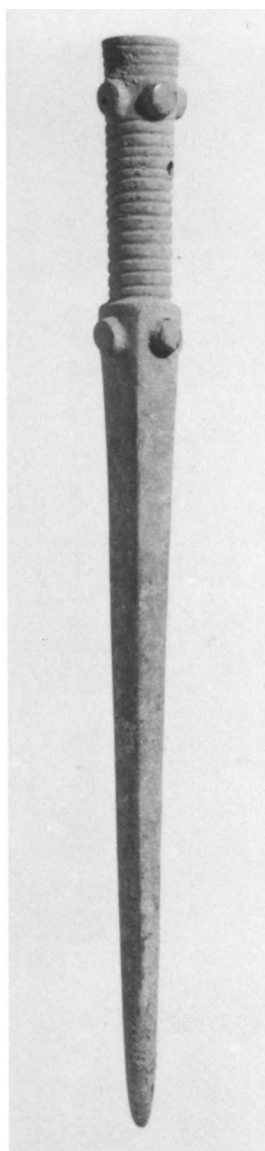
THIS IS a very simple type of axehead. The socket has two strengthening moldings at its top and bottom; the upper part is on the same level with the blade, the lower is slightly below it. There is no transition between the socket and the blade, which flares gently toward the

much damaged edge. A slight nick exists on the lower rear area of the blade.

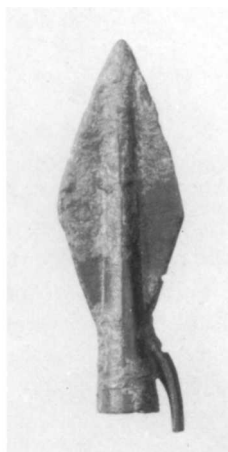
Typologically, this axehead would seem to belong among the earliest examples of socket axes. A close parallel is published in the *Guide to the Iraq Museum Collections* ([Baghdad, 1942], pl. xxiv, middle right, dated there to the Early Dynastic period); another, unstratified and said to come from Sippar, may be seen in Maxwell-Hyslop 1949 (pl. xxxviii:6). Fortunately, a fairly secure dating of the type has been given by Moorey (1971c, 64f., pl. xxii:1–3), who published three examples, exactly the



518



519



520

same as the present one, that were excavated in an apparent early second-millennium context at Tell Sifr in Iraq. The type is also depicted on the famous Urnammu stele in Philadelphia (late third–early second millennium B.C.; Moorey 1971c, 65, fig. 1). Moorey plausibly considers these axes to be tools rather than weapons, given their weight and use-damaged edges.

518. Spear Butt

61.261.3; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1961
Bronze; length 35.7 cm

519. Spear Butt

64.4.3; Gift of Alfred Wolkenberg, 1964
Bronze; length 52.7 cm

THESE TWO fairly heavy objects are square in section for most of their length and taper to a dull point. Both have a grooved round socket ornamented with raised studs; No. 518 has an additional stud on each of the square sides, and No. 519 has geometric decoration on its socket. A pair of holes in the socket of each served to secure the object to a wood shaft.

At first viewing one might be inclined to accept these objects as four-sided spears or javelins of the kind known from excavations in Ur, Assur, and Carchemish, and as strays, some of which bear inscriptions (Herzfeld 1968, 30f.; Calmeyer 1969a, 36f.; Dossin 1962, 154ff., pl. XXI, no. 10: considered to have a modern inscription; Moorey 1971a, 30), and dated to the late third millennium B.C. However, all these examples have a solid tang, while the sockets of Nos. 518 and 519 are round and hollow. This indicates that these objects are in fact spear butts (personal communication Helmut Nickel). To my knowledge few have been excavated. A few of socketed type are known from Anatolia (Przeworski 1939, pl. IV:4; Boehmer 1972, 75, pls. XII, XIII:201, 208) but they are simpler and smaller than ours (cf. a Greek example, Nickel 1969, 20). For strays of the present type, see Calmeyer 1974a, nos. 53–55.

On the basis of our current knowledge, it is not possible either to date or to attribute Nos. 518 and 519 to a specific cultural region; the vendors claimed they came from Iran.

520. Socketed Barbed Arrowhead

61.60.11; Gift of Burton Y. Berry, 1961
Bronze; length 5 cm

THE FLAT HEAD is sharp at the tip and has pronounced blade angles; a prominent midrib divides the head into

two blades and becomes part of the hollow socket; a barb exists at the top of the socket.

Arrowheads with two blades are a variant of the more common trilobate heads (see Nos. 173, 180, 181, 521–526), and occur alongside them in many areas; some have barbs, others do not. A study by Cleuziou (1977, 189ff., fig. 1) has concluded that the two-bladed types precede the trilobate examples (which are rare north of the Caucasus) and came into existence in the eighth century in the Pontic Steppe area; later they appear all over the Near East and in Europe (Erdmann 1973, 50ff.; Stern 1982, 154ff.). Arrowheads of the type of No. 520 have a fairly large distribution in Anatolia and the Caucasus, dating to the seventh century B.C. (Cleuziou 1977, 189ff., fig. 1:E2, E4, E6; No. 520 seems to be an example of type E4). Exact parallels may be seen at Boğazköy (Boehmer 1972, 109ff., 113ff., nos. 910, 911, 916, 919, 923, 925–28, among others), at Maşat (T. Özgüç 1982, 137, pl. 62:10), and at Çavuştepe (Erzen 1978, pl. XLV, top). No. 520 may have derived from Anatolia, whence it was apparently acquired.

521. Socketed Trilobate Arrowhead

51.44.3; Gift of Khalil Rabenou, 1951
Bronze; length 3.2 cm

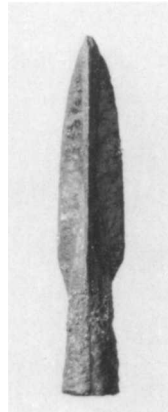
522–526. Socketed Trilobate Arrowheads

61.66.1–5; Gift of Elsa Rabenou, 1961
Bronze; lengths 4.7, 3.3, 3.2, 2.8, 2.7 cm

THESE SIX arrowheads represent examples of a type found over many parts of Europe, Egypt, and the Near East, including Iran, dating from the seventh century B.C. through the second century A.D. The basic shape is a hollow socket and a head formed of three faces or blades; one variant, No. 525, has four flattened blades. Three of the examples have sharp angular blades that perhaps functioned as barbs while three have rounded blades. Given the widespread occurrence of the type and the lack of a verified provenience for these examples, their origin is uncertain, but an Iranian source claimed for them is by no means improbable. The donors claimed they came from Ziwiye, where examples with rounded blades have been excavated (Dyson 1963, 36, left). For further details, see Nos. 173, 180, 181, 322, 520; see also Cleuziou 1977, 189, 191f., fig. 1:FII, F14; Erdmann 1973.



521



522



523



524



525



526

VI ANATOLIA

Early Bronze Age Anatolia

A COLLECTION of forty-one bronzes (Nos. 527–565) was purchased from a New York dealer in 1955, but at least two other dealers (and possibly more) had owned the material before that time. In 1953 an American archaeologist reported, in a letter to a colleague in the Metropolitan Museum, that he had seen the collection in the home of a dealer-collector in Istanbul, at which time he was informed that it derived from Nallihan, a town in northwestern Turkey, south of Bolu and west of Beypazarı. He also reported that he was informed that the bronzes were found in a pithos, not a grave. That the bronzes were known from at least 1949 is indicated by a reference to them by K. Bittel (1950b, 274), who mentioned weapons and described both a bull “standard” and a sistrum (see Nos. 527, 528, 530) sufficiently that there can be no doubt he was discussing those under review here. It is not clear whether Bittel saw the bronzes themselves or photographs (probably the latter), but he noted “sie sind im letzten Jahre in der Gegend von Beypazir . . . zutage gekommen und noch unpubliziert.” (Note that in 1976, fig. 25, he assigned the sistrum, No. 527, to Horoztepe without comment.) In any event, by 1955 the bronzes surfaced in New York City, with the Nallihan story intact; before 1955 the collection seems to have passed from the Istanbul dealer to a European dealer (Tezcan 1960, 43f.) before crossing the Atlantic (a model of the dynamics of modern indirect trade for the sale of antiquities).

In 1957 the Turkish archaeologists T. Özgüç and M. Akok published a group of Early Bronze Age bronzes acquired in 1954 by the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara from a chance find made at a site called Horoztepe, near Erbaa, east of Amasya, in the Tokat province, some 330 kilometers northeast of Ankara. The bronzes were said to come from a modern cemetery, recovered when a grave for a man named Recab usta was being prepared.¹ Recognizing the importance of the finds, Özgüç and Akok conducted an excavation at the Horoztepe cemetery in 1957, a report on which

was published promptly in 1958. The archaeologists were able to discover that an ancient settlement and cemetery underlay the modern cemetery, and they uncovered an intact ancient burial, just north of Recab usta’s modern grave. They also concluded that the earlier acquired material (1954) in Ankara was from another burial accidentally encountered when the local gravediggers were digging Recab usta’s grave.² Among the bronze objects from the 1957 excavated intact burial were a “sun standard,” related to those from Alaca Hüyük, bull and deer figurines, tables, weapons, vessels, cymbals, a “mirror” (or vessel, a pan), and a spindle; there were also gold, silver, and electrum objects along with pottery (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 42ff., pls. II–XV).

In presenting parallels for the excavated material from Horoztepe the excavators published photographs of bronze objects that were made available to them by a colleague, and which they assumed to be in a private collection or still on the antiquities market (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 38, 45, 49, 56ff., pls. XVII–XVIII); these are photographs of the bronzes under discussion here.³ Further, because of the general, and in some cases specific, relationship of the excavated Horoztepe bronzes to those in the Metropolitan Museum’s collection, Özgüç and Akok did not hesitate to assign the Museum’s bronzes also to Horoztepe (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 38, 44, 49, 57 n. 65, 58 nn. 66, 67), rejecting Bittel’s reference to the Beypazarı region, i.e., to Nallihan (Goetze 1957, 41, also refers to the alleged Beypazarı objects). In 1960 B. Tezcan published an article specifically concerned with the Metropolitan Museum’s forty-one bronzes, as well as a silver bull then in the Cranbrook Academy of Art Museum, near Detroit (and now in the British Museum), a silver/electrum bull in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and two bronze bulls in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, all objects personally examined by him. To Tezcan, because of stylistic and technical characteristics (1960, 33, 44), all these objects derived from

Horoztepe, dispersed across the seas via the antiquities market.⁴ As did Özgüç and Akok before him, he rejected the alleged Nallihan attribution for the Metropolitan Museum's bronzes that he saw recorded at the time on the Museum's catalogue cards. Perceptively and succinctly (in a manner perhaps more than he realized), Tezcan (1960, 39) summed up the problem of museum-supplied proveniences: "Erroneous information, concerning provenance, which has found its way into the museums has given rise to diverse results, and has made much more difficult the description of the cultural regions to which they belong."

A cautious position concerning the provenience of the Metropolitan Museum's bronzes was expressed by P. O. Harper (1960, 253), who referred to the Horoztepe excavations and noted that "the original provenance of these bronzes is unknown . . . but if not from the same site [Horoztepe], [they] are approximately of the same date"; she did not mention Nallihan (see also Muscarella 1968c, no. 2; Farkas 1970, 51, nos. 1, 2; Tubb 1982, 7). While Mellaart (1966, 185, pl. xxivb, figs. 58, 60) accepted Horoztepe as the findspot of the bronzes, in their most recent publication De Jesus (1980) assigned them equivocally either to "Anatolia" or "Horoztepe?" or to "Ankara Prov." (in some instances giving a different attribution in the catalogue and in the plate references for the same object—sistra: A409, 410, and pl. xvi:3, 4; vessels: A354–457, pl. xix:1–4; axe: A172, 173, 175–77, pl. xviii). Nevertheless, it seems clear that De Jesus does not consider the bronzes necessarily to have come from Horoztepe. And earlier, Orthmann (1963, 49, n. 158) expressed caution with regard to assigning the bronzes to Horoztepe.

To where, then, may we assign the forty-one bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (one of which has been deaccessioned)? That they are from Anatolia is beyond doubt; they are classic middle to late Early Bronze Age artifacts with parallels in that culture (see below). Equally beyond doubt is the fact that we do not know their specific findspot, or that all the bronzes have been kept intact as a hoard from the time of their discovery—although this seems probable given the circulation of the photographs which agree with what reached the Metropolitan Museum in 1955. Nevertheless, based on comparisons with excavated material, as well as material acquired locally by Turkish officials, and noting their geographical distribution, it may be concluded that the bronzes most probably derive from the area enclosed by the bend of the Halys River. More specifically, we may limit the area to that bounded by Alaca Hüyük to the east and the Corum–Amasya–Tokat region to the northeast, i.e., to the area containing the Early Bronze Age sites of Horoztepe and Mahmatlar.

The point being made here is that while it is not impossible that the Metropolitan Museum bronzes derived from clandestine digging (or accidental discovery) at Horoztepe (see notes 1 and 2 here), they could equally have derived from another nearby site, even one still not recorded in the area, from which related material still surfaces (T. Özgüç 1978, 90ff.). The Early Bronze Age of Anatolia is noted for its regionalism, for the existence of a fairly large number of local cultures, probably representing local princedoms, and although trade existed and material—primarily weapons, it would seem—moved across the local borders, one notes areas where certain types of artifacts cluster (see Bittel 1950a, 26ff.; Mellink 1956, 40f.; T. Özgüç 1963, 11ff.; Mellaart 1966, 123f., 158; Mellaart, in *Cambridge Ancient History* I, pt. 2 [1971], 370). In this context, then, at the very minimum we can be fairly sure that the Metropolitan Museum bronzes came from the Horoztepe area.

A problem facing attempts to objectively map the distribution of Anatolian Early Bronze Age material, and concomitantly to locate those areas where unexcavated strays might tentatively be placed, is the limitation of excavated sites, sites from which one knows with certainty whence specific objects derived. Alaca Hüyük and the 1957 excavations at Horoztepe are prime examples of such bona fide sites; so is Ahlatlibel, southwest of Ankara, and Kayapınar within the Halys bend. I would also place in the category of plausible local finds material from Mahmatlar recorded by Koşay and Akok (1950), and material recovered from the Black Sea area (Dengate 1978, 252ff., illus. 4–8), for although discovered by peasants, the authorities were able to recover a number of objects locally. Likewise, we may accept the 1954 Ankara Museum acquisitions claimed for Horoztepe as deriving from there, especially inasmuch as a fragment of a ribbed sword/dagger excavated in 1957 is part of a similar fragment recorded in 1954 (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 46, pl. viii:4; Özgüç and Akok 1957, 216, fig. 19).

Yet references to some other well-known "sites" from which Early Bronze Age material is authoritatively claimed to have derived turn out, after close examination, to be highly misleading, in fact erroneous. We are informed, for example, of the *Depotfunde* from Ordu on the Black Sea (Przeworski 1939, 22f., 26, passim; Przeworski, in *Archiv Orientalní* 7 [1935], 396; J. Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin* . . . [Oxford, 1953], 211f.; Stronach 1957, 109; Erkanal 1977, 6, no. 30, 10; Dengate 1978, 252: the "hoard" in fact was purchased in Paris and K. Bittel, in *AA* 1941, 254, n. 3, correctly noted that the attribution was based "nur auf einer Händlerangabe"); from Bayındırköy (K. Bittel, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*

6 [1955], 113ff.; Stronach 1957, 92, 97f.); from Dorak;⁵ and, of special interest with concern for the geographical distribution of the Metropolitan Museum bronzes, and to those excavated west of the Halys bend, the alleged bronze hoard from Soli, on the Cilician coast.

The first publication of the "Soli Depotfund" was presented by von Luschan (1902), who reported that the bronzes were purchased (exactly where is not noted) some ten years earlier, and that they were said to have been found at Soli-Pompeiopolis in a terracotta vessel in 1889. Von Luschan actually visited Soli with the alleged finder himself, at which time he surveyed the site and conducted a "kleine Nachgrabung"; he found nothing that could be related to the hoard. Of some interest is that while von Luschan (1902, 296) noted that the corpus of bronzes made "einen durchaus ähnlichen Eindruck," and its patina was uniform, he singled out one of the seventy-eight pieces, a Hittite seal that showed evidence of having been cleaned. He then perceptively raised the question whether it was possible "dass es erst später und zufällig zu den übrigen Stücken gelangt ist." He also wondered whether the "letzten Besitzer" might have noted the decoration and singled it out for special treatment (and indicating here that the alleged finder was not the one who sold the collection to Berlin). In any event, von Luschan (1902, 296) finally concluded that "die hethitische Umschrift des Siegels nicht mit absoluter Sicherheit zur Datierung des ganzen Fundes verwendet werden kann."

Referring to, but rejecting, von Luschan's doubts about the seal's provenience, Bittel (1940, 199f., n. 2) treated the Berlin material, including the seal, as if it had been excavated at Soli. Moreover, he went so far as to argue that the bronzes, to him early second millennium B.C. (Bittel 1940, 204), dated the seal (not vice versa), and specifically (Bittel 1940, 200) verified "das frühe Vorkommen einiger Zeichen, die uns später unter der hethitischen Bilderschrift wieder begegnen"; he rejected Przeworski's (1939, 27, n. 14) fourteen-thirteenth-century date for the seal. Bittel's early dating of the seal, based on its assumed presence in the Soli find, was seconded by Goetze (1957, 53), who perceived it as one of the earliest of its type known, dating to about 1800 B.C. or "vielleicht noch älter. . . ." Still earlier, Schaeffer (1948, 276ff., fig. 174) also treated the Berlin bronzes as a bona fide archaeological discovery; and he too rejected Przeworski's late dating of the seal: because all the other material was clearly early.

In fact, to my knowledge all scholars who cite the Berlin bronzes consider them to come from Soli;⁶ von Luschan's hesitations were ignored or not understood to contain a clue about the integrity of the corpus. Nor was a puzzling and unexplained claim of Przeworski

(1939, 43, 191, pl. 1) recognized as another clue, namely when he suggested that a chisel (!) "zum Depotfund von Soli (Tf. 1, 7) ist nicht gesichert, man vermutet, dass es von Zencirli stammt." For if the Berlin material is indeed a true hoard from Soli, how then could one logically raise doubts about the inclusion of individual components (cf. note 5)? The "Soli hoard" is not an archaeological hoard from Soli, it is a dealer's hoard in Berlin. As such, it has no value whatever with regard either for dating Hittite seals (archaic or otherwise), or to the mapping of the geographical distribution of an Anatolian Early Bronze Age bronze assemblage (including the Metropolitan Museum's), with implications for contact and trade (e.g., Herzfeld 1941, 185; Schaeffer 1948, 277f.; Tezcan 1960, 38f.; Mellaart 1966, 179; Stronach 1957, 124; De Jesus 1980, 134; Tubb 1982, 6f., 11). Inasmuch as some of the Berlin objects have parallels with material from the Halys region, it is possible that they may originally have come from there (subsequently moving around the modern trade routes and eventually reaching Berlin: somewhat in the same manner as the Metropolitan Museum bronzes may have traveled before arriving in New York City, and somewhere along the route picking up "Nallihan" as the place of discovery). And if the Berlin material did in fact derive from an area—or areas—in Anatolia, other than the Halys region, we do not and cannot know.

A further problem confronting us is one concerned with chronology. One of the crucial keys to dating the Metropolitan Museum bronzes and related examples is the stratigraphical position and chronology of the royal tombs at Alaca Hüyük, a matter still unresolved and without consensus. Leaving aside absolute chronology, archaeologists continue to debate whether the Alaca tombs precede a major destruction level uncovered at Alaca (e.g., Przeworski 1939, 26; Özgüç and Akok 1957, 217f.; Mellink 1956, 43ff., n. 9; Mellaart 1966, 179; Akurgal 1962, 22, 24, 28; De Jesus 1980, 158, n. 15), or whether some or all actually postdate it (e.g., Schaeffer 1948, 286ff.; Bittel 1959, 28f.; Orthmann 1963, 33),⁷ that is, whether they are to be dated to the Early Bronze II or III period (assuming the destruction level naturally separates EB II from EB III at Alaca: e.g., Lloyd and Mellaart 1962, 264). Further, the relative range of time of the deposition of the thirteen tombs is unknown and only subjectively determined, some scholars maintaining all were deposited within two generations (Özgüç, Schaeffer), others over centuries (Przeworski, Mellaart, Bittel).

Then there is the problem concerned with matching or interrelating the finds from Horoztepe, Mahmatlar, and ours, to those from Alaca Hüyük. For, on the one hand, not only are the excavated sites cemeteries, not

stratified settlements (two non-royal and partly plundered, one royal, and inadequately published), on the other, there are not many one-to-one parallels among the collective bronzes (but see Nos. 527–530, 541–551). Therefore, scholars tend to use art-historical observations such as stylistic or naturalistic occurrences or degrees of skill in execution to determine relative position in time. Based on these judgments (and primarily depending on human and animal figures) a number of scholars consider the Horoztepe, and our, bronzes to be later than the Alaca Hüyük finds (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 56f.; Bittel 1959, 27; Bittel 1976, 48; Akurgal 1962, 22, 24, 28; Mellaart 1966, 184ff.; Mellaart, in *Cambridge Ancient History* I, pt. 2 [1971], 388), while De Jesus (1980, 131) sees no problem with the pottery and metalwork that prevents accepting all three sites as “almost contemporary,” Horoztepe floating “between EB II and late EB III.”

Even with these problems outstanding, there can be no doubt that, on the basis of stratigraphy at Alaca Hüyük and typology, the Alaca tombs are pre-Hittite, and moreover pre-Kültepe II. Equally, there can be no doubt that the material from Horoztepe and Mahmatlar and the Metropolitan Museum bronzes must be considered either roughly contemporary or slightly later, depending on the precision of one's perception of the differences. Most of the assumed absolute dates cluster around ca. 2400/2300–ca. 2200/2100 B.C., with Bittel (1976, 48) suggesting a low date of 2100–1900 B.C., and De Jesus (1980, 126, 158, n. 15) suggesting a high date of ca. 3000–2800/2700 B.C. In any event, taking a middle course, the Metropolitan Museum bronzes may be placed within the last few centuries of the third millennium B.C., subject to future refinements of Anatolian third-millennium chronology.⁸

In some instances the Metropolitan Museum bronzes have been analyzed in the Museum laboratory and the results given in the individual entries. It will be noted that some of the bronzes have a noticeable percentage of arsenic, others far less, some a high percentage of lead, while others have very little, and some have a good percentage of tin, others little. Thus, the metalworkers seem to have used different ores (or varied their alloys), thereby creating both tin and arsenical bronzes (see De Jesus 1980, 59, 95), even varying ores (or alloys) for the same type of object, e.g., Nos. 535, 536.

Following the forty-one bronzes acquired in 1955 are the catalogue entries for the wagon and bulls and a lugged axe, which collectively form the Anatolian Bronze Age bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum's collection.

NOTES

1. Özgüç and Akok (1957, 211) give the date of the transfer of the material to Ankara as 1954, and it is also claimed that this was the date of the actual discovery (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 39, 40, 46; Tezcan 1960, 29). However, inasmuch as they and Tezcan believe that the Metropolitan Museum bronzes derived from Horoztepe and that they were known since 1949, we have to assume (if we accept these bronzes as having derived from the site) either that their reported chance find occurred before 1954, or that an earlier one also occurred. No information exists in print as to how the chance find came into the hands of the Ankara authorities; Tezcan (1960, 30) simply records that they were purchased by the General Directorate of Museums and Antiquities (from whom?).

2. That other parts of the ancient cemetery, in addition to the area dug for Recab usta's grave, were pillaged is evident from isolated finds from “contemporary but disturbed and pillaged tombs” in areas C and F, east of the excavated burial site and northeast of the modern grave (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 5, 40, plan 2). We may then inferentially assume that objects other than those acquired in 1954 by the Ankara Museum exist. Tezcan (1960, 44) surely cannot be right when he claims that the Metropolitan Museum bronzes were in Ankara in 1955, the very year they were acquired by the Museum and some years after they were seen in Istanbul.

3. These photographs may have been the ones seen by Bittel. The American archaeologist who saw the collection in Istanbul also reported that photographs were circulating in 1952. Özgüç and Akok (1958, 57, n. 65) seem not to have been aware that the crescentic axes in the Metropolitan Museum were the same ones they published in pl. XVIII:1, 2.

4. The Boston bull was acquired in 1958 (a second bull was acquired in 1967; De Jesus 1980, 126: “said to be from Horoztepe,” pl. xv:2; pl. xv:1 is the 1958 bull); the Cranbrook bull was acquired in 1938 (Tezcan 1960, 33, 43, is not clear if he considers this bull to have come from Horoztepe or Alaca Hüyük); I do not know the dates of acquisition for the Chicago bulls, now published by De Jesus 1980, fig. 24, pl. xvii:2, 3. That stray, unexcavated objects casually acquire multiple proveniences from scholars (let alone dealers) is clearly indicated by the different sites assigned to the bulls mentioned here. Opitz (in *AfO* 11 [1936–37], 97f., n. 25) simply wondered whether the Cranbrook/British Museum bull came from Alaca Hüyük—because of its obvious relationship to examples excavated there, while Bossert (1942, 35, no. 297) assumed it came from there; Mellaart (1966, 184) on the other hand said that “it is possible” it came from Mahmatlar (Koşay 1944, pl. 112a, published a photograph taken from its original publication in *ILN*, 21 September 1925, with no comment about provenience).

Concerning one of the Boston bulls, De Jesus (1980, 126, 319f., A376), as mentioned above, gave the standard “said to come from” Horoztepe caption; of the second Boston bull, A381, he gives “Anatolia” as the provenience. Note also that the silver and gold statuette usually assigned to Hasanoglan, northeast of Ankara (e.g., Akurgal 1962, 25, 28, pl. vii:22; Canby 1965, 50; De Jesus 1980, 78; etc.), is assigned by Mellaart (1966, 185) as “probably . . . from Horoztepe”; only Tezcan (1960, 37) correctly states that its provenience is unknown.

5. Without challenging Mellaart's original published claims (*ILN*, 28 November 1959, 754ff.), and accepting—with the proverbial caveat, for the sake of argument—that he saw the objects drawn by him (see K. Pearson and P. Connor, *The Dorak Affair* [New York, 1968], 160f., 169ff.), there still remain a number of problems about

the alleged location of the site and what was “said to be” “excavated”/found there. First, the date of the find remains obscure. In 1959 (*ILN*, 754) Mellaart claimed the “excavation” was “undertaken about [sic] the time of the Turco-Greek war . . .”; in Pearson and Connor (*The Dorak Affair*, 35), he is quoted as saying, “It looked *sic* as if the things had been dug up when the Greeks occupied that part of Turkey just after the first world war, near a village called Dorak”; on page 170 the date 1922 is mentioned by a third party. “Faded photographs” (mentioned in Pearson and Connor, *The Dorak Affair*, 35, and *ILN* 1959, 754) would indicate a time lapse from the date of discovery to 1958, but that time eludes us.

More important from an archaeological perspective is the problem created by accepting the integrity of the published material as deriving from a single find, in this instance from two royal tombs at one site in a “small cemetery.” Based on the material’s purported modern history, its existence in a modern Turkish city (Izmir) some distance from its alleged findspot, and apparently many years (thirty-six?) after its discovery, one would have to express some reserve against the acceptance of all the published objects as deriving from one find. And internal evidence supporting this cautionary posture exists. In the original publication of 1959 (*ILN*, color pl. 1), Mellaart presented five “amazing figurines” of various metallic composition that were shown to him by his informant as part of the tomb goods, but of which claim Mellaart was in some doubt: on page 754 he noted that the figurines were “said to have been found in the tombs” (presumably it was the informant who “said” so), and in the text of color plate 1 that “It is not absolutely certain that [the figurines] were actually [?] found in the two tombs. . . .” This caveat was repeated in *Cambridge Ancient History* I, pt. 2 (1971), 394, but puzzlingly in his 1966 book (p. 185) they were “the Dorak figures,” with no qualifying comment. Lloyd (1967, 30, fig. 19) went further, specifically stating that the figurines “may have a different provenance”; and none of the tombs in the sketch published by Mellaart and Lloyd show the figurines. Mellaart did not reveal why he published the figurines in the first place if he doubted their provenience either in the tombs or from Dorak.

Other scholars, notwithstanding the hints or warnings of Mellaart (and subsequently Lloyd), continued to include the figurines in their discussions, and acceptance, of the Dorak tomb groups as a discrete hoard (e.g., Tezcan 1960, 37; Akurgal 1962, 28; De Jesus 1980, 89; cf. Hrouda 1971, 128). Common sense alone suggests that if Mellaart’s informant misled him (whether intentionally or not is irrelevant) on the provenience of the figurines in her possession, she may have misled him about the provenience of other objects, not to mention even the locus of the find itself. This issue alone indicates that the “Dorak find” cannot be considered as a find necessarily from one site, in one specific area of Anatolia.

Of further interest with concern for the integrity of the Dorak finds is the brief mention by Mellaart in his 1959 report (*ILN*, 754) of the existence of “two pithos burials of servants” with the implication that they were associated with the two royal tombs. It transpires that Mellaart claims to have information about the contents of these pithoi, for in the one reference I could find that speaks to this issue (Lloyd and Mellaart 1962, 269) it is stated that two stone figurines of Beycesultan (EB I–II) type derived “from a servant’s [pithos] grave at Dorak (unpublished).” Strangely, these figurines were not mentioned in Mellaart 1966, 133f., fig. 40.

Another problem that confronts us is the nature of the categorical description (given in the manner of a preliminary site report!) of the two tombs, their precise sizes, the actual positioning of the skeletons

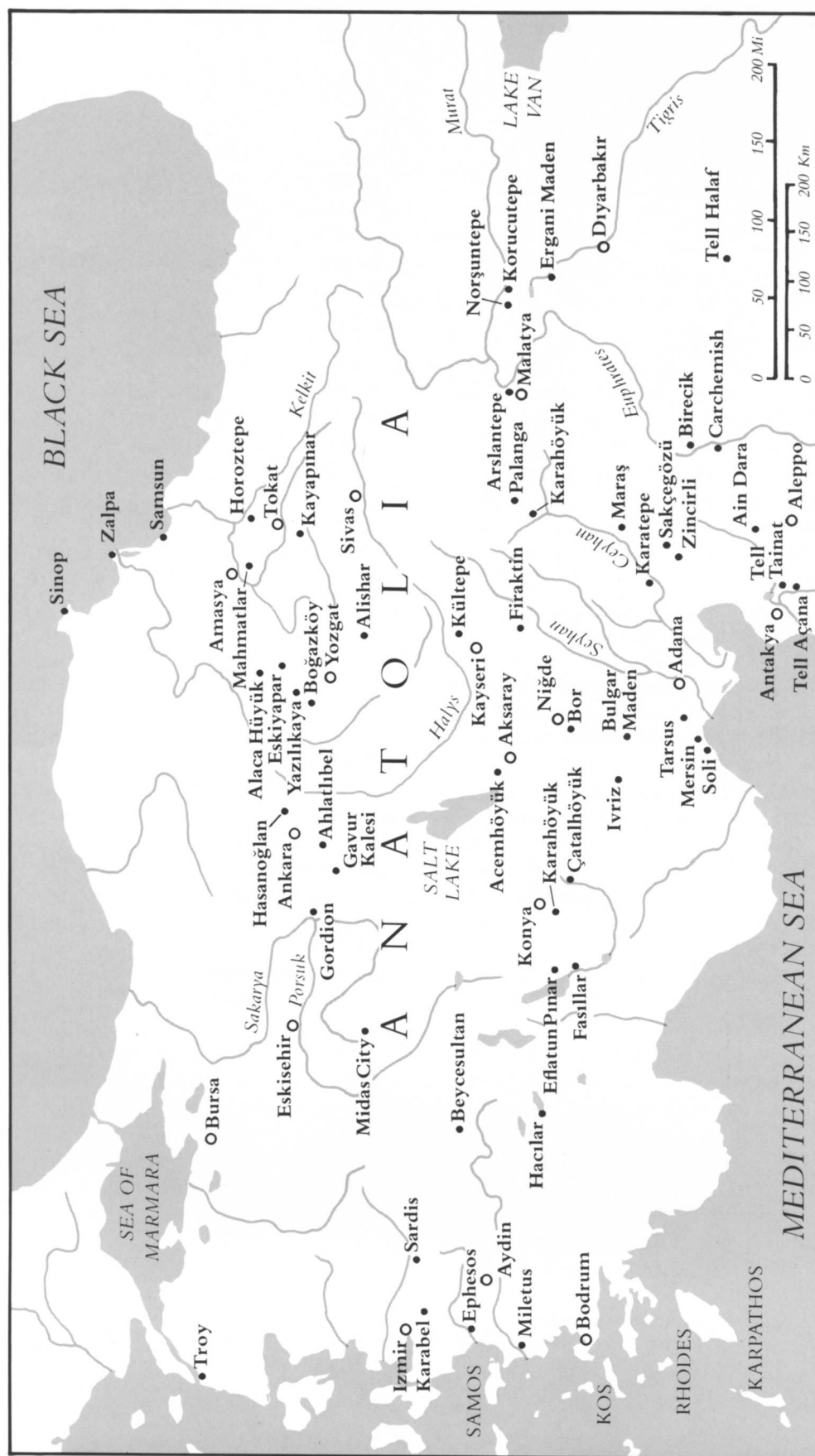
and grave goods, the presence of adjacent (?) and allegedly related pithoi burials, and the unhesitant identification of the artifact material (Mellaart, in *ILN*, 28 November 1959, 754f.; Mellaart 1966, 151f., 163; Lloyd 1967, 30ff.). Who (correctly?) identified the nephrite, meerschaum, turquoise, electrum, amber, iron, and so forth? Inasmuch as a number of scholars have seen fit to discuss long-distance trade on the basis of these identifications, the question raised is not irrelevant. Further (and here one touches on a crucial and puzzling issue), who took the original photographs of the neatly cleaned skeletons patiently left in situ with their worldly goods before removal? Who wrote the “original excavation [sic] records,” and drew a “sketch map of the find,” all of which apparently informed Mellaart’s reconstruction of the site? For if there were such photographs, sketches, and record notes, not to mention careful clearing of the two tombs and the pithoi burials, then a tomb robbing (in the conventional sense) by locals (or soldiers) did not occur: the tombs would have to have been excavated by a trained archaeologist. And in Pearson and Connor (*The Dorak Affair*, 35), Mellaart is quoted as saying “some sort of an archaeologist” must have been involved. Further, note that Mellaart does not mention the language of the records: Greek? English?

Yet, aside from a few individuals (how many and exactly who are not revealed) who worked on the original drawings with Mellaart in Ankara (see Lloyd 1967, captions for figs. 19–25, pp. 137f.), no one else knows how much (if any) interpretation and inference and conjecture are incorporated in the above-mentioned detailed descriptions—because we are never told. And this conclusion renders it difficult, if not impossible, to use the “Dorak” drawings and sketches of the objects and the tombs in a non-tentative manner. [Note that sometime after writing the above, on 11 July 1982, I met with James Mellaart and his wife at their London home, during which time we of course discussed Dorak. To my questions he generously and freely informed me that the language of the records was Greek and that he believed that an archaeologist must have been involved; it was not a tomb-robbing affair, “it was a dig.” Mellaart believes that the reason the Dorak material has not surfaced to this date may be because it represents one of the few examples of art that can legally be claimed by Turkey. In the future, Mellaart will write about certain other matters that concern him and the Dorak adventure.]

6. While I cannot find a reference to the Hittite seal in T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*, vol. IV of Bittel, *Boğazköy-Hattuša* (Berlin, 1967), he refers (p. 48, n. 19) to the other seal claimed from Soli, accepting the provenience; see also Canby 1965, 43; Merhav 1981, 242, no. 50. More recently Muhly, in *RLA* VI (1980–83), 361, accepts the Berlin group as from Soli.

7. To my reading, Arik 1937, 118, and Koşay 1956, 36, suggest that some of the tombs were recovered within the burnt destruction level (III) (see Orthmann 1963, 43, n. 102): which would mean that they had to have been dug from a time *after* the destruction. It is of interest to note that there is also controversy concerning whether or not the cemetery at Alaca is intramural (e.g., Koşay 1951, 153; Özgüç 1948, 61, 77f.; Özgüç and Akok 1958, 51; Mellink 1956, 43; Burney and Lang 1972, 30), or extramural (e.g., Mellaart 1966, 151; Mellaart, in *Cambridge Ancient History* I, pt. 2 [1971], 388; Tezcan 1960, 45; Akurgal 1962, 21).

8. Now see Amiran 1983, who, on the basis of an alleged similarity of a gold disk from a tomb in Israel (Beth-Yerah/Kh. Kerak) to the goldwork at Alaca Hüyük, would date the latter site to ca. 2650–2600 B.C. I find the similarity not close enough to allow one to relate the chronology of the Israel tomb (EB II) to that of Alaca Hüyük.



OBJECTS

527. Sistrum

55.137.1; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Arsenical copper; height 33 cm, width 10.8 cm

528. Sistrum

55.137.2; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Arsenical copper;¹ height 34.3 cm, width 10.2 cm

BOTH OBJECTS are formally the same, differing mainly in details of composition. No. 527 is U shaped with each of its two arms or frame terminals adorned with a cluster of knobs, below which is a fixed horizontal bar. On this bar stands a stylized long-beaked bird, probably a bird of prey, with its small wings outspread and its feet depicted as a solid mass; its large pellet eyes are placed at the back of the head, and the neck and wings are grooved vertically. Along the outside of each arm are four bull's horns.

The handle is round in section, ending at the bottom in a knob, and projecting at its top beyond the base of the U, terminating in a button molding. All these units were cast together, but three separately added horizontal wires pierce the frame at both sides and each wire holds two pierced free-swinging disks. When the sistrum was acquired, only the bottom wire and disks were extant, and the middle and upper wires and disks are modern restorations (see Özgüç and Akok 1958, pl. xvii:1; Bittel 1976, fig. 25).

No. 528 is V shaped, but it, too, has an upper fixed horizontal bar and three separately added horizontal wires, each with two disks; only the center unit is original. Four different creatures, a bull and a gazelle (?) in the round and a pair of birds, one beaked, the other a duck (?), each with solid feet like the bird on No. 527, adorn the frame, in this case on the front. The top section is now incomplete, but it is clear that it had a system of decoration different from that of No. 527. Here there are irregularly shaped arm terminals and a central stub, all pierced, and aligned with holes on the cross-bar, to hold something that was added. The handle also differs from No. 527; it is simpler, for the top does not pass beyond the base of the frame and the lower terminal is in the form of a disk or a button, not a knob.

Their primary function as sistra is self-evident, as has long been recognized; that they also probably had a religious function may be inferred from the bird, animal, and horn decoration (for a neat representation of a U-shaped sistrum held by a handle and used in an otherworldly ceremony, see Frankfort 1955, pl. 38).

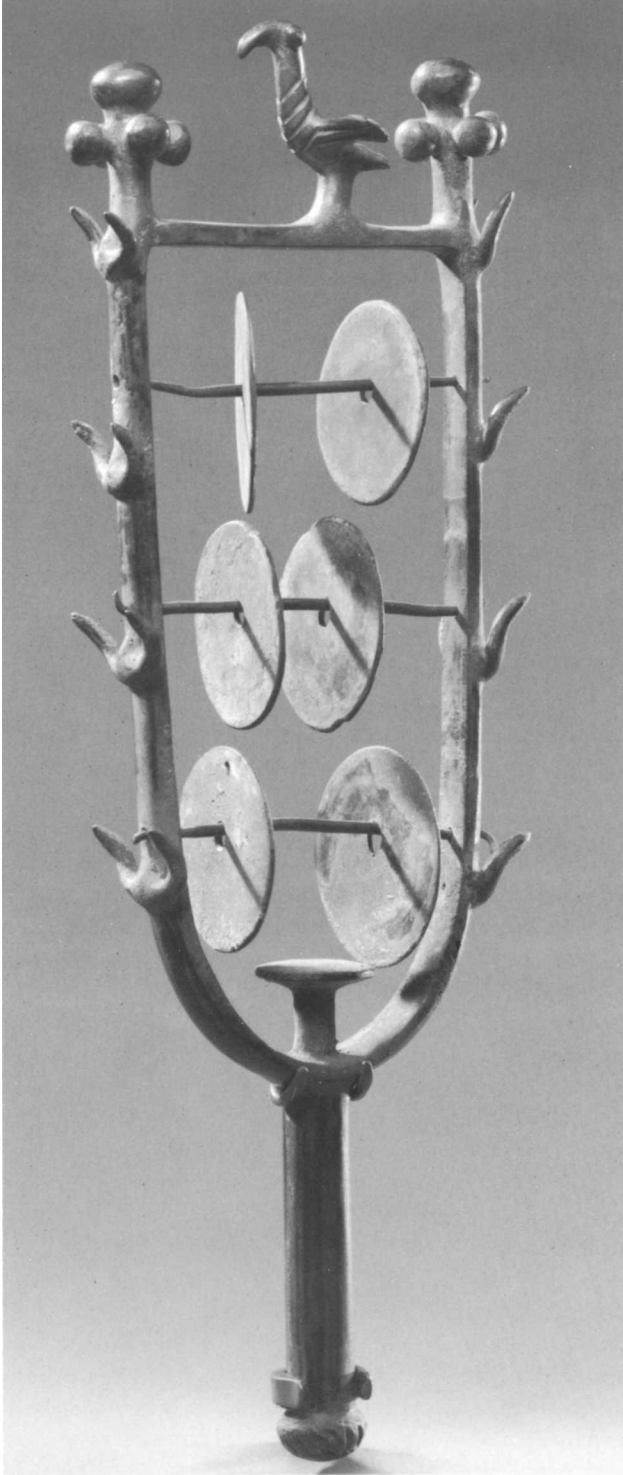
A complete example of a sistrum was among the objects acquired in Ankara with the 1954 Horoztepe material (Özgüç and Akok 1957, 213, figs. 3–6, 26; Özgüç and Akok 1958, pl. xii), and although of a different form, it is typologically the same as the present two examples. The Horoztepe sistrum in Ankara has a square frame, with the moving noisemakers in the form of bars connected vertically to two cross wires, and a continuous row of animals in the round—a stag, does, gazelles, lions—decorates the frame on three sides. The knobbed handle is the same as that of No. 527, and the animals are stylistically close to those on No. 528, except that here their legs part. The Metropolitan Museum and the Horoztepe sistra are from the same local culture and workshops.

Other parallels in details relate the Metropolitan Museum sistra to the material culture of the Early Bronze Age of the wider Horoztepe area. Özgüç and Akok (1958, 49; also Tezcan 1960, 35) have called attention to the knob clusters on No. 527 and their formal relationship to a gold knob cluster from Alaca Hüyük (Arik 1937, pl. 173:Al. 243), which they suggested might have come from a sistrum. Tezcan (1960, 35f.) has also noted other stylistic parallels with Alaca Hüyük: the row of animals on a crescent-shaped bronze fragment (which he suggests is part of a sistrum), birds in the round (with outstretched wings) on a “sun disk,” knobbed clusters on another “sun disk” (Arik 1937, fig. 86, pls. 192, 199), and pierced gold disks (Koşay 1951, pl. 185, fig. 3: from a tomb? κ?), which could have come from a sistrum. Özgüç and Akok (1958, 44f.) have made the interesting suggestion that some of the “sun disks” from Alaca Hüyük could have functioned as sistra; they also suggest that an isolated pierced disk at Horoztepe (fig. 23) could have come from a sistrum like ours.

Aside from their internal value with regard to their placement within a known cultural environment, the two Metropolitan Museum sistra are important also because they are two of the only three examples in the round known to exist from the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia.²

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

One or both examples: Özgüç and Akok 1958, pls. xvii:1, 3, xviii:2; Harper 1960, 255, fig. 13; Tezcan 1960, 34ff., pls. xxi, xxii; Akurgal 1962, pl. 12; *Horizon Book of Lost Worlds* (New York, 1962), 300; Crawford et al. 1966, 14, fig. 21; Mellaart 1966, pl. xxivb, fig. 58; Muscarella 1968c, no. 4; C. J. du Ry, *Art of the Ancient Near and Middle East* (New York, 1969), 168, left (listed as from Alaca Hüyük);

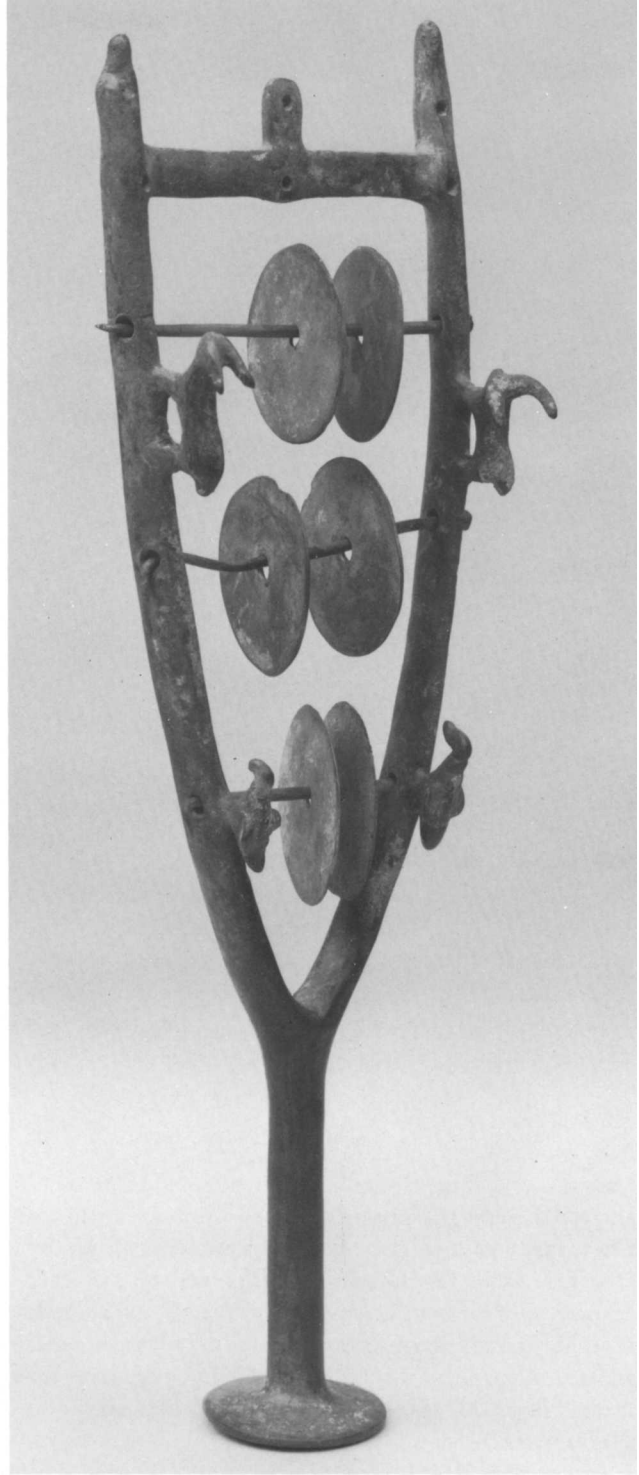


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Farkas 1970, 51; Bittel 1976, 43, fig. 25; De Jesus 1980, pl. xvi:3, 4; H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), 54, no. 105; *MMA Guide* 1983, 58, no. 30; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 98.

NOTES

1. No. 527 has yet to be tested, but No. 528 has the following



528

metal composition, sample taken from under the button base: Cu: 90.8%, As: 3.5%, Pb: 2.5%, and Sn: <.02%.

2. Compare Nos. 527 and 528 to another sistrum in the Metropolitan Museum published by Richter (1915, no. 1777) and tentatively dated to the Roman period. It is a purchased piece without provenience; it could be much earlier (?). See also Merhav 1981, no. 128.



529a



529b

529. Cymbals/Castanets

55.137.3, 4; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Bronze; heights 6.2, 6.1 cm, diameters 6.5, 6.4 cm

THESE TWO solid cast objects are matched one to one and are almost the same size; they may be a true pair. They have a slightly convex disk base and a high slightly concave handle terminating in a pierced bulbous knob. They would seem to be cymbals, clappers, or castanets, used to create a rhythmic sound, and have been so described in the literature. The holes may once have held thongs to enable the cymbals to be attached to the fingers or wrist.

A pair of the very same form of cymbals was excavated at Horoztepe (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 45, pl. vii:3, fig. 20), another single example formed part of the 1954 Horoztepe group in Ankara (Özgüç and Akok 1957, 215, figs. 12, 36), and a fairly large number of pairs were recovered from the Alaca Hüyük tombs (Arik 1937, pl. 277:Al. 1816, 1817; Koşay 1944, pl. 81; Koşay 1951,

pl. 126: four pairs?). As with the sistra, the cymbals relate closely to similar types from Horoztepe and Alaca Hüyük.

Other cymbals, all strays, are also known, those in the "Soli"-Berlin group (Bittel 1940, 198, figs. 15, 16, pl. vi) and in private collections (Özgüç and Akok 1958, pl. vii:4, 5; T. Özgüç 1964, 6ff., fig. 5) as well as those that derive from the Corum area (T. Özgüç 1978, 93, 96, figs. 84, 85, pl. 69:1, 2).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Tezcan 1960, pl. xviii:2 (for one example).

530. Double Bull "Standard"

55.137.5; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Arsenical copper;¹ height 16.1 cm, width at horns
14.6 cm

TWO IDENTICAL long-horned bulls, each individually cast, are fastened securely but not rigidly to an irregularly bent, thick disk. The disk is cast with a rectangular tang, which is pierced at its base at right angles to the bulls. The bulls have tubular bodies with long necks and thin muzzles, prominently bulbous, raised rumps, round unformed legs with small bumps (knees?), thick free-hanging tails, small backward-pointing ears, and, most characteristic, wide-spreading, thin horns. Except for slits at the mouth area and barely perceptible raised eyes, no body features such as musculature or genitalia are represented. A thick curved wire yokes the bulls together at the back of their heads just below the ears; the yoke is held in place by rivets that pierce it and the bulls' necks and project out of their throats in front and are bent back for security. A front and a rear leg of each bull is elongated so that it pierces the disk base and is bent back for security; the other legs are normal in length and rest freely on the disk.

Bulls as "standards" or as statuettes occur in excavations at Horoztepe (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 18, 47f., fig. 28, pl. xi:1—cf. 2, 3)² and Alaca Hüyük (Arik 1937, pl. 271; Koşay 1944, pls. 96, 97: both with human-foot-shaped bases like the one from Horoztepe; Koşay 1951, pls. 162, 173, 192), all of finer but not unrelated craftsmanship to No. 530, and none as a pair. A closer example in form, especially with regard to the horns, was said by Arik (1937, pl. 271, below) to have been "found near Alaca" (see No. 568). While all the Alaca Hüyük bulls are cast with their bases, the Horoztepe example is detachable from its base, allowing it to be placed technically closer to our example than to those from Alaca.

Orthmann (1967, 40) has noted the rarity of paired bulls as *Aufsätze*, and only one other example comes to mind, an unexcavated group in the Schimmel collection

(Muscarella 1974a, no. 122). This pair is also yoked behind the head, and although the base is cylindrical in shape and cast with the bulls and the group is relatively small in size, there seems no reason to deny that the Schimmel pair is formally and ideologically the same as the Metropolitan Museum pair and, further, that it too probably derives from the Corum–Amasya–Tokat region. And it is appropriate here to note the relationship of the yoked bulls used as *Aufsätze* with the yoked bulls drawing model wagons (see No. 568).

Even though bull, and also stag, “standards” have been excavated in tombs, their specific function is still being discussed. While most scholars accept that they are charged in some religious fashion, and that they are associated with the elaborate “sun disks” with which they occur at Alaca Hüyük, there is uncertainty as to whether they are primarily cultic (e.g., T. Özgüç 1948, 104ff.; Bittel 1976, 33f.), or whether they actually represent certain deities in an abstract form (e.g., Bossert 1942, 34; Hančar, in *AfO* 13 [1939–41], 292, 296ff.; Goetze 1957, 39f.; Akurgal 1962, 25; both Hančar and Akurgal see the stag as the female component). In these instances the animals would presumably be placed on the tops of poles, whether of baldachins (Akurgal) or of standards.

Another interpretation for these figures, with specific concern for function, and not necessarily denying the otherworldly manifestations, has been presented by a number of scholars. To my knowledge the first one to suggest this alternate view was Opitz (*AfO* 11 [1936–37], 97f.), who, publishing the newly surfaced silver Cranbrook/British Museum bull, wondered whether “vielleicht diente es . . . als Zier eines Zügelhalters auf Deichsel eines Wagens.” Years later Lloyd (*Early Anatolia* [Baltimore, 1956], 98) mentioned but rejected the view that the “sun disks” were rein rings, but he did not mention the animal figures. Another view was presented in 1966 by Mellaart (153ff.), who, accepting their religious nature, considered the term “standard” not an appropriate one to describe the bulls and stags and noted that in the material found at Alaca Hüyük there is only one bull or stag figure but a number of “sun disks” and bones of an actual pair or pairs of oxen. He concluded from these data (1966, 155) that the oxen must have drawn wagons to the tombs before being sacrificed, and that the bull and stag figures were placed on the wagon pole and the “sun disks” on the yokes or on the sides of the wagon. In 1967 (45ff., 52ff.) Orthmann further developed this position, citing parallel situations in Mesopotamia and Armenia, and he vigorously defended the interpretation that the Alaca Hüyük tombs contained wagons drawn by oxen, and that the figures and “sun disks” were “*Aufsätze*,” in some manner connected with



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the “Anschirung von Zugtieren” (see also Orthmann 1975, 421, fig. 330). More recently, Bittel (1976, 38, 41) expressed his opinion that this interpretation could be correct and has merit.

Perhaps of some value is the fact that, as noted, both the Metropolitan Museum bull pair and the one in the Schimmel collection represent yoked animals, and although not compelling, this feature could be accepted as lending support to the suggestion that such artifacts were primarily associated with wagons.³ In the final analysis one should leave the question of function open for further discussion.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Özgüç and Akok 1958, pl. xvii:4a, b; Harper 1960, 255, fig. 14; Tezcan 1960, 33f., pl. xix; Orthmann 1967, 37, A13; Muscarella 1968c, no. 2; Farkas 1970, 51, no. 1; De Jesus 1980, pl. xvi:1a, b; *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 99; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984) 28, no. 32.

NOTES

1. Cu: 94.2%, As: 2.1%, Sn: <.02%, sample taken from the tang; Cu: 93.4%, As: 4.0%, Sn: .35%, sample from the groin area of the proper left-side bull. In addition, a thermal neutron activation analysis was made of the coating of the back of the proper left bull, which revealed a ratio of Cu: 80%, As: 20%.

2. Figure 18 of Lloyd 1967 seems to be this Horoztepe bull, but De Jesus 1980, A389, pl. xii:6, treats it as a second (identical) example from Horoztepe, the “other” being his A370. Surely De Jesus has made two out of one bull?

3. They surely cannot viably be considered to be rein rings (*Zügelringe*), for they lack the characteristic—and, for this purpose, seemingly fundamental—rings for passage of the reins (see No. 466). Orthmann (1967, 53 and n. 90) leaves open the question of whether they held reins but accepts as certain that they were tied to the yoke pole.

531. Bull's Horns

55.137.6; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Arsenical copper; height 10.3 cm, greatest width 19 cm

CLEARLY a complete set of bull's horns, this was meant to be added to a separately made object. The horns are solid cast and heavy, with rilled disks between which



are two pierced holes for attachment. Tezcan (1960, 34) has suggested that these horns are from a bull made of wood or another material. Although this is a plausible and perhaps obvious conclusion, one wonders whether the unit could have served by itself, perhaps as *pars pro toto*, attached not to an animal but to something else.

No parallel pieces are known to me. In the “Soli”-Berlin group is a pierced hornlike object that may be a single bull's horn, although this interpretation was denied by Bittel (1940, 197, fig. 14, pl. vi:s3399), who saw it as a hook (von Luschan 1902, 300, was at a loss to interpret it). A reason for rejecting this single horn as a bull's horn was its size, which is about half of the one here: therefore, not a good reason. The Berlin piece may then actually be a single bull's horn attached to another object, and a parallel to ours in use. De Jesus 1980 (A382, fig. 27:5) also considers the Berlin piece to be a horn.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Tezcan 1960, 34, pl. xx:1; De Jesus 1980, pl. xii:2.

NOTE

1. Cu: 89.5%, As: 4.0%, Sn: .02%.

532, 533. Crescentic Axes

55.137.7, 8; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Bronze; lengths 24.9, 21.4 cm

CAST IN ONE PIECE and roughly the same size, these axes have a crescent-shaped blade and a concave-sided, centrally placed tang that is aligned with the ends of the blade. The tang has two holes, the blade ends one each, which are aligned to each other but not to those of the tang; they no doubt held rivets that secured the blade set into a wooden haft. The blades are not sharp; rather they are more or less the same thickness as the remaining area, which suggested to Tezcan (1960, 38) that the objects were not meant to be used as functioning weapons, only as ritual ones. However, they are solid and heavy and could do damage if used as a mace or club; Tubb (1982, 7) suggests that they may have been “destined for tomb deposits.”

Przeworski (1939, 32f.), Bittel (1940, 192f.), Hillen (1953), Calmeyer (1969a, 29f.), Solymán (1968, 50ff.), Erkanal (1977, 23f., n. 206), and Tubb (1982, 4ff.), among others, have discussed these “E formige” axes (see Nos. 508 and 509) and their distribution in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here we will concern ourselves only with the Anatolian occurrences. Erkanal (1977, 24) lists examples from Horoztepe (the two here), Soli, Polatli, Bayındırköy,² and Satırhüyük, seven in all (De Jesus 1980, A246–51, gives a shorter list); not one was excavated. The closest parallel to the two at the Metropolitan Museum, in fact



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a mate, is a stray in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, listed there as from Polatli, which, although accepted by Erkanal as the findspot, is rejected by Tezcan (1960, 38, pl. xx:3). Two other close parallels are those in the "Soli"—Berlin group (Bittel 1940, pl. vi; Stronach 1957, fig. 13:6, 7; Solyman 1968, 52, pl. II:120, 121), although here only the tang is pierced. The others cited (wherever their true findspots) are not so close, lacking holes or having a slightly different crescent shape (Stronach 1957, fig. 14:1, 2).

If the two examples here truly belong to the collection as part of the hoard, and if, as suggested, from Horoztepe, or the general area, we then have circumstantial evidence for the occurrence of the type in the bend of the Halys River area (the "Soli"—Berlin group may also come from this area).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Özgüç and Akok 1958, 57, n. 65, pl. xviii:1, 2; Tezcan 1960, 37f., pl. xx:2, 4: with a wrong reference on p. 37—no. 3 is in Ankara; Mellaart 1966, fig. 60:9; De Jesus 1980, pl. xx:1, 2; Tubb 1982, 5, 7, fig. 2:13–14.

NOTES

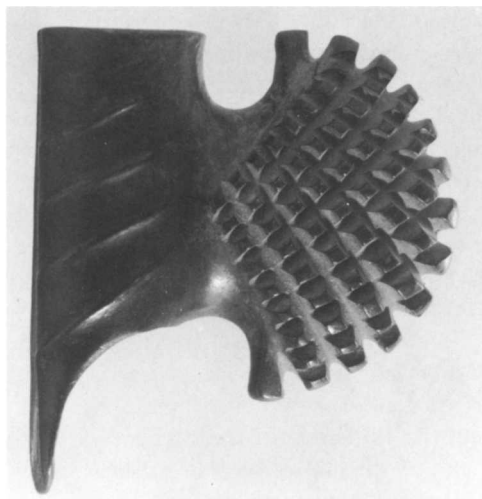
1. No. 532: Cu: 86.9%, Sn: 9.8%, As: 0.5%.
2. Tubb 1982, 6, rightly notes that the "Bayındırköy" example was not excavated (cf. p. 10), but he incorrectly cites Özgüç and Akok 1958, 57, n. 65, to document the claim: they were discussing the present two examples, not the Bayındırköy one.

534–538. Halberd Axes/Maces

55.137.9, 10, 11, 12, 13; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Bronze;¹ lengths at socket 7.6, 8, 7.2, 10.7, 8.7 cm, widths 7, 7, 6.4, 8.5, 6.6 cm

ALL TYPOLOGICALLY the same, these five weapons form a coherent group. Cast as one piece is a vertically oriented crescent-shaped blade and a vertical socket with a pronounced cutaway lower section and flat upper section, which—except for No. 538—is level with the upper part of the blade. Three of the sockets, Nos. 534, 535, and 536, have diagonal grooves on the obverse; No. 537, the largest, has a crosshatched lozenge decoration; No. 538 is plain. All the sockets have a splayed groove along the outer face, and there are no rivet holes for attachment. Each blade, except No. 538, has on the rounded obverse side a decoration consisting of deeply cut grooves forming small squares, or—No. 537—large lozenges, while the reverses are flat and undecorated except at the edge. No. 538 is plain on both faces, but it has a saw-toothed edge and there is a small hatched area on the inner side of the reverse; and, more than the others, its blade is off center in relation to the socket.

534



535



No exact parallels, excavated or not, exist for these weapons, and at present they are unique. Nevertheless, the basic halberd shape and the saw-toothed edge (as on No. 538) are found at Mahmatlar (Koşay and Akok 1950, figs. 13, 14; De Jesus 1980, fig. 18). These examples have a hooked hammer butt and socket and a crescent blade larger than ours, and there is no decoration, but the general similarity is recognized (Tezcan 1960, 40f.); Özgüç and Akok (1958, 58 and n. 66) suggest that the Metropolitan Museum weapons derive from either Horoztepe or Mahmatlar, preferring, however, the former site.

Only one other related example of a form similar to ours is known, an example without provenience in the Schimmel collection (Muscarella 1976–77, 315, no. 1). Here the vertical socket has no cutaway section and is smaller than the blade. The blade does have a saw-toothed edge and, instead of having incised, grooved decoration, is cut a jour, but its typological relationship to the Metropolitan Museum's examples is quite obvious; it too must derive from the Horoztepe–Mahmatlar area.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Özgüç and Akok 1958, 57f., n. 66, pl. xviii:3–7; Tezcan 1960, 40f., pls. xxvii:3, xxviii; Mellaart 1966, 189, fig. 60:7, 8; De Jesus 1980, pl. xviii:1–5. No. 534: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 100.

NOTE

1. No. 535: Cu: 80.8%, Sn: 3.6%, As: 0.6%, Pb: 13.1%. No. 536: Cu: 89.1%, Sn: 8.9%, As: 1.3%, Pb: <0.2%. Nos. 535 and 536 were tested at the Metropolitan Museum. No. 534 was tested by an independent laboratory; its results—copper: major, tin: major, no arsenic was detected.

536

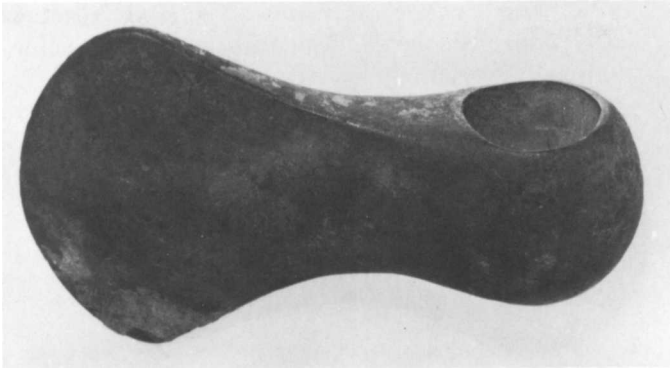


537

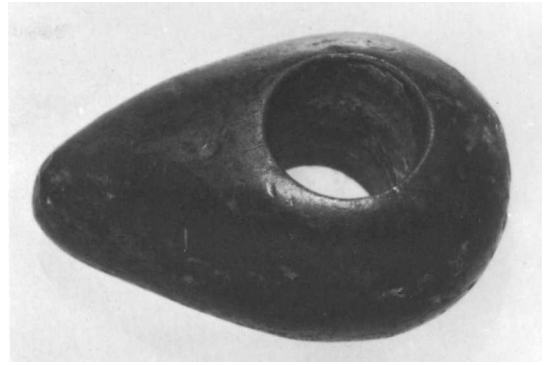


538





539



540

539. Socketed Axe

55.137.14; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Bronze; length 9.7 cm, width at blade 5.7 cm

THIS AXE has a simple but aesthetic form. The round socket is placed at the edge of the rounded butt which tapers smoothly to a flat, splayed crescent-shaped blade. The edge is thin but not sharp; it is nicked and may have been used.

I find no exactly parallel shapes, but the splayed blade is not foreign to the axes from Horoztepe (Özgüç and Akok 1957, fig. 15; Özgüç and Akok 1958, pl. VIII:10), Ahlatlibel (Stronach 1957, 118, fig. 10:5), and Mahmatlar (Stronach 1957, fig. 10:4; Koşay and Akok 1950, fig. 14:4).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Tezcan 1960, 40, pl. XXVII:1; De Jesus 1980, pl. XIX:6.

540. Mace Head

55.137.15; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Bronze; length 7.1 cm, height 3.6 cm

THIS PEAR-SHAPED mace is simple in form and is more commonly known in stone, as Tezcan (1960, 40) has noted. Fairly close stone examples occur at Tarsus (H. Goldman 1956, pl. 417, no. 71); see also "Bayındırköy" (Bittel 1955, 117f., fig. 8).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

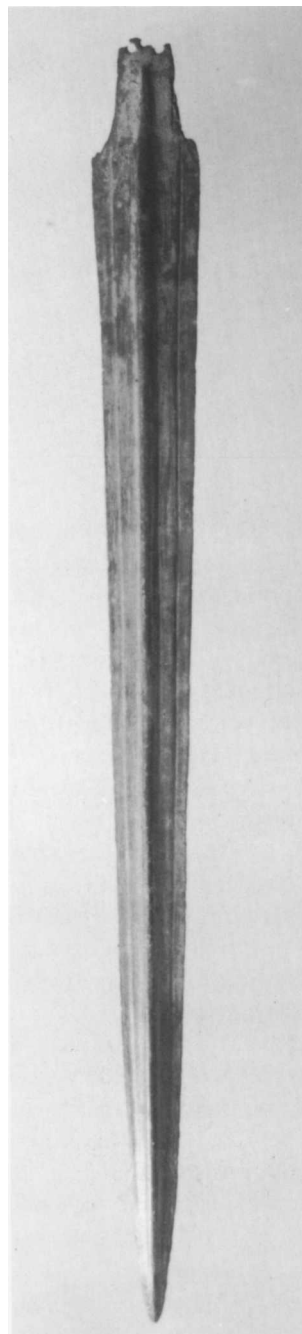
Tezcan 1960, 40, pl. XXVII:4; De Jesus 1980, pl. XIX:7.

541–545. Swords/Daggers

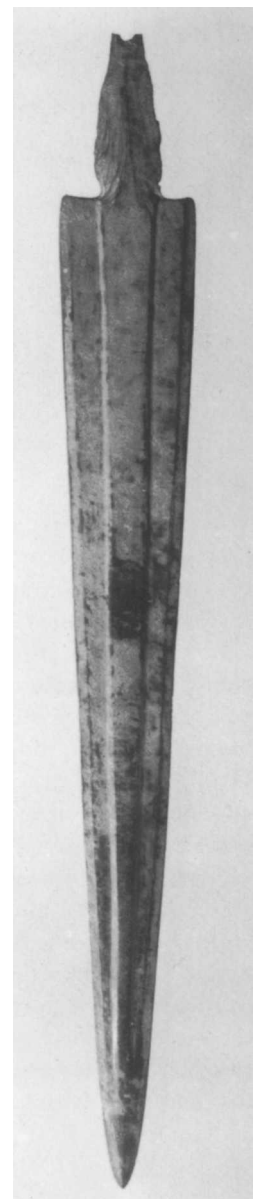
55.137.16, 17, 18, 19, 20; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Bronze; lengths 50, 43.8, 34.2, 24.4, 27.9 cm, greatest widths 4.3, 5.1, 4.1, 3.5, 3.8 cm

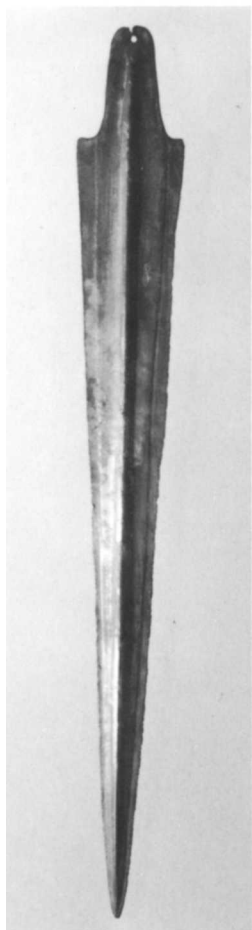
THESE FIVE weapons vary in lengths and in minor details—width of the midrib, angle of the shoulder,

541

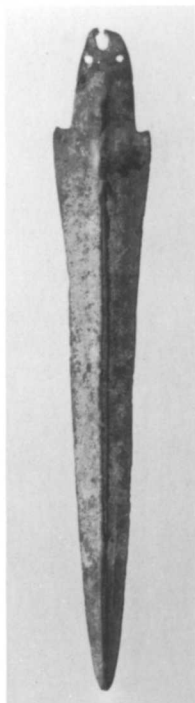


542

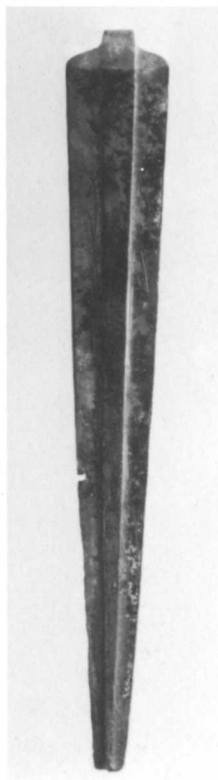




543



544



545

width of the blade, and the number of rivet holes in the tang—but are nevertheless all obviously closely related typologically. All share the tapering, double-edged, sharp blade, prominent midrib that continues into the tang, offset shoulders, usually square, although No. 545 is round. Nos. 541 and 544 have three rivet holes, Nos. 542 and 543 have but one; No. 545 has a broken-away tang. Also of typological interest is that four examples, Nos. 541, 542, 543, and 544, have flanged edges. According to Gordon and Moorey's (1971a, 66, n. 1) classification, only No. 541 is a true sword; the others are either dirks (No. 542) or daggers (Nos. 543–545).¹

A related example from Ahlatlibel, originally apparently about 36 centimeters in length (Stronach 1957, fig. 3:2), has a thick midrib and one hole in the tang; a silver example from Alaca Hüyük (Koşay 1951, pl. 183, fig. 2: fig. 1 is too poorly photographed to make out its type; see also pl. 203, center) seems to be of the same type as the ones here. Moreover, two fragments of a blade that are said to join, from Horoztepe (Özgüç and Akok 1957, 216, fig. 19, and Özgüç and Akok 1958, 16, 46, fig. 27, pl. viii:4), are probably from a blade of the type here (note the shoulders and midrib). The "Soli"—Berlin group

in addition has closely related weapons (Bittel 1940, pls. II, IV) with offset shoulders, midribs, and tapering blades, although they are wider and shorter than ours.

One should also compare the flanges on these blades with those of Nos. 546–548, and to the 1954 Horoztepe examples (Özgüç and Akok 1957, figs. 14, 16–18).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Özgüç and Akok 1958, 58, n. 67, pl. xviii:15–19; Tezcan 1960, 42, pl. xxx (wrong correlations given); Mellaart 1966, 189, fig. 60:1–3.

NOTE

1. Özgüç and Akok 1958, 58, n. 67, give erroneous sizes for these weapons.

546–551. Spearheads with Bent Tangs and Slotted Blades

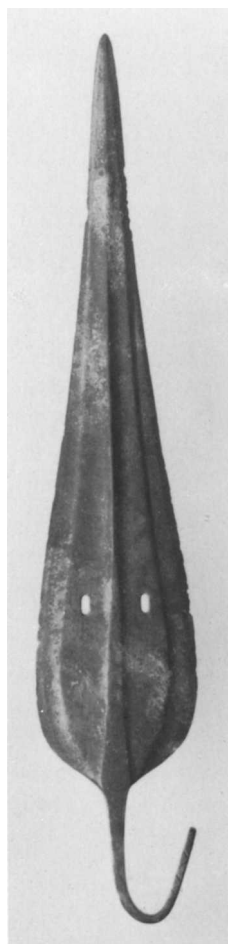
55.137.21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26; Purchase,

Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955

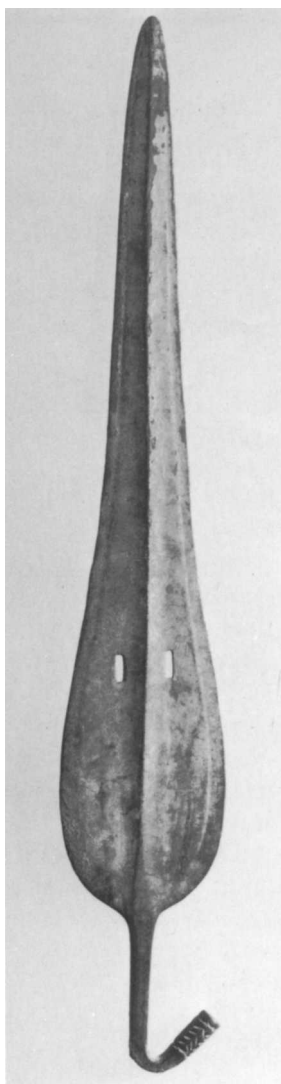
Copper/bronze;¹ lengths 32.9, 37.6, 31.4, 25.9, 26.3, 25 (preserved) cm, widths 6, 5.6, 4.5, 5.7, 6.4, 3.1 cm

VARYING IN LENGTH and width, the blades (except No. 551) are more or less leaf shaped, with double, sharp edges that in three instances are flanged (Nos. 546–548), rounded shoulders, central midrib extending to the tang, and, characteristically, two rectangular perforations about three-quarters down from the point and a long tang that is bent back. The tip of the tang of No. 546 is thin, those of Nos. 547 and 548 are slightly thickened and decorated with an incised geometric motif, and those of Nos. 549 and 550 are plain; only No. 551 has a bulbous terminal. This last example has an odd, elongated pear shape, a rectangular section (.8 cm thick), and no central rib between the two slots; its point is broken away, apparently in antiquity.

This specific type, with slots and bent tang, has been much discussed in the literature, with parallels brought forth from Syria and Anatolia, where it seems to be characteristic—as opposed to bent-tang examples without slots (cf. Nos. 171, 172, and 176; Stronach 1957, 107ff., Type 2, fig. 5:1–3; no. 4 "Ordu" is not excavated: see K. Bittel, in *AA* 1941, 254, n. 3, and *AA* 1944–45, 51, fig. 4; Mellink 1956, 47f.; Erkanal 1977, 40ff.; De Jesus 1980, 140, n. 5; Watkins 1983, 22). The closest excavated examples that parallel ours are two from Alaca Hüyük (Arik 1937, pl. 275); other close forms are claimed to come from the Black Sea area (Dengate 1978, 252, illus. 4b) and from the Corum–Amasya area (T. Özgüç 1978, 71f., figs. 72–76, 81, pl. 68:1–4; see also T. Özgüç 1964, 7, 10, fig. 7); cf. also Stronach 1957, fig. 6:2–4, from "Anatolia." No. 551 appears to be almost unique, for



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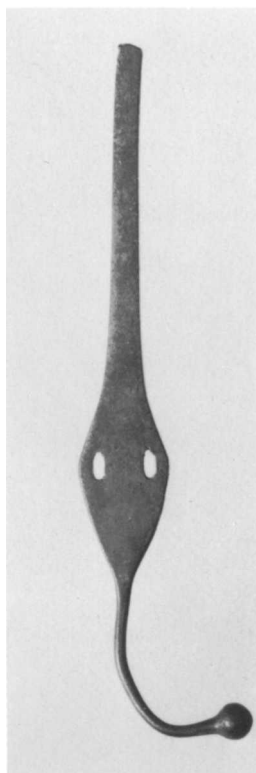
548



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551



only one similar blade, said to come from Bodrum Mazi (Tezcan 1960, 41, pl. xxix:5), is published.

A quite distinct group of slotted blades, but with incurving sides and apparently with straight tangs, comes from the 1954 Horoztepe material in Ankara (Özgüç and Akok 1957, figs. 16–18, 30–33; De Jesus 1980, fig. 20:1–4). Stronach (1957, 109) considers these examples too thin to have been functional; note that the Metropolitan Museum examples are heavy enough to have had a practical purpose.

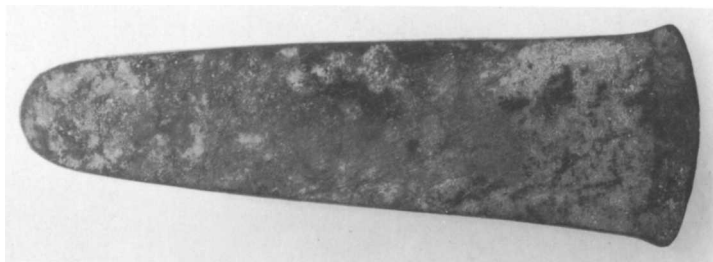
Two of the latest examples of slotted blades with bent tangs come from Kültepe (Period Ib) and from Boğazköy (Erkanal 1977, 42f., pl. 14:2, 3; Boehmer 1972, 75, no. 199, pl. xii); they are also flanged.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

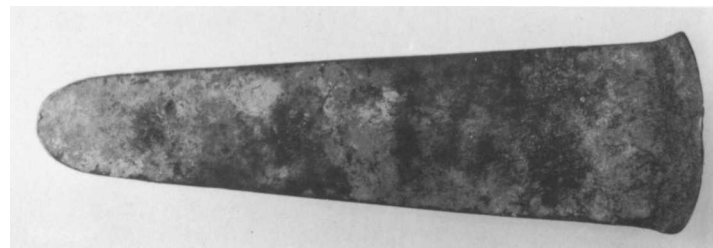
Özgüç and Akok 1958, 58, n. 67, pl. xix:1–5; Tezcan 1960, 41f., pl. xxix; Mellaart 1966, 189, fig. 60:5, 6; De Jesus 1980, pl. xx:3–8. No. 547: *MMA Selections* 1983, no. 101.

NOTE

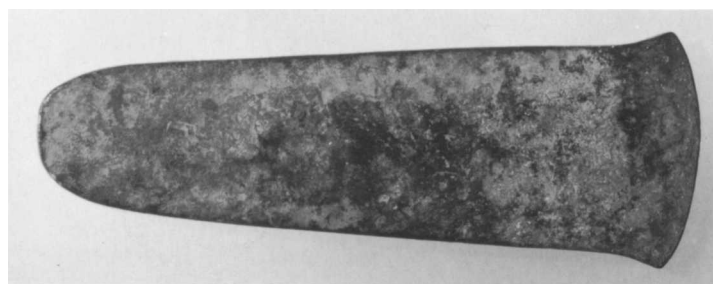
1. No. 550: Cu: 93.7%, Sn: <0.2%, As: 1.4%, Pb: 0.2%, Fe: 0.13%, Zn: not detected.



552



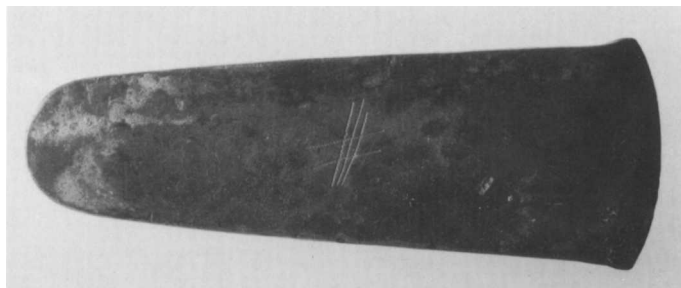
553



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555



556

552–561. Flat Axes

55.137.27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37;¹ Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955

Bronze; lengths 20, 19.8, 17.9, 16.3, 16.3, 15.9, 15, 13.5, 13, 7.4 (preserved) cm, widths 6.5, 6, 6.2, 5.7, 5.5, 5.7, 5.75, 5.7, 5, 6.25 cm

ALL OF THE BLADES are the same in form, differing solely in their lengths and widths. The blades are splayed at one end where they are beveled to an edge, tapered at the other, the butt end; each is a solid mass of metal, fairly heavy; and some edges are knicked, which indicates use. No. 557 has a neatly incised crosshatched saw-tooth motif, without doubt ancient.

This simple type of weapon is very common in the Near East and Anatolia where it is distributed over a wide area east and west (Przeworski 1939, 29ff.; Bittel 1940, 194f.; De Jesus 1980, 1184–223; which includes unexcavated examples but not the ones here). From north-central Anatolia bona fide excavated examples come from Alaca Hüyük (Koşay 1951, pls. 135:1, 167:2, 183:3, and 203, lower right), and probably from the Black Sea area (Dengate 1978, 253f., illus. 5). T. Özgüç (1978, 96, pl. 69:3–6) reports a number in the Amasya Museum, collected from local, uncontrolled finds. Note also that twenty-five examples are in the “Soli”–Berlin group (Bittel 1940, pl. v).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Özgüç and Akok 1958, 58, n. 67, pl. xviii:8–14; Tezcan 1960, 39, pls. xxv, xxvi, xxvii:2.

557



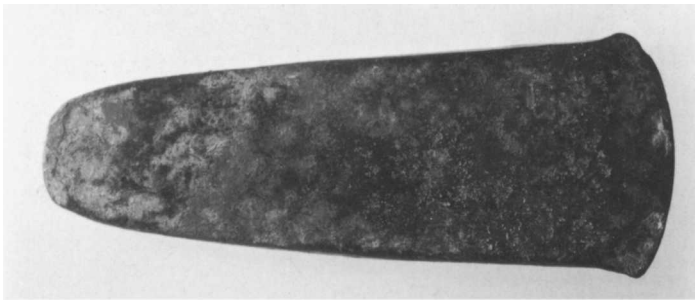
558



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561



560

NOTE

1. Note that MMA 55.137.34 was deaccessioned to the American Museum of Natural History, New York: Tezcan 1960, 39, n. 54, pl. XXIII:3.

562–565. Vessels

55.137.38, 39, 40, 41; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955

Bronze; diameters 19.8, 18.4, 9, ca. 13 cm, heights 4.1, 3.5, 2.9, 16.8 cm

Nos. 562 and 563 are plain, simple bowls with flat bases and slightly thickened rims. No. 564 is a cup, slightly deeper than the bowl, and characterized by a handle made as part of the vessel and which probably originally looped back on itself. No. 565 is a fragmented deep bowl with a small everted lip.

The first three have close bronze parallels from the excavations at Horoztepe (Özgüç and Akok 1958, 12, 13, 44, figs. 10, 11, 15, 16, pl. VI: 1, 2); for No. 564 compare also Alaca Hüyük (Koşay 1951, pl. 133, center right) and a stray in the Kocabaş collection (T. Özgüç 1964, 5, fig. 4).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Özgüç and Akok 1958, 44, pl. XIX:6, 7; Tezcan 1960, 31, pl. XVII:1–4; De Jesus 1980, pl. XIX:1–4.



562



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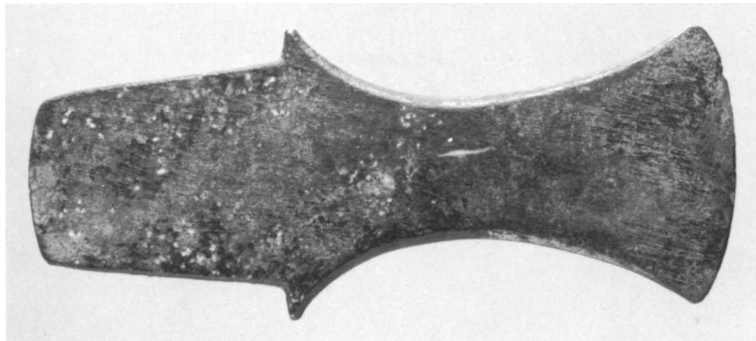


564



565

GENERAL ANATOLIAN OBJECTS



566

566. Lugged Axe

63.147.1; Gift of Burton Y. Berry, 1963

Bronze;¹ length 21.9 cm

THE AXE is heavy and flat, having been cast in an open mold. It is divided into two parts by lugs that curve out gracefully from the blade section to form ledges facing the haft or butt end, which is a little less than one-third the entire length and is trapezoidal in shape with a slightly rounded end. The blade is bi-concave and its edge is sharp, although dulled in parts from use. It is the lugs and their position separating butt from blade that give the name "lugged axe" (*Ärmchenbeile*) to this example. Because many forms and sizes exist, it is by no means certain whether all, or some, were used primarily as axes, or whether they were adzes and chisels, and if axes, whether they were used as weapons. Various scholars have suggested that it is possible these objects had multiple functions, that they were used both as tools in metal and woodworking, and as weapons (Maxwell-Hyslop 1953, 71f.; Erkanal 1977, 8: primarily axes to him; Achilles in Muscarella 1981a, 160, no. 126). The fact that none have been found with their wood shafts or are represented in art prevents a firmer definition.

With regard to the method of hafting, there is a difference of opinion, and in the two most recent discussions, divergent solutions have been suggested. Erkanal, following earlier researchers, Przeworski and Bittel, believes that the butt was inserted into a slit in the shaft, whereas Achilles, supporting Deshayes, believes that the butt was secured to the outside of the shaft, for, she argues, if it were inserted into the shaft, that would be split by the pressure of use.

A number of typologies have been attempted in order to give some order to the variety of forms, but to my mind none actually allows for immediate and unequivocal placement of a given example (viz. Maxwell-Hyslop

1953, 69ff.; Deshayes 1960, I, 113ff., II, 54ff.). More recently, Erkanal has attempted another typology based both on the size and proportions of the butt and blade as well as the form of the lugs. Here, too, there are problems of overlapping, although, as Achilles has noted, Erkanal's typology is perhaps more successful than the others. The Metropolitan Museum example fits within Maxwell-Hyslop's Type I, Deshayes's Types Aa and C2, and Erkanal's Types I and IV (1977, pls. 1:3, 6, 8, 10; 2:13, 14; 3:26), i.e., not into any one particular type in all details.

Most examples known have been excavated at many sites in Anatolia, while a number occur in Cilicia, Iran, Palestine, and Syria; the best parallels for our form are from Anatolia (e.g., H. Goldman 1956, pl. 424:19; Dengate 1978, 254f., illus. 7:7) and lugged axes of this type are surely Anatolian in origin. Lugged-axe molds from Kültepe document that the findspots reflect accurately the places of manufacture (Gordon 1951, 47ff., figs. 2, 4; Erkanal 1977, pl. 1:4, map pl. 8A). Their dates range from pre-Hittite times to the very end of the Hittite Empire, i.e., from 1900/1800 to about 1200 B.C.; many were made during the empire period. Thus, inasmuch as typology does not help us date the Metropolitan Museum lugged axe except in broad terms, it is within these broad terms that it is to be dated. Note that a mold for a thin lugged-axe form was excavated at Hasanlu by Stein (1940, pl. xxvi:23; Gordon 1951, 48f., fig. 2:10), documenting the manufacture of at least that particular form there.

NOTE

1. Cu: 91.2%, Sn: 5.74%, Pb: .340%, Zn: .000%, As: 2.38% (1986). Note the As and Sn composition.

567. Female Figurine

66.12; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1966

Lead;¹ height 6.9 cm

THE FIGURINE, very thin and flat on the back, depicts a nude female en face with her hands clasping her breasts. Her head is very attenuated, the chin a small curved projection ending just below the prominent nose. Eyes are oval, placed high on the forehead; hair is rendered by raised dots across the top of the head and terminating at the top of the long neck, which is decorated with four bands of a horizontal, tight-fitting necklace; no ears or mouth are depicted. The shoulders are square and

the arms are separate from the body. Below a ridged girdle, the female's only clothing, are a large circular navel and a prominent triangular pudenda, all of which are in relief. The hips curve down to the legs, which are cast together as one unit, and the knees are rendered with small knobs.

The figurine belongs to a class of objects investigated fully by Canby (1965) and Emre (1971), the latter in an extensive study that included the present piece. From a fortunately large number of excavations, both lead figurines and stone molds for casting them have been recovered from sites that include (Emre 1971, 101ff.) Kültepe, Alishar, Acemhöyük, Boğazköy, Karahöyük, and Troy, in Anatolia, and from Chagar Bazar, Tell el-Judeideh, and Zincirli, in northern Syria.² Needless to add, a number of unexcavated examples exist also in museums and private collections. The figurines from these excavations (except Troy, see below) represent clothed females and males, sometimes a triad of male, female, and child, and they date to the early centuries of the second millennium B.C.

In her study, Canby, building on earlier research (viz. Opitz 1933, 189ff.), discussed a number of unexcavated molds that, together with the excavated Troy figurine, form a separate subgroup within the corpus, one that is manifestly earlier than the other, excavated, examples noted above. Included in the subgroup are a mold in the British Museum, two in the Louvre, and one in a private United States collection (Canby 1965, pl. ix, xa). Emre (1971, pls. 1:2, 11:2, 4, 5) subsequently added another example in the British Museum, one in Venice, one in the Lipschitz collection (United States), and the present Metropolitan Museum example, for a total of seven molds and two figurines. Each of the molds has casting hollows for a figurine like ours and the one from Troy (all conveniently drawn and placed side by side for comparison by Emre in fig. 11, nos. 32, 34–41), as well as a number of trinkets and pendants, hence the name given them by Canby, “trinket moulds.” Through archaeological analysis of the objects that were cast from the molds, Canby and Emre (see also Opitz 1933, 182ff., 189ff., 198) demonstrated that they date to the late Early Bronze Age, late third millennium B.C. Canby also made comparisons with Cycladic figurines and, more relevantly, with a gold and silver figurine from Anatolia, unexcavated but usually attributed to Hasanoğlu. Thus, the subgroup, the molds and figurines, is earlier by several centuries than the well-dated examples from Kültepe and elsewhere.³

All the nude females of the “trinket mould” group have prominent navels and pudenda, and small knobby breasts clasped or held by the hands; all have staring faces



567

with long noses and long necks with necklaces; and while the arms are separate from the bodies, the legs are cast together; only the Metropolitan Museum's example has a slightly tilted head. Later, in the early second millennium B.C., males were also cast, but trinket molds ceased to be manufactured. The Metropolitan Museum figurine and the one from Troy are the only extant examples from the late third millennium B.C. to have been cast at that time, as the seven others exist only in their mold form; and the molds that made our example and that from Troy remain to be discovered.⁴

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Emre 1971, III, no. 34, pl. 11:2, fig. 11.

NOTES

1. Lead and a small amount of copper comprise the metal; lead, silicon, calcium, and magnesium were detected in the corrosion products.

2. Note that Canby (1965, 55, n. 85, pl. 1xd) and Emre (1971, 85, 121, 130; see illus. no. 36), following earlier scholars (viz. Opitz 1933, 189; Bossert 1942, no. 359; T. Özgüç 1959, 105), are wrong to accept a steatite mold of the trinket type in the British Museum as deriving from Sippar: the piece was purchased and has no provenience. Further, Emre (1971, 111) says that the Metropolitan Museum's example was “purchased in Anatolia”; actually it was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in New York City.

3. N. Özgüç in T. Özgüç 1959, 105, combined all the molds and figurines into a Kültepe Ib, second millennium B.C., date, refuted correctly by Canby (1965, 49, n. 56, *passim*): note that N. Özgüç in verbal communication in 1967 reversed herself and accepted Canby's chronology.

4. Canby's suggestion (1965, 52ff.) that the trinket molds were the possession of itinerant smiths is viable but by no means so exclusive as she argues: they could equally have existed in an urban environment.



568. Wagon Drawn by Bulls

66.15; purchase; Edith Perry Chapman Fund, 1966
Copper;¹ reconstructed length 22.5 cm

TWO SOLID-CAST BULLS yoked to each other and to a draft pole draw an open-sided, four-wheeled wagon. The animals are identified by their horns, but no genitalia are depicted. They are crudely executed, with elongated tubular bodies, thin thighs and legs, and hooves in the form of lumps; their front legs curve awkwardly. Eyes and ears are rendered by depressions. The wagon consists of a flat, rectangular base with three small projections at the front end, another at the front side, and one at each of the rear sides. There is an openwork railing on all sides, rising at the front to a double arch; the arch is covered with copper sheathing on the interior side. A thin tubing is placed diagonally on the outside of the right-hand railing and is tied by a wire to the front arch. The impression is that the railing and base are cast together. The four freely revolving wheels are solid with pierced spoollike centers on both faces; they are joined together by wire axles that pass through the centers and under the base. The front axle wire is secured by tying both to the side projection and to the arch railing; the rear axle is tied to the rear projections. Rein wires connect the bulls' muzzles to the front of the wagon; only one muzzle is pierced to secure the wire. The round draft pole is flattened at one end into a fork for attachment to the wagon, and at the other it is knotted to a wire yoke curved to fit over the bulls' necks.

It is certain that the unit is completely ancient and that all components belong together. Original knotted

wires exist on all the axles and on the draft pole joined to the yoke.

This wagon is only one of a fairly large group that surfaced on the antiquities market in the early 1960s. None have been excavated although some vendors claim them for southern Anatolia, from the Marash–Gaziantep area; one vendor volunteered Alaca Hüyük as a source, and some were offered for sale in Beirut (Littauer and Crouwel 1973, 102). Two stray bronze examples have been known for many years, but they did not get attention until the influx of the recent finds. One is in the Louvre, the other in Stockholm, and both have been attributed to Syria (Littauer and Crouwel 1973, 103, pls. xxxii, xxxiii; Salonen 1951, 163, pl. xxii: inadvertently assumed to be a two-wheeled cart). It is not possible to know how many wagons of the present type actually exist. Littauer and Crouwel (1973), who have made a comprehensive study of the wagons available to them, including the present example, listed twelve, plus the two “Syrian” examples; in 1966 one dealer in Switzerland had eight or nine for sale, while other dealers in the same country had one or more; in the same year a collector was offered two in Turkey; and no doubt others will surface (viz. Muscarella 1981a, 159, no. 125; Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1983, no. II:1).²

As Littauer and Crouwel have pointed out, some of the examples differ in small details from one another, mainly in the nature of the railings, and an example in Boston has the bulls and wagon cast together (Littauer and Crouwel 1973, pl. xxxvii); however, as the same

scholars also note, a number of wagons, one of which is the present example, are very similar in all details and construction (Littauer and Crouwel 1973, 102, 107, pls. xxxiv, xxxv, xxxviii–xliv). Because all derive from the antiquities market, it is impossible to conclude that they were all found together in one place, or, of course, where that place was. It is also impossible to know if the earlier finds in the Louvre and in Stockholm were from the same place or area as the later finds. But even ignoring the dealers' "Anatolian" attributions, not to mention "Syrian," the evidence that some were offered for sale in Turkey plus the stylistic features of the bulls (Muscarella 1981a, 159) suggest that the corpus derives from somewhere in Anatolia.

Both Salonen (1951, 155ff., pls. II–VII) and Littauer and Crouwel (1973, 108f., pl. XLIV) list and discuss terracotta models of four-wheeled carts and ones represented in art, as well as actual remains excavated at Ur and Kish, all from the third millennium B.C., and examples of still-disputed date from Soviet Armenia. The bronze examples are so far unique. Not unique, however, is the fact that bulls draw them, for we know from texts and the excavations at Ur and Kish that bulls performed this function. But the questions whether the bronze wagons were deposited in tombs or whether they served as vehicles for deities remain open.

However, the chronology is more easily resolved, although we are limited here to general stylistic evidence. The models and representations mentioned above are mostly from the mid to late third millennium B.C. (see also Orthmann 1967, 49f.); the bulls find their closest (albeit not exact) stylistic parallels in late-third-millennium B.C. Anatolian examples. In particular, one singles out the two bulls in the Metropolitan Museum's collection (No. 530), which are attributed to the area east of the Halys River, and a bull published by Arik (1937, pl. 271, below) claimed as having been "found near Alaca." This last bull is quite similar in form and

style to some of the bronze wagon bulls (especially Littauer and Crouwel 1973, pls. XLII, XLIII), and if there is good reason to accept the Alaca area as its provenience (if so, it is not published), we have a clue to the possible area where the wagons might have been discovered. Note also that Orthmann (1967) believes that there were wagons buried with oxen at Alaca Hüyük, and he cited the bronze wagons as possible models for the actual vehicles. Surely, on the basis of style alone, it is possible to accept a conclusion that some or all of the bronze wagons come from the Corum–Alaca–Amasya–Tokat region.

At the same time bulls with chariots and wagons are mentioned in second-millennium B.C. Hittite texts, and seals from Kültepe of the eighteenth century B.C. depict a four-wheeled wagon (N. Özgüç 1965, pl. III:9; Salonen 1951, 158, pl. VII:3; a Colony Period seal, not third-second millennium as Salonen states). It would seem, then, that the wagons fit into a late third, possibly early second, millennium B.C. background.³

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1968c, 195, fig. 3 (misattributed in Littauer and Crouwel 1973, 104, 118, n. 59, and Orthmann 1975, 422); Littauer and Crouwel 1973, 104, pl. xxxiv; Orthmann 1975, 422, fig. 331; S. Piggott, "The Earliest Wheeled Vehicles and the Caucasian Evidence," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 34 (1968), pl. xx, below.

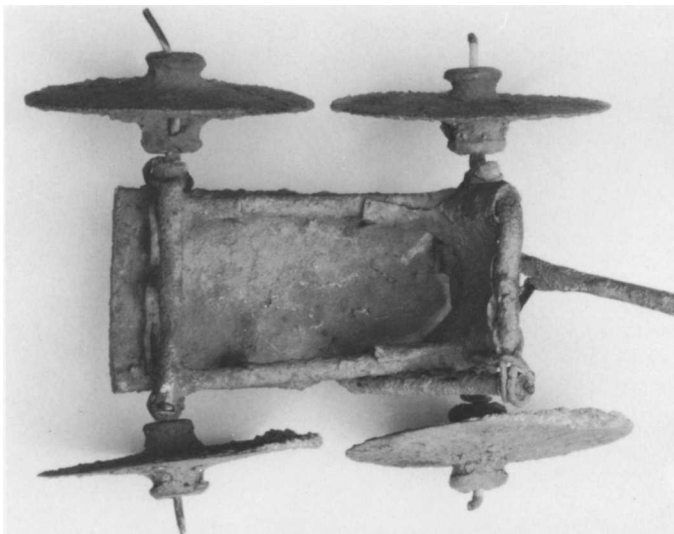
NOTES

1. An analysis of the material is given in Littauer and Crouwel 1973, 126. Of interest is that the cast parts—the wagon and bulls—have no tin, the hammered parts—the wheels, the wires, and the sheathing—have traces of tin.

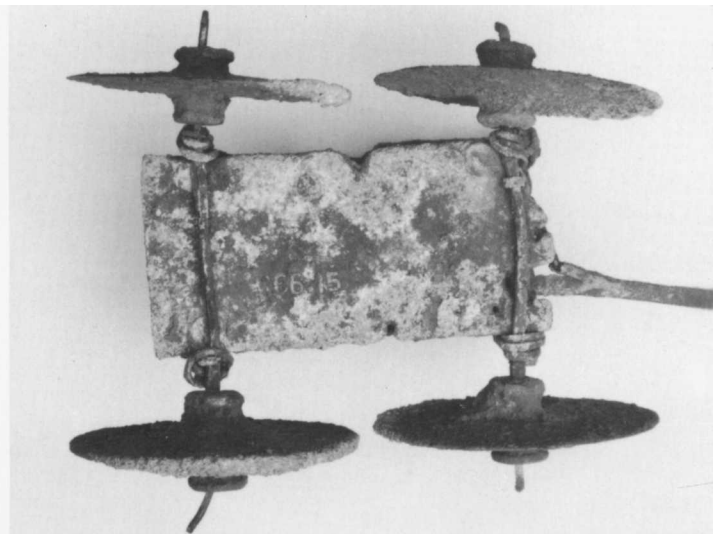
2. Compare a similar bronze cart juxtaposed to four horses offered for sale in Nouveau Drouot, Paris, 26 September 1980, no. 81. There is no explanation available for the juxtaposition, and only laboratory analyses may help decide whether all originally belonged together.

3. In Muscarella 1981a, 159, through some typographical error the date for the wagon published is given as second millennium: I meant it to be late third millennium B.C.

Wagon of No. 568 seen from above.



Bottom of wagon of No. 568.



569. Decorated Rings

65.227.1, 2; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Lester Wolfe, 1965
Bronze;¹ height 12.2 cm, diameter 9 cm (No. 569a),
8.8 cm (No. 569b)

BOTH OBJECTS, exactly the same in all features and apparently forming a pair, are solid cast in one piece. Each ring, its outside grooved with three parallel ridges, is surmounted by a perching raptor—an eagle or a vulture. Characteristic is a thick beak that terminates in a sharp angle, the tip pointing down, and prominent pellet eyes; wings and tail feathers are represented by simple incised lines and the feet are not shown. At the base of the rings, the metal is thinner than elsewhere, and this area is framed by two low protuberances or “feet.” One of the pair, No. 569a, has an ancient break and on either side of the feet are two neatly drilled holes, which may have been made to facilitate a repair (all the more likely as the intact example has no such holes). It does not appear that the feet on the rings served as supports. What function the rings had eludes us, and no parallels exist to my knowledge to serve as a guide. They fit over a wrist and onto the arm, but this fact does not necessarily allow us to conclude they were armlets (although this possibility need not be excluded). Nor is there evidence preserved to suggest that they were mounted as standards, for there is no indication how they would have been mounted. The question of use remains open.

Attributing the rings to a specific culture or area will, of course, depend on the stylistic identity of the raptor birds. The vendor claimed they derive from Iran, but indeed I find no good parallels anywhere in that region

for the bird forms (cf. Negahban 1983, 82, 86f., nos. 56, 60, 61). Rather, parallels are forthcoming from Anatolia, from both the Bronze and Iron ages. Pottery sculpture of raptors at the late-third-millennium B.C. site of Alaca Hüyük have the characteristic down-curving beak, albeit not so angular as on the present examples (Koşay 1944, pl. XLVI). A half-millennium later, at Kültepe, more and closer parallels are available, here depicted in pottery and ivory, and also represented on seals; in all examples the raptors have sharply bent beaks and prominent, round eyes (N. Özgüç 1965, 31, fig. 7, pls. XX, XXI:30, 60, 62; N. Özgüç 1968, pls. XXXII:3b, XXXIII:3b; T. Özgüç, in *Belleten* 17 [1953], fig. 23, and in *Belleten* 19 [1955], 455, fig. 12). In the eighth century B.C., over a millennium later than the Kültepe examples, Phrygian art continued to represent the same raptor type, characterized by the sharply curved beak and the prominent eyes (Akurgal 1955, pls. 12b, 14a, 16a, 19a, b, 20a, 22; Kohler 1964, pl. xxx, fig. 2; Sams 1974, fig. 15).² These references collectively support the attribution of the rings to an Anatolian background, where I would at least tentatively place them.

The chronology still remains an open question, the answer to which requires more research and discoveries. We can say that they were made either in the second millennium B.C. or in the eighth century B.C.

NOTES

1. No. 569a: Cu: 96.0%, Sn: 3.02%, Pb: .333%, Zn: .055% (1986).

2. See also the hawk doodles scratched on the walls of a megaron at Gordion, especially the beaks and large eye, and the roosting position: R. S. Young, “Doodling at Gordion,” *Archaeology* 22, 4 (1969), fig. on p. 275.



569a, b

Phrygians and Urartians: Iron Age Anatolia

FROM THE TIME of the destruction of the cities of the Hittite Empire in the early years of the twelfth century B.C. to apparently sometime close to the early eighth century B.C., central Anatolia is archaeologically unknown. There was no resettlement of the Hittite mounds for approximately four hundred years; a “dark age” existed (Bittel 1950a, 73ff.; Bittel 1970, 135ff., 142; Bittel 1983, 26, 30, 35, 37f.; Akurgal 1955, 24, 33ff., 114ff., 120ff.; Akurgal 1965, 467ff.; Akurgal 1983, 75f.; Goetze 1957, 184ff.).¹ This cultural lacuna is a paradox for the Anatolian archaeologist inasmuch as it is historically known from Assyrian records dating from the late twelfth, and later from the early and middle ninth centuries B.C., that various peoples ruled by kings (Mushki, Tabal, and others) lived in central and eastern central Anatolia during this period. Nevertheless, for reasons not understood, the archaeological remains do not reflect the historical record, and to date sites and cemeteries of the inhabitants from the late twelfth to the early eighth centuries have not been found.² By the late eighth century B.C. we know, again from Assyrian records, of the existence of several powerful states—now manifest as political entities—in the area under review, predominant among them being the Mushki and their king Mita; from later Greek sources (beginning with Herodotus) we learn of the Phrygians and their king Midas, who occupied central Anatolia. There is much discussion in the literature, on the one hand, concerning the precise nature of the affiliation of the Phrygians and Midas (the latter known by that spelling not only from Greek sources but also from local Anatolian inscriptions: Huxley 1959, 90; Mellink 1965, 317ff., 321) to the Mushki and Mita, and of the ethnic and linguistic relationship of the two entities, and on the other hand, of the cultural terminology to be applied to the contemporary cultural remains from both western and eastern central Anatolia.

Most scholars recognize the existence of regional sub-cultural differences between the west—the Gordion (Sangarius)—Afyon—Eskisehir area east to Ankara—and the east—the region within the bend of the Halys River.³ The west is considered to be the essential heartland of Phrygia, with the capital at Gordion, while the east is considered by some scholars to be the area of the Mushki. But it is highly probable—as, among others, Koerte 1904, 9f., 17; Akurgal 1955, 113; Goetze 1957, 202; Mellink 1965, 318; Bittel 1950a, 76; Bittel 1970, 135f.; Bittel 1983, 35, 64; Postgate 1973, 27f., have posited—that the eighth-century Assyrian-cited Mita is the same king known to

the Greeks as Midas. Therefore it would seem equally highly probable that the Phrygians and the Mushki represent the same political entity, one state assigned different names by the Greeks and the Assyrians. Midas–Mita ruled over this one state whose area extended west and east of the Halys River. Even if it could be demonstrated that its population may originally have been—and may have continued to be—two distinct ethnic groups, we are dealing with one state.

This view, that the appellations Phrygia and Mushki were politically (if not necessarily ethnically) the same, one state ruled by one king—Midas–Mita—is a position shared by a number of scholars, among them Koerte (1904, 9f., 18), Bittel (1950a, 75, 82f.), Dunbabin (1957, 63ff.), Huxley (1959, 98f.), Mellink (1965, 318ff.), Hrouda (1971, 268), Hounwick ten Cate (1967, 121), and Wäfler (1975, 190, n. 987).⁴ Akurgal (1955, 24, 113ff., 120ff.; 1965, 468; 1983, 73f.) also accepts the Midas–Mita, Phrygian–Mushki connection, but with the understanding that both the eastern and western populations are the same not only culturally, but also ethnically. The Phrygians and the Mushki were Thracian tribes that invaded Anatolia, probably settled in Troy VIIb2, and then moved east. In this view the Phrygians and the Mushki were essentially the same people from the twelfth to the eighth centuries B.C., but assigned different names by the Greeks and the Assyrians because the latter used the old name of the area for the single state.

Nevertheless, perceiving the necessity to recognize a dual or multi-nomenclature, a number of scholars continue to reject the appellation “Phrygian” to define some or all of the regional cultural remains recovered east and southeast of the Halys River, however similar or related these may be to finds in the west (Mellaart 1955, 125; Mellink 1957, 394; Bittel 1958, 136; Bittel 1970, 138; T. Özgüç 1971, 120ff.).⁵ Some refer to the west as Phrygia proper, the east as either the Halys region (Sams 1974, 181; Sams 1978, 227, 229f., 234) or Mushki (Mellink 1965, 318ff.); or to a western and an eastern Phrygia—or Phrygian-ruled area (Hanfmann 1948, 149; Bittel 1950a, 84ff.; Bittel 1970, 144; Dunbabin 1957, 65; R. D. Barnett, “Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age,” in *Cambridge Ancient History* II, chap. 30, fasc. 56 [1967], 13; Mellink 1979, 254, 256; Mellink in R. S. Young 1981, 271). Still unresolved is the question of how far to the east and how far south of the Halys River Phrygian political control extended. Some scholars contend that sites south of the Halys, even those with

Phrygian writing (Tyana) and pottery (Kültepe, Göllüdag, Tepebağlari, Porsuk), are in Tabal, and they may not properly be designated Phrygian (Hounwick ten Cate 1967, 121ff.; Hrouda 1971, 268; Özgüç 1971, 120; Wäfler 1983, 191). And note that Wäfler (1983, 192, fig. 2) situates the Mushki (he does not refer here to Phrygians as such) to the west of Tabal, west and northwest of the Salt Lake. Although at present one may not be able to resolve the problem of whether the Phrygians and the Mushki were two separate ethnic populations or two related tribes, I believe one can accept as a viable working hypothesis that Midas and Mita were one and the same king, and that there was one Phrygian state that extended beyond the Halys River. I use the appellation Phrygian here with these observations in mind (e.g., "Gross Phrygien," as Koerte 1904, 3ff.; Bittel 1950a, 82). From the Near Eastern perspective one could equally use the term "Gross Mushki." But since to date we have no information about what the state and people ruled by Midas called itself, it is convenient, following current usage, to use the term Phrygian.

A key element in the comprehension of what is proper Phrygian pottery (a significant index in the argument) and what is eastern Phrygian, or to some scholars, non- or pre-Phrygian pottery, concerns the chronological and geographical distribution of the well-known and much-discussed "Alishar IV" or "alt-Phrygische" ware, with its stylized silhouette stags and goats, and concentric circle motifs. Alishar itself appears to be the main production center, for the ware appears here in greater quantity than at any other central Anatolian site (Mellink 1957, 393). It is actually rare elsewhere, even in the Halys region. It is lacking, for example, at Alaca Hüyük and also at Karahöyük near Elbistan, but occurs at Maşat, and as sherds at Boğazköy and Kültepe, and other less well known sites. In the west the ware is known in small quantity only at Gordion and Konya (one sherd: Sams 1978, 232; Akurgal 1955, 23, n. 68), and perhaps at Midas City, i.e., so rarely as to be considered imports from the east (for distribution of Alishar IV ware see: Akurgal 1955, 8, 20, 122; Mellaart 1955, 124f.; Sams 1978, 231f.).

Akurgal, the first scholar to seriously study the ware (1955, 1ff., 20f., 33ff., 120ff.; 1959, 119f.; 1965, 467f.), considered it to be the earliest Phrygian pottery made and dated its floruit between about 775 at the earliest and 725 B.C. It is significant to note that even those scholars who do not accept the ware as Phrygian, or who are not certain about the length of the cultural gap after the destruction of the Hittite state, have not meaningfully altered his initial chronology (viz. Mellaart 1955, 124: ca. 800 B.C.; Sams 1974, 181: late ninth or early eighth century B.C.; cf. Sams 1978, 232, for continuity into the

seventh century); and Opificius (1965, 85), who studied the Alishar IV ware at Alishar and Boğazköy, posited an estimated earliest date of about 785 B.C.⁶ Further, Mellink (1957, 394) concedes it is possible that there was production of the ware in the east contemporary with the late-eighth-century pottery in the west.⁷

Remains of Phrygian cultural assemblages are preserved in substantial quantities and in stratified levels at Alishar, Boğazköy, Maşat, Kültepe, and Gordion, to mention only the major excavated sites. In addition, a number of tumuli burials have been excavated in Ankara at the Agriculture School and the Mausoleum Hill (*Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 1 [1933], 5ff.; *Belleten* 11, 41 [1947], 57ff.). In the 1960s three more tumuli were excavated by the Middle East Technical University, but they remain as yet unpublished (see M. Mellink, in *AJA* 72 [1968], 135f., and 73 [1969], 214; Atasoy and Buluç 1982, 157ff.). The bronze and pottery finds closely parallel those from Gordion and document the existence of the same culture on the western shore of the Halys River. The material from the Ankara tumuli is second in quantity to that from Gordion.

At Alishar three post-Hittite levels, each destroyed by fire, called 4a, 4b, and 4c, were uncovered (Bittel 1937, 287ff.). Bittel originally believed that the earliest level, 4c, represented the occupation of the people who destroyed the Hittite settlement, and he thereby dated it to "about the 11th–9th centuries B.C." (1937, 339); later (1950a, 81f.; 1965, 478; 1970, 138) Bittel correctly lowered his initial suggested date, concluding that the settlement was not built immediately after the destruction (see also Akurgal 1955, 37, 115; Mellink 1957, 393, accepts this conclusion but leaves open the question concerning the length of the gap between the Hittite destruction level and 4c; cf. Hanfmann 1948, 151, and R. D. Barnett, in *Cambridge Ancient History* II, chap. 30, fasc. 56 [1967], 3). Levels 4c and 4b both apparently yielded Alishar IV ware vessels, which, as noted above, Akurgal considered to be the earliest Phrygian pottery made. Excavations, however, have not manifestly supported this conclusion (Bittel 1937, 306, 316, 323ff.). Level 4c also contained Near Eastern and Phrygian fibulae, surely an indication of eighth-century B.C. (or later) date (Bittel 1937, 306ff., 435, figs. 493, 494),⁸ a significant clue to both the eighth-century date of Alishar IV and the Alishar IV ware, a chronology originally posited by Akurgal.⁹

Publications of the Phrygian levels at Boğazköy (E. M. Bossert, in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 89 [1957], 58ff., and 94 [1963], 53ff., 68ff.) record that there are two main levels, the earlier, Period II, having three phases, some with Alishar IV sherds, and the later,

Period I, having no fewer than seven (Bittel 1965, 475ff.; Bittel 1970, 137ff.; Opificius 1965, 81ff.). With regard to chronology, Bittel (1965, 475) is of the opinion that many building phases do not necessarily allow one "ohne weiteres auf lange Besiedlungsdauer [zu] schliessen" (an opinion equally valid for Alishar), and he eventually maintained (1970, 137, 138, 142) that there is no archaeologically determined indication that a settlement existed at Boğazköy before the eighth century B.C., a position independently verified by Opificius (see note 6 here) and Akurgal (1983, 75).

Kültepe has two Iron Age building levels built over the early second-millennium B.C. Colony Period remains; the site has no Hittite levels and thus can furnish no stratigraphical information concerning the time when the Phrygians arrived there (T. Özgüç 1971, 77f.; to Özgüç, Kültepe is in Tabal and cannot be called Phrygian, 120ff.; also Hounwick ten Cate 1967, 121f.; Hrouda 1971, 268). The earlier of the two levels (with two phases, the upper destroyed by fire) contained Alishar IV ware sherds, not in great quantity (Hrouda 1971, 79, 89, pl. xxiv). This level is dated by Özgüç to the "middle of the ninth century" but with no discussion or argument to justify the date, which is surely seventy-five or one hundred years too early.

The Phrygian settlement at Maşat, a relatively small site, was built directly on the destroyed Hittite settlement, and its builders even reused some of the Hittite stones as well as part of a Hittite altar building (T. Özgüç, 1982, 99ff.). There are three Phrygian levels at Maşat. The earliest, III (as well as the subsequent one, II), was destroyed by fire, and Özgüç (1982, 93, 136) has no hesitation in dating the floruit of III to 750–650/600 B.C. (but I think one might consider that its termination date could be earlier, if its destruction was a result of the Cimmerian invasion). Alishar IV ware, whole vessels and sherds, occurs in all three levels at the site (T. Özgüç 1982, 126ff., pls. 69–71, figs. 138–42, 153, 163).

We now turn to Gordion, which is the main source of Phrygian (a designation acceptable to all) artifacts of great quantity and variety. The site is also significant because it is considered by some scholars to document a long history, perhaps extending back to the very end of the Hittite period, thereby uniquely bridging the cultural-chronological gap in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. Like the sites in the east mentioned above, the final phase at Gordion was destroyed by fire presumably by the Cimmerians in the early years of the seventh century B.C. (ca. 696 B.C.). Based on comparative material and internal evidence, the many objects excavated on the City Mound and in the nearby tumuli of pre-Cimmerian destruction date (Muscarella 1967a,

1967, 46f., n. 27; Muscarella 1982b, 9f.; but cf. Mellink in R. S. Young 1981, 272) cannot be dated on any chronological system pre-eighth century B.C. Rebuilding, repairs, and alterations in the buildings and gateway of the destroyed city, as well as the existence of abandoned buildings directly underlying the final settlement, indicate with certainty that Phrygian occupation at Gordion experienced several peaceful phases, collectively indicating at least two main levels (R. S. Young 1966, 273ff.; 1968, 239f.).¹⁰ Needless to state, one may only speculate on the chronological range of both levels; collectively, they could have flourished for fifty (as R. S. Young 1964, 55) or seventy-five years, i.e., not unlike the settlements at Alishar and Boğazköy.

In 1959 a number of classic Alishar IV stag-decorated sherds were recovered in the filling of a shed adjacent to the city gate, a deposit interpreted as belonging to an earlier phase of the final settlement (R. S. Young 1960, 235, pl. 58, fig. 15, for one example). Significant evidence with regard to the ware's chronology exists in the debris of a destroyed structure of the final period, where in 1967 a two-handled krater decorated in Alishar IV style was found (R. S. Young 1968, 239, pl. 75, fig. 26). Both Young and Sams (1974, 181, n. 27; 1978, 232) consider the krater to be a local copy modeled on an imported vessel. Young argues that the krater could hardly have been copied from an early model, preserved for, say, fifty years, and he implies that Alishar IV ware must have lasted down to the late eighth century B.C. inasmuch as it served as a model; Sams agrees. Young also suggested that the Alishar IV sherds found in 1959 could have been the model: but if these sherds are correctly assigned to an early phase, and because no examples are known from the final period, nor are other local copies, it is not impossible that the krater was in fact an heirloom, curated from an earlier phase. At the same time it should be recalled that Alishar IV ware was found in both levels 4b and 4c at Alishar, in all three levels at Maşat, and in the latest level at Boğazköy. In short, none of the evidence of Gordion or elsewhere indicates a pre-eighth-century incipience for Alishar IV ware. Conclusions concerning alleged ninth-century Phrygian settlements in Anatolia cannot employ Alishar IV ware in the arguments.

In 1965 (R. S. Young 1966, 276f.) a deep sounding revealed eighteen layers of cultural material, primarily pottery, under the final settlement level, extending from the Early Bronze period to the early Phrygian. The Phrygian levels were represented by four layers containing Phrygian and Hittite sherds mixed together; below these were nine Hittite layers. No architecture, except earth floors, a pebble area paving a pit, and a

brick wall, was excavated, nor was there evidence of any destruction. To the excavator this evidence indicated a continuous, peaceful occupation from the Hittite period to the Phrygian, i.e., with no observable chronological gap. But Young also cogently noted that the sounding was “too limited in area” for the drawing of conclusions, that the date of the early Phrygian pottery is still unknown, and that one cannot date the time of the advent of the Phrygians at Gordion (1966, 273). It is not incidental to note that Young made no section drawing of the sounding to relate the finds to the layers, and in any event, the material remains to be published. In short, levels or layers from a limited sounding not documented as architectural entities, and consisting of mixed Hittite and Phrygian wares, do not unequivocally demonstrate a twelfth (or even eleventh) century B.C. Phrygian occupation at Gordion.¹¹

It is certainly significant that no pre-middle/late eighth-century B.C. tombs have ever been found at Gordion (or elsewhere in Phrygia, Muscarella 1982b, 8ff.), and it is equally significant that no Phrygian artifacts of any category known to date, in the west or east, are recognized as pre-mid-eighth century B.C. This is the conclusion of Akurgal, forcibly expressed in several publications (see 1983, 75, with bibliography). Nothing up to the present permits us to alter his conclusion, the view that Phrygia had a “glorieuse mais très courte vie” (Akurgal 1965, 472), or that of Hanfmann (1948, 149) that “before the end of the eighth century, the Phrygians cannot have been a highly centralized state.” Some historical phenomenon occurred in central Anatolia in the eighth century B.C., a phenomenon that allowed or caused the erection of powerful settlements and that spurred the quite fast growth of extraordinary craft centers. What exactly this phenomenon was is not revealed by historical sources, but archaeological research has revealed its existence. Indeed, as noted above, Mushki are mentioned by the Assyrians as living in Anatolia in the early first millennium B.C., but archaeology has yet to document them culturally before the eighth century B.C.

Like the Phrygians, the Urartians formed an early first-millennium B.C. culture of the Iron Age, distinct in ethnicity and material remains. Their heartland was in eastern Anatolia, but soon after they appear in the local historical records in the late ninth century B.C., a time when a strengthening of forces under a new dynasty occurred, they expanded into the southern Caucasus and into northwestern Iran as far south as the southern shore of Lake Urmia (where they probably destroyed Hasanlu, see above, “The Hasanlu Project”); from this time they become a power confronting other Near Eastern states. Whereas their western neighbor Phrygia–Mushki, with whom they formed an alliance

in the late eighth century, is known archaeologically through architecture and artifacts to have existed politically and culturally as a major force for less than a hundred years, Urartian cultural remains are known for almost three times as long. References in Assyrian texts to the Urartians extend from the eleventh to the late seventh centuries; the Urartians and the Assyrians were engaged in almost continuous hostilities (Goetze 1957, 192ff.; van Loon 1966, 10ff.). The local Urartian records consist of a good number of stone inscriptions found throughout their empire, and fewer than two dozen tablets, all relating mostly to building activities, military campaigns, and deities and sacrifices.

The earliest inscription of an Urartian king, that of Sarduri I (ca. 840–830 B.C.), is written in Assyrian, and dates the earliest Urartian site so far known to us, that of Van, ancient Tushpa (Azarpay 1968, 8; van Loon 1966, 8, 10). Rock-cut cultic niches, at Meher Kapi, near Van, and at Yeşilaliç, 60 kilometers east of Van, preserve inscriptions, this time written in Urartian (but still using the Assyrian cuneiform signs), of Ishpuini (ca. 830–810 B.C.) son of Sarduri, and his son Menua (ca. 810/805–786/780 B.C.), during their co-reign, i.e., in the last years of the ninth century B.C. (Goetze 1957, 196f.; Basim 1977). Another inscription of Menua dates a temple at Aznavur, near Patnos, to the late ninth–early eighth centuries B.C. (van Loon 1966, 48f.). Much more extensive architectural remains, in fact at scores of sites, are known from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., in eastern Turkey, the southern Caucasus, and northwestern Iran.¹²

Up to quite recent years, the earliest works of decorated art preserved and recognized by inscriptions as dating to the early period of Urartian history (late ninth or early eighth century B.C.) were a horse frontlet depicting a winged deity on a bull from the time of Menua (Muscarella 1981a, 174f., no. 145) and undecorated horse trappings and bells of Menua, Argishti, and Sarduri II (Herrmann 1966b, 113f.; Azarpay 1968, 10ff.; Taşyürek 1975a; Muscarella 1978a; Gropp 1981), late ninth to mid-eighth century B.C. in date. But recent publication of inscribed Urartian material has drastically altered this picture, indicating that Urartian iconographical representation indeed began earlier than hitherto perceived, beginning in the time of Ishpuini (Seidl 1980, 63f., 76f., figs. 1, 12, pls. 14:2, 15–17, also probably figs. 2–4; cf. also van den Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, no. 85). These pieces are typically and unfortunately not excavated and are known to us courtesy of the Munich antiquities market. Furthermore, a few more works of decorated art have been plausibly interpreted as having been made during the reign of Menua (Seidl 1980, 77f.; possibly Gropp 1981, 113ff., fig. 9, pl. III). Figured art

is still not common before the time of Argishti I (ca. 786/780–764/756 B.C.; Azarpay 1968, 16ff.), but it increases considerably in quantity and variety during and after his reign.¹³ Assyrian artistic influences were clearly involved in the formation of Urartian art, as they were in Urartian writing and royal formulae, and these influences have been discussed by a number of scholars (Goetze 1957, 194, 199; van Loon 1966, 8f., 66, 172f.; Herrmann 1966b, 88f., 110ff.; Calmeyer 1976, 45; Seidl 1980, 80ff.). Nevertheless Urartian art is quite distinct and assumed characteristically original forms, especially in fortification structures, architectural plans, pottery, weapons, and metal decoration and motifs (thus Herrmann, 1966b, in an otherwise excellent survey of Urartian art, exaggerates the Assyrian background and minimizes the indigenous contribution).

Among the many problems that face the archaeologist and art historian concerned with Urartian art is that more unexcavated (plundered) objects exist in the modern world than those that have been excavated. Many hundreds of Urartian objects—chariot and horse fittings, arms and armor, vessels, etc.—are housed in museums, private collections, and dealers' shops all over the western world and in Japan, for which there is no known provenience: a topos similar to Luristan. Inasmuch as Urartu controlled a large area, encompassing parts of several modern countries (Turkey, Iran, Soviet Armenia), these objects could have derived from any number of sites, and at great distances from the Lake Van region. We are thus deprived of information with regard to the geographical distribution of various types of material. Indeed, too often dealers supply a provenience that is inappropriately accepted by scholars with a resultant confusion and distortion in the archaeological and historical record (e.g., Azarpay 1968, 12, n. 28; see Muscarella 1977d, 80, and Muscarella 1981a, 179; cf. Herrmann 1966b, 124f., no. 148).¹⁴ Concomitant with the loss of provenience in these instances is the loss of archaeological contexts, which might have supplied chronological (not to mention cultural) information. A number of objects, both excavated and plundered, do contain inscribed royal names, but except for Menua and Ishpuini, names such as Argishti, Sarduri, and Rusa were given to more than one king, and unless there is a patronymic it is not easy to determine to which king with a repeat name one may ascribe an object.

This problem is related to that of stylistic progression, for it has been correctly noted that objects with similar motifs clearly dated by inscriptions to different kings' reigns are almost the same in stylistic details (e.g., van Loon 1966, 168; Herrmann 1966b, 113f.). There is also the further, and elusive, problem of recognizing the products of different workshops functioning in dif-

ferent centers that may perhaps have produced contemporary but individual stylistic motifs, a distinction impossible to establish without a large corpus of excavated in situ material. Therefore, subjective, but necessary, stylistic analyses play a large role in determining the chronology of much of Urartian art.¹⁵

The Metropolitan Museum possesses five Urartian and five Phrygian objects, all of the latter being fibulae. While none of the ten objects has been excavated, they are placed in the Anatolian section because, with regard to the fibulae, the vast majority of this type come from central Anatolia (east and west), and concerning the Urartian material, partly because of convenience, partly because of the existence of excavated parallels. No. 577 most probably derives from eastern Turkey, from Toprakkale; No. 578 is claimed for Guschi, in northwestern Iran, along the western shore of Lake Urmia, an attribution that may be correct although it can no longer be affirmed. For the others, one may assume an eastern Turkish provenience because of the existence of locally acquired material of similar nature. In any event, whatever their geographical loci, they are without doubt culturally Urartian.

NOTES

1. This dark age apparently does not exist on the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor: see Snodgrass 1971, 66ff., 127; V. R. d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* (Oxford, 1952), 323, 327f.; G. Bass, "Mycenaean and Protogeometric Tombs in the Halicarnassus Peninsula," *AJA* 67, 4 (1963), 353ff.; H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlu Kule, Tarsus III* (Princeton, 1963), 92ff.; G. M. Hanfmann has presented evidence for continuity at Sardis from the second millennium to the seventh century B.C. in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 170 (1963), 6ff., and 186 (1967), 26ff., and with J. Waldbaum, "New Excavations at Sardis and Some Problems of Western Anatolian Archaeology," in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, ed. James S. Sanders (New York, 1970), 307ff.; Bittel 1983, 39ff., 44; Akurgal 1983, 76f.

2. Akurgal 1955, 112, suggests that central Anatolia at this time "entweder überhaupt unbewohnt oder nur durch Nommandenstämmen besetzt war, deren materielle Reste selbstredend in den Wohnhöhlen nicht zu erwarten sind"; see also page 115 and Akurgal 1965, 468f.; 1983, 75. In the 1965 publication (p. 467) Akurgal noted that although it "paraît très logique" that the early Phrygian levels should be found chronologically immediately following the Hittite collapse, it "n'est pas en accord avec les données archéologiques," and in 1955 (p. 24) that it "entspricht nicht der Wirklichkeit." Bittel (1970, 135; 1983, 35, 37f., 45) rejects this position in part, but offers no solution for the gap, and ultimately accepts its existence; see also Mellink 1957, 393.

3. There are differences between east and west in the pottery, mainly in the use of specific motifs (i.e., animal style in the west), color, and to some extent, shape (Sams 1974, 181; 1978, 231f.); tumuli are rare east of Ankara (occurring apparently only at Kerkenes Dağ) but are abundant in the west (many still not recorded on maps); megara occur only at Gordion; the west is far richer than the east in metalurgy, ivory, and wood carving, etc.; rock reliefs exist only in the west (see T. Özgüç 1971, 121f.). Whether or not these differences represent the existence to some degree of a contemporarily perceived

cultural boundary between east and west, indicating conscious regional patterning and boundary maintenance between the respective inhabitants, remains to be investigated; on this issue see Binford 1962, 220; Wobst 1977, 320, 322; Conkey 1978, 67ff.; Clarke 1978, 312; Hodder 1978, 47ff.; Hodder 1981, 82. Such investigations must take into consideration Clarke's (1978, 263ff.) "simple observation that no single site assemblage ever contains, nor ever did contain, all the artifact-types produced by its parent culture—the basis of the polythetic nature of cultural assemblages" and his argument against the assumption "that cultural assemblages are monothetic sets of types, that all the components occur at all the sites, and that they all share identical distribution boundaries. These premises are without exception false."

The scarcity of tumuli in the east is probably the most significant cultural distinction between the two areas—although more survey work may modify this situation. The predominance of artifacts, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in the west could be explained by the accident of their preservation in the tumuli covering unplundered tombs, and need not reflect original distribution patterns in space; and the presence of megara solely in the west, at Gordion, would presumably reflect the appropriate form of architecture at a capital city.

4. Aside from Koerte 1904—which is still one of the best discussions of Phrygian history available: one to which more information must be added than subtracted—other early writers supported the Mita–Midas equation: H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, ser. 2 (Leipzig, 1901), 136, 283f. (perhaps the earliest scholar to make the equation: Bittel in 1950a, 76, says Winckler and G. Rawlinson made the equation independently); W. Kroll, "Midas," in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie* XV (Stuttgart, 1932), 1538; J. Friedrich, "Phrygia," in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie* XXXIX (Stuttgart, 1941), 883.

See however Snodgrass 1971, 550, who suggests that the Assyrian Mita and the Greek Midas may have been two separate rulers bearing typical Anatolian names known since the twelfth century B.C., and thus they may not even have been contemporary. Burney (Burney and Lang 1972, 161f.) also challenges the Mita–Midas connection and places the Mushki and Mita's center near Malatya; Gordion is not mentioned. Mellink (1965, 320) cites a bowl with the name of Midas in Hittite hieroglyphic as "found in Babylon (?)" it was in fact purchased and is not an excavated object, nor need it relate to King Midas.

5. Both east and west have Phrygian alphabetic writing, a cult of Kybele, major city walls, bronze fibulae, and pottery in common (Sams 1978, 228f.; Bittel 1970, 144, 150ff.), which suggests to me a fairly high level of affinity between the two regional assemblages. These similarities or correlations surely indicate at the least that there were cultural exchange and shared values, and may also indicate that the alleged "boundaries" between the two posited ethnic peoples (see note 3), however recognized and maintained, were nevertheless not considered to be inviolate (see Campbell 1968, 4), especially given the presumption that one king ruled over both areas. If more were known about Phrygian clothing (aside from their depiction at Khorsabad and Ivriz) we might be in a position to recognize whether the peoples in the eastern and western areas of the kingdom were "identity conscious" and dressed in distinct types—styles—of garments. If this were so, it might indicate that the different ethnic backgrounds were mutually perceived and socially maintained (see Wobst 1977, 328ff., charts on p. 336; Conkey 1978, 67; Hodder 1978, 48; Clarke 1978, 401; Chapman in Clarke 1978, 407; also No. 473, note 6).

Of perhaps some interest on this issue is an Assyrian relief at Khorsabad from the time of Sargon II that depicts a group of tribute bearers wearing a typical "Phrygian" fibula (a common type characteristic of Phrygian culture: Clarke 1978, 27ff.; Muscarella 1967a, 1, 17; Muscarella 1967b, 82, fig. 1), a fibula type (xii, 7) that occurs

both west and east of the Halys River. I believe it was deliberately depicted by the Assyrians as an "artifact-cum-message" (see Wobst 1977, 332), to communicate to viewers, in the absence of a text, that members of a particular political entity are illustrated (see also Wäfler 1975, 190). That Assyrians were astutely aware of the ethnic and political background of the craftsmen of artifacts is vividly documented in the account of Sargon II of the booty he took from Musasir during his famous eighth campaign in 714 B.C. In this account he mentions "cups of the land of Tabal, with ears [handles] of gold," "censers of the land of Tabal," and "vessels of Assyrian, Urartian, and Kirhian workmanship" (Luckenbill 1927, 95, 97).

The Assyrians only mention Mushki in their texts, and therefore the Khorsabad relief surely depicts the people of this land ruled by Mita (see Wäfler 1975, 14ff.). But if the Assyrians believed that there was a political distinction between Phrygians (west) and Mushki (east), I suggest that they would not have used in this ideational manner a charged artifact characteristic of *two* peoples to depict one as opposed to the other, for this would misinform the viewers. It is therefore possible to conclude on the basis of this admittedly limited evidence that the Assyrians considered both the east and west to be one state, whatever its ethnic mix, that was known to them as Mushki and to the Greeks as Phrygia. Further, if I am correct in suggesting that the Assyrian evidence indicates that the Assyrians knew what artifact best characterized the Mushki–Phrygians, and represented it in that manner, it would follow that the Phrygians themselves, both easterners and westerners, mutually perceived the distinct fibula to be *their* characteristic artifact, their symbolic marker signaling cultural identity within an area, their membership in one "Gross Phrygia." (Note Sackett 1982, 64: "the more similar things happen to be, the more likely they are to come from closely related culture-historical contexts.")

A further issue concerning this hypothesis remains to be discussed. Urpallu, a king of Tabal (specifically of Tuhana-Tyana), depicted himself before a deity on a rock relief at Ivriz (and at nearby Ambar Deresi), south of Phrygia proper, and he wears a Phrygian fibula on a garment unlike those worn by Phrygians at Khorsabad. I have suggested elsewhere (1967b, 83f.) that the fibula was worn to display imported jewelry and is not a typical artifact from Tabal; it is therefore not an ethnic identity marker here, but rather a mark of a prestigious gift. R. M. Boehmer (1973, 150ff.) has demonstrated that the clothing worn by Urpallu is also Phrygian, and that the fibula depicted, a type with studded arc (Type xii, 9), found also in the royal Tumulus MM at Gordion, must be a "phrygischen Fürstenfibel," a sign of royalty ("Rangabzeichen"; see also Caner 1983, 172, 201). To Boehmer, both the clothing and the fibula, as well as the belt, are Phrygian, perhaps sent as gifts from Midas himself (for clothing as royal gifts, see Boehmer 1973, 156; E. Porada, in *AJO* 28 [1981], 70). Mellink (1979, 252ff.; see also Mellink in R. S. Young 1981, 271), citing Boehmer, further discusses the close political relationship between Tyana-Tabal and Phrygia, documenting the claim with textual and archaeological material. That Urpallu wears Phrygian clothing and a fibula is a sign that he had a close relationship with Phrygia—another form of artifact-cum-message! The conclusions of Boehmer and Mellink reinforce the ideas suggested above. A major problem, still not resolved, is the date of the alliance between Urpallu and Midas (see Muscarella 1982b, 8f.; Postgate 1973). (For the raptor-hilted sword worn by Tarhu at Ivriz, see the fine article by Barnett 1983, 61, pl. 11.)

6. Opificius (1965, 87) further estimated that a still earlier, monochrome ware, not reported at Boğazköy, may date back to about 800 B.C. This is in part based on an alleged, but incorrect, ninth-century B.C. date assigned by her to an eighth-century vessel of Phrygian or Phrygian inspired background (not Phrygian to Sams 1978, 235, but

a North Syrian adaptation) from Carchemish. Note also that the Carchemish fibulae mentioned by Opificius (1965, 87, n. 23) as being ninth century are in fact later (see No. 52).

7. And whether Akurgal (1955, 33, pl. H1) is correct that sherds from Samos influenced the formation of the Alishar IV ware, or Mellink (1957, 393; Muscarella 1967a, 61, 62), that it was the other way around, is not relevant to chronology: what is relevant is the date of the Samian sherds, which is in Greek terms late Geometric, eighth century B.C. The Samian sherds in any event may be local products: K. Sams, in *Archaeological Newsletter* 8, 2–3 (1979), 52, n. 16.

8. For problems concerned with the types and findspots of fibulae at Alishar, see Muscarella 1967a, 29 n. 8, 42 n. 24. Birmingham 1963, 96, suggests a ninth-century B.C. date for a Cypriote fibula at Alishar, which she says came from Period IV, but which the excavators place in the post-Phrygian terrace (see von der Osten 1937, III, 110, 111, fig. 106:C2518). Birmingham assumes a ninth-century B.C. date for Period IV (with no distinctions as to phases), which she then uses to reinforce her dating for the fibula. M. Falkner, "Fibel," *RLA* III (1957–71), 60, sees the Alishar fibulae collectively as "die bisher ältesten Beispiele dieser Art (aus Alishar IV: 1200–800 v. Chr.)." (See Nos. 502 and 570–574; also No. 52, note 1.) Caner 1983, 18f., 177f., observes that Phrygian fibulae are rare at Alishar.

9. There is no doubt that the stratigraphy at Alishar is not so clear as desired, nor is the published report as informative as expected (see Mellink 1957, 393f.; Opificius 1965, 85, n. 15), but I do not think this affects the eighth-century chronology suggested here. See also Nos. 570–574, note 5, and No. 52, note 1.

10. R. S. Young 1966, 275, summarizes seven phases of the earlier Phrygian level, but this is to be interpreted, as I understand Young's text, as *phases* connected with one level, not with multiple settlements; see R. S. Young 1964, 55.

11. Mellink 1965, 324, and in *BibOr* 18, 3–4 (1960), 251, mentions handmade black pottery found at Gordion in a sounding dug in 1950 "in the early post-Hittite phase," but it has yet to be studied and fit into a chronological context. In any event, this pottery is not the "Buckelkeramik" known from Troy VIIb, as implied by Barnett, in *Cambridge Ancient History* II, chap. 30, fasc. 56 (1967), 4 (see Akurgal 1955, 113; Hrouda 1971, 272; and Bittel 1983, 38, 48f.). Mellaart, in *AnatStud* 20 (1970), 67, refers to twelfth-century post-Hittite material at Gordion, and on page 66 his chronological chart shows an occupation from the twelfth to the tenth centuries at Gordion; presumably he is using the black pottery as a basis for this conclusion. See also Mellink, in *BibOr* 24, 3–4 (1967), 193; Caner 1983, 3; and Bittel 1983, 38f., 45, for assertions that there was continuous occupation at Gordion from Hittite to Phrygian times. Bittel (1983, 31) notes that at Polatli, near Gordion, there is no evidence for a destruction in the last Hittite level recorded there. This is true, although the area cleared was quite restricted. But Bittel (1983, 46) suggests that there is evidence for continuity there, which cannot be correct because there is no report of post-Hittite occupation (S. Lloyd, N. Gökce, "Excavations at Polatli," *AnatStud* 1 [1951], 21–62). Bittel in the same article (1983, 33, 39) believes that at Karahöyük, near Elbistan (thus surely outside of Phrygian territory), there is evidence for continuity. But in the report (T. and N. Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Karahöyük* [Ankara, 1949]), I see no evidence for such an assertion. The excavators themselves date the monochrome and painted pottery (the latter found in all four post-Hittite levels, predominantly in the upper two, *Ausgrabungen in Karahöyük*, 72) to the Phrygian period, to Boğazköy II and Alishar IVc and b (*Ausgrabungen in Karahöyük*, 82), that is to the eighth century B.C. As for the stele found in the earliest Iron Age level, it remains undated, but all scholars date it post-Hittite (Bittel 1983, 40).

12. For the penetration of the Urartians in northwestern Iran, see

the many detailed and superb reports of W. Kleiss, in *Topographische Karte von Urartu*, AMI Ergänzungsband 3 (1976); and also in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 19/20 (1969–70), 125ff.; AMI 1969, 20ff.; 1970, 107ff.; 1971, 56ff.; 1972, 144ff.; 1973, 20ff., 80ff.; 1977, 53ff.; 1978, 27ff.; 1979, 183ff.; 1980, 21ff.; also J. Friedrich, in AMI 1969, 20ff.; S. Kroll, *Keramik urartäischer Festungen aus Iran* (Berlin, 1976), passim, 174f.; Muscarella 1971a, 44ff. Negahban's (1965, 326; and 1983, viii, 95) conclusion that Assyrians or Urartians attacked Marlik in the tenth or ninth century B.C., causing a dispersal of its inhabitants, has no historical or archaeological foundation. There was no Urartian penetration into northwestern Iran beyond Azerbaijan (Nashteban, Razliq), many miles west of the Caspian Sea, either in raids or in settlement pattern, as Kleiss and Kroll have painstakingly demonstrated; the Urartians never reached the Caspian Sea. Nor did the Assyrians ever extend their armies or controls to that area (see Muscarella 1980a, 213f., and above, "Yarim Tepe, Tepe Hissar, Shahr-i-Qumis," note 4). Further, there is evidence that at least one of the Marlik tombs continued for two or more centuries past the tenth century, indicating that the site was not destroyed or abandoned in the tenth or ninth century: see No. 52, note 3.

With regard to Urartu's penetration into northwestern Iran, one should note the strong conclusion of Kroll (1984, 129) that there was no such "penetration," inasmuch as this part of Iran "gehörte ganz einfach von Anfang an zum urartäischen Kernland. . ." This view is cogent but warrants more study. Kroll believes the destruction of Urartu in northwestern Iran occurred about 650 B.C. (1984, 16, 129f.).

13. Kellner (1975–76) published a stray group of Urartian silver vessels from the Munich antiquities market. One, a situla (57ff., pls. 1, II) with a frieze of males flanking a tree, bears no inscription; others, situlae and bowls (60ff., pls. III–VI), are plain but have inscriptions of Ishpuini and his son Menua. To Kellner, this group represents "einen geschlossenen Fundkomplex" from one Urartian tomb (65ff.), a tomb of the ninth century B.C. He states as an archaeological certainty that the group is not from a hoard or a temple deposit, but that it came from the tomb of Inushpa, a son of Menua, who he believes died young in the ninth century B.C. Put succinctly, this conclusion is not archaeology; one cannot create tomb groups, let alone an identified one, from a collection of stray objects in Munich. In any event, the uninscribed decorated situla need not, of course, have been made in the time of Ishpuini, and it cannot be matter of factly included as a work of art from that period merely because of the alleged nature of its recovery.

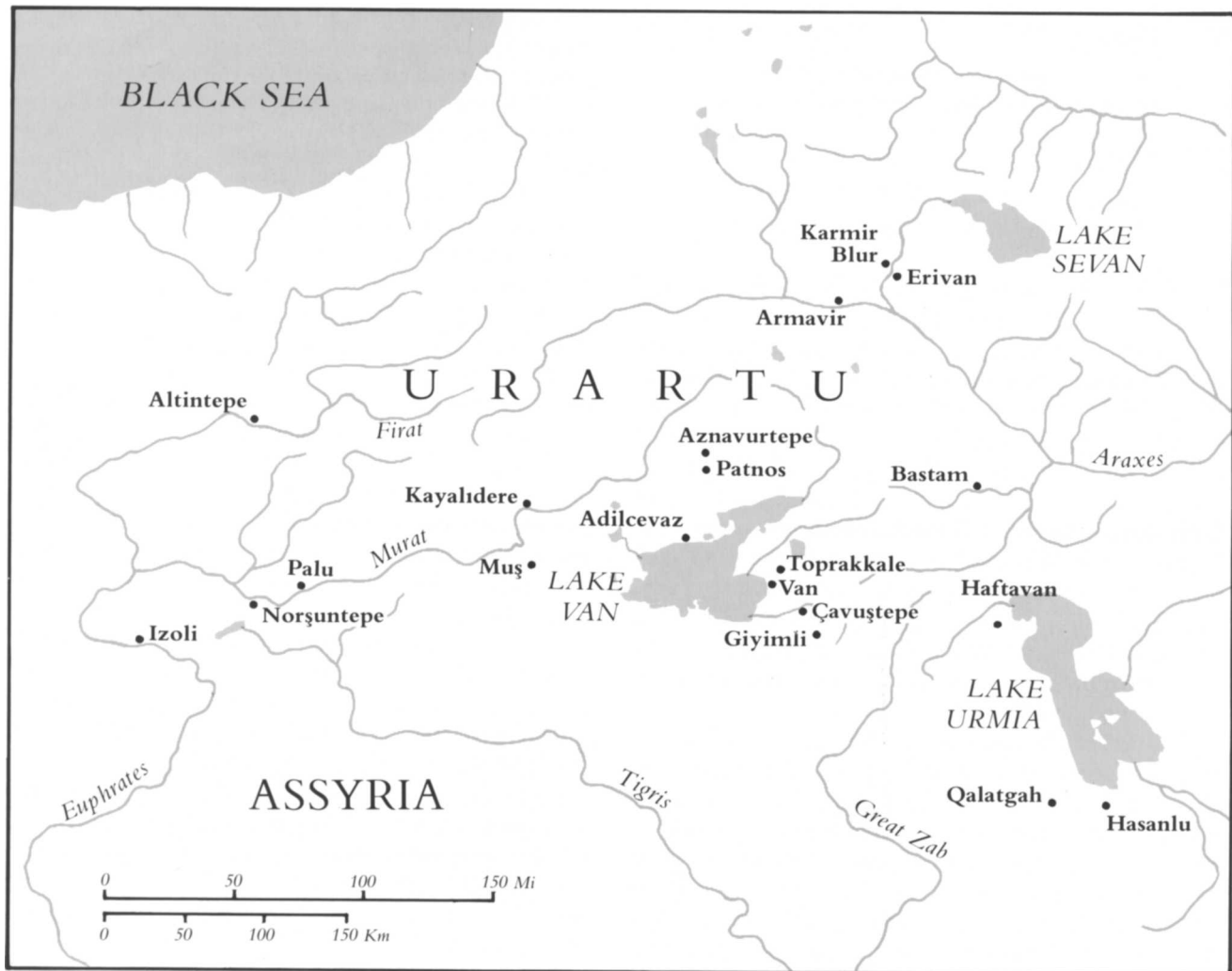
14. Azarpay (1968, 12, 16, 82, n. 28, pl. 1) discusses two horse blinkers, one with Menua's name, the other with Argishti's name, in the Foroughi collection, which she informs us derive from a "recent discovery . . . in northwestern Iran . . ." (but not perceiving the contradiction to this claim given in her n. 28 that "both blinkers were found by commercial diggers [*sic*]," i.e., by unwitnessed plunderers). This incorrect attribution is based on a fictional creation of Ghirshman (1964–65, 57f., figs. 1, 2) that the blinkers (along with other material on the art market: 1964–65, 60, fig. 9, which is Merhav 1981, no. 38) were discovered "dans une des tombes des montagnards de la région du sud-ouest de la mer Caspienne," and that this discovery gives us hitherto unknown information on Urartian-Caspian relations; Merhav 1981, 65, equally uncritically accepted Ghirshman's creation. But the three objects have no known provenience, and thus we cannot speak about an alleged deposition site, or even whether they were found separately or together; nor, of course, can they instruct us about political/trade relations in antiquity (as, e.g., Crouwel 1970–71, 44, who sees the Urartian material as imports into "Amlash": see also Muscarella 1977d, 80, for other examples of stray Urartian material fictionally assigned to northern Iran and Luristan, e.g., Ghirshman 1964, fig. 418; D. Huff, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 18 [1968],

72, fig. 4; Özgen 1984, *passim*). In *Iraq* 39, 2 (1977), 231, M. van Loon suggests that the Foroughi blinkers may actually have been found at an Urartian site in northwestern Iran. This is a plausible possibility—if one could be certain that the pieces derived from a site in Iran. See also Gropp 1981, 95, n. 1, who correctly challenges Ghirshman's provenience for the blinkers.

15. I do not discuss here the recent Urartian problem—the one concerning the correct identification, attribution, provenience(s), and chronology of the so-called Giyimli plaques—as it is not relevant to the bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum's collection. For bibliography and discussion of the Giyimli finds, see Muscarella 1981a, 175ff., nos. 146–49. Taşyürek (1980, 201ff.) dates the stray plaques (all stray plaques are assumed to come from Giyimli) to 800–575 B.C., a date too early by far for the incipient chronology. Furthermore, he be-

lieves that the Giyimli style was “produced in the tradition of Luristan art” (1980, 205, 211), a conclusion based to my eyes on superficial stylistic and technical parallels and on forced alleged similarities. Taşyürek conflates anything he believes is Iranian to be “Luristan art,” and he also brings in the Hasanlu gold bowl as a Giyimli parallel. He also cites a gold strip as a parallel, one I consider to be a forgery (see above, “The Luristan Bronzes,” note 2). Taşyürek's claims are not manifest and should not be accepted on the basis of his subjective and gratuitous observations.

For an intelligent and viable attempt to discover the chronological sequence of some Urartian bronze belts from their decorative scheme, their “Ornamentsystem,” see now Lorenz 1984, 1ff. The problem is that there is such a large variety of decoration on the belts that it is difficult to fit them into a diachronic scheme!



PHRYGIA

570. Fibula

60.109; Gift of Charles K. Wilkinson, 1960
Bronze; length 3.5 cm, height 3.5 cm

571. Fibula

67.182.4; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1967
Bronze;¹ length 6.6 cm, height 5.4 cm

572. Fibula

67.259.1; Gift of Mrs. E. Aggiman, 1967
Bronze; length 5.9 cm, height 4.1 cm

573. Fibula

1970.231.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1970
Bronze;² length 7 cm, height 5.9 cm

574. Fibula

1970.231.2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1970
Bronze;³ length 5.1 cm, height 5.4 cm

THESE FIVE fibulae vary in details—the shape, size, and thickness of the arc, the form of the end moldings, and the addition on two examples of decorative studs on the arc's surface. Nevertheless, they all clearly belong to one typological group, deriving primarily from one geographical, culturally defined area, central Anatolia. Fibulae of this group were first isolated by Blinkenberg (1926, 204ff.), who categorized them on the bases of both shared features and predominant proveniences as “types d'Asie Mineure,” or Type XII; subsequent and more extensive studies further defined them specifically as Phrygian fibulae occurring both in the west and in the Halys River area (Muscarella 1967a; Boehmer 1972, 46ff.; Boehmer 1979, 4ff.; Caner 1983; see also R. S. Young 1981, 239ff.).

Within the Phrygian group there are about fourteen types (or subtypes) of fibulae, of which our examples represent four. They have been excavated at every known Phrygian site in central Anatolia, the great majority both in number of types and in quantity coming from Gordion, about seven hundred, and Boğazköy, about one hundred seventy (Muscarella 1967a, 12 and Appendices A–C; Boehmer 1972, 41ff., fig. 30; Boehmer 1979, 4). Others, either imports or local imitations, have been excavated at many Greek sites on the mainland and islands,⁴ as well as in Asia Minor; one was excavated in Italy; two are represented on rock reliefs at Amber Deresi and Ivriz in south central Anatolia, and another on an

Assyrian relief at Khorsabad, each late eighth century B.C. (Muscarella 1967a, 14ff., 17, 19, 25, 30, n. 26, 63f., Appendix C; Muscarella 1967b, 82; Boehmer 1972, 46ff., fig. 30; Wäfler 1975, 190; Sams 1974, 192). Except for one example from al Mina in North Syria, perhaps a local copy, none have been recovered south of Anatolia (pace Birmingham 1961, 189; Zincirli) in other areas of the Near East, where a different and equally distinct group of fibulae, with subtypes, prevailed (see Nos. 52, 317, 481, 482, 502).

The Phrygians were the first people in Anatolia (except for the coastal areas) to employ fibulae; and the earliest examples (whether represented in art or from excavations) do not predate the second half of the eighth century B.C., probably not earlier than about 750/740 B.C.⁵ And it seems almost certain that they resulted from a knowledge of fibulae already in use for some time in the Greek and east Mediterranean areas, and in Cyprus and Syria (Muscarella 1967a, 41ff.; Boehmer 1972, 46).⁶ Thus, the development of fibulae in Anatolia parallels that in the rest of the Near East, where no fibulae were used before the last half of the eighth century B.C.

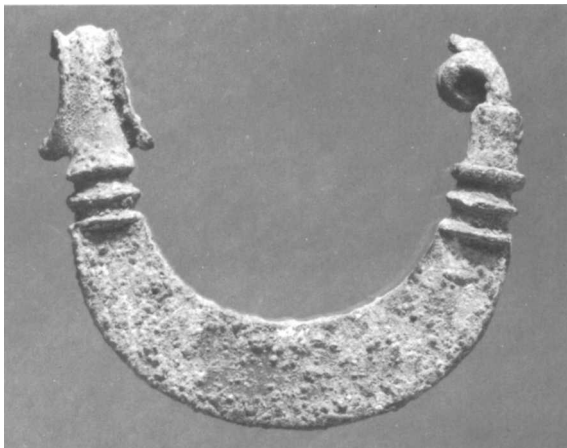
The Phrygian fibulae share certain distinct characteristics that enable them to be readily distinguished from other groups. Their symmetrical arcs are generally semi-circular (Nos. 570, 572–574), or horseshoe shaped, depending on the type of mold used; most have decorative moldings, square or rectangular abaci and disks, at the ends of the arcs; others—not represented among the present examples—have additional moldings on the arc proper; and one type has hemispherical studs riveted onto the arc's flat surface (Nos. 573 and 574). The catch that holds the pin in place is one of the distinctive characteristics of Phrygian fibulae and exists on all examples from Anatolia. It has a vertical spine dividing the catch into three sections, and a pair of horizontal spurs, or horns, project from the top. Sometimes a fibula with Phrygian features recovered outside of Anatolia will omit these spurs, a sure sign that it is a local copy rather than an imported original. The pin is usually, but not always (see No. 571), made separately and inserted into a drilled hole in one end of the arc; sometimes there are two pins, here masked by a decorated horizontal plate; in many cases a cylindrical unit, called a spring plate, separates the arc from the spring and pin.

According to the classification of Muscarella 1967a and Boehmer 1972, the Metropolitan Museum fibulae may be placed into the following types within the Phrygian group: No. 572: Type XII, 2; see Muscarella

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1967a, 14, 37, pl. II:5, 6; Boehmer 1972, 47ff., pl. v:69–74; Boehmer 1979, 4. No examples of this type have to date been reported outside of western Anatolia, where they have been excavated in moderate quantities at Gordion, Boğazköy, Troy, Midas City (Boehmer 1972, 48, 54, n. 369), and Ephesus. Their range is late eighth and first half of the seventh century B.C. No. 570: Type XII, 5; see Muscarella 1967a, 15f., 37, pl. III:11–14; Boehmer 1972, 50, fig. 23c; R. S. Young 1981, 244; Caner 1983, 104f. This type also occurs in moderate quantities in western Anatolia at only three sites and at Greek sites as imports or local imitations: Gordion, Troy, Ephesus, Chios, Lindos, Lesbos, Argos, Ithaca, and Sparta. The range of this type is late eighth through the seventh century B.C. At Gordion it occurs only in Tumulus III (two examples) among the tumuli and in the destruction level (two examples, one gold, one silver; another of bronze occurs in the latest level at Gordion, a stray?). Tumulus III seems to be later than W and possibly earlier or close to Tumulus MM, i.e., sometime in the latest quarter of the eighth century B.C. No. 571: Type XII, 7A; see Muscarella 1967a, 17f., 42f., pls. v–vi:23–29; Boehmer 1972, 54; R. S. Young 1981, 244; Caner 1983, 51ff., pls. 10–16. To date this type occurs only in western Anatolia at four sites: Gordion, Boğazköy, Ankara, and Midas City; a number are in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara and are said to have been found between Ankara and Konya. Typological analysis indicates that this type may have been the earliest fibula made by the Phrygians, and the archaeological evidence suggests that none postdate the Cimmerian destruction, about 696 B.C.; its incipient date is still not certain (see note 5). Type XII, 7A fibulae are related to Type XII, 7 fibulae in shape and form but have a more crescent shape compared to the latter, which have a more symmetrical round shape (Muscarella 1967a, 16ff., pls. 3–6; Caner 1983, 63ff., pls. 19–21). Nos. 573 and 574: Type XII, 9; see Muscarella 1967a, 18ff., 37f., pls. vi–vii:30–34; Boehmer 1972, 54ff., pl. vi:9–102; Boehmer

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1979, 5; R. S. Young 1981, 244f.; Caner 1983, 70ff., pls. 23–33. This type exists in large quantities and was very popular, with a widespread distribution at many sites both in eastern and western Anatolia and in the West (see Muscarella 1967a, Appendices A–C; Boehmer 1972, fig. 30; T. Özgüç 1982, 136, figs. 155, 157, pl. 62:1, 2; Atasoy and Buluç 1982, pl. xxxia). Type XII, 9 fibulae are clearly an embellishment (which may be responsible for their popularity) of Type XII, 7 (not represented in the Metropolitan Museum's collection), which are the same in all details of form except that the flat arc on the latter type is plain. It would therefore seem that the incipience of XII, 9 fibulae occurred sometime after that of XII, 7, rather than there being a simultaneous creation. Like some other Phrygian fibulae, XII, 9 fibulae continued to be manufactured after the late eighth century into the seventh.⁷

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 570: Muscarella 1967a, pl. III:14; Caner 1983, no. 603.

NOTES

1. No. 571: Cu: major, Sn: 7.3%, As: 0.04%, Pb: 0.09%, Fe: 0.20%, Ni: 0.36%, Zn: not detected.

2. No. 573: Cu: major, Sn: 8.3%, As: 0.02%, Pb: 0.12%, Fe: 0.08%, Ni: 0.32%, Zn: not detected.

3. No. 574: Cu: major, Sn: 3.6%, As: 0.01%, Pb: 0.09%, Fe: 0.05%, Ni: 0.32%, Zn: not detected. Note that some fibulae from Gordion are brass with high zinc and tin components, R. S. Young 1981, 248, 287, 288.

In 1986 I had No. 574 retested by P. Meyers; the results are as follows: Cu: 87.0%, Sn: 12.1%, Pb: .404%, Zn: .045%. Note the difference in the two tests of the Sn content!

4. For more recent discussions of Phrygian fibulae in the West, see E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Die Fibeln der griechischen Inseln*, Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung XIV, 4 (Munich, 1978), 120ff., and Klaus Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien von der mykenischen bis zur archaischen Zeit*, Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung XIV, 2 (Munich, 1975), 151ff.

5. A considerably earlier date for the incipience of fibulae (among other Phrygian artifacts) at Gordion is suggested by R. S. Young (1981, 199) because he believed that Tumulus W, which contained twenty-six fibulae of Type XII, 7A, the assumed earliest Phrygian fibula type (Caner 1983, 53, 207), was to be dated to the end of the ninth century B.C., or "slightly later." Mellink, in the same volume (R. S. Young 1981, 264, 270), seems on the one hand inclined to accept Young's high dating for W, while on the other (272) she dates the tomb to a "generation before Midas"—presumably the date of the beginning of his reign, which suggests (if 738 B.C. is the first year of Midas's reign: Akurgal 1961, 118) a date just prior to or within the second quarter of the eighth century B.C. For a discussion of the Gordion tumuli and the fibulae excavated therein, see Muscarella 1982b, 8f. M. van Loon (1966, 20, n. 91) inexplicably states that the Gordion Tumulus MM is dated by dendrochronology to 726 B.C. This is absolutely incorrect; the dendrochronological dates established there form a floating chronology, isolated and unrelated at either end to other dendrochronologic dates.

6. However, the statement of J. G. Macqueen (*The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor* [Boulder, 1975], 58) that the Phrygian fibula originated in southeast Anatolia, where he believes the Phrygians lived before moving north and west (on this movement west, see

also Mellink 1965, 318f.), has no archaeological support. See also Burney and Lang 1972, 161f., where the political center of Midas is placed near Malatya; cf. Hounwick ten Cate 1967, 115f.

7. Recently Boehmer (1983, 80ff., fig. 6, pl. 21:3; AA 1984, 223) discussed a Phrygian fibula of Type XII, 9 (same as Caner 1983, no. 406, from Midas City). He notes that the catch is notched six times, an indication to him that it thereby forms a hand-shaped catch with a thumb (see Nos. 52, 317). To my eyes, however, the drawing and photograph show that the notches have created seven ridges, none of which is enlarged enough to suggest a thumb. Boehmer sees the perceived hand catch to be related to the typical Near Eastern form (where the thumb is often clearly separated from the other finger: not noted on the Midas City example), and he concludes that the fibula was not made in a Phrygian workshop. He further concludes that the fibula was made in Tabal ("äusserst wahrscheinlich"), a mid-point between Phrygia and Syria where the hand catch occurs. As stated, I do not see a hand catch, either typical or modified, and consider the fibula to be Phrygian with a minor embellishment; and I consider the Tabal conclusion to be untenable.

URARTU

575. Bell

1977.186; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1977

Bronze,¹ iron; height 8.72 cm, diameter 5.8 cm

THIS SLIGHTLY truncated bell is octagonal in shape with each side decorated with two rows of rectangular apertures separated by a continuous ridge; another ridge forms the base molding. An Urartian inscription above the upper set of apertures reads, "From the arsenal of Argishti" (cf. No. 576); this may be Argishti I whose dates are 786/780–764/756 B.C. Above the inscription is a rosette molding surmounted by a thick loop for suspension. The iron clapper is now lost but the iron cross-bar that held it is in place; its ends project through the bell slightly on both sides.

This bell has been extensively published elsewhere, along with other similar or exactly duplicate examples. Therefore, by way of summary, it is sufficient to note here that it is a classic Urartian work, not merely because of the inscription, but also because of its form. Within the Urartian area bells closely paralleled by this one come from Alishar and Karmir Blur, and three examples are in the Van Museum (Spear 1978, III, fig. 120; Calmeyer 1969b, 429, fig. 5; Muscarella 1978a, figs. 2, 5–8). The Alishar bell and one from the Van Museum have the same Argishti inscription as the one here; a second example in the Van Museum has a similar inscription but with the name Menua (ca. 810/805–786/780 B.C.), the father of Argishti I; the Karmir Blur bell and the third example in the Van Museum are uninscribed. All these bells are octagonal and the same as the present one in



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most details, but they have only one row of apertures.

However, two exact parallels, one of which is excavated, and one close parallel exist elsewhere; all three are uninscribed. The exact parallels are an example excavated on the island of Samos,² and a stray in the Ashmolean Museum (Jantzen 1972, pl. 80:B474; Moorey 1975b, 25, pl. xiv; Muscarella 1978a, figs. 1, 9; Özgen 1984, 109, fig. 34); the close parallel is a stray in the British Museum (vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1982–83, no. 77), which has a clenched fist instead of a loop. The importance of the Samos bell is that it is to date the first bona fide example of an Urartian object to have been excavated in the West.³

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Muscarella 1978a, 61ff., fig. 10; Spear 1978, 111ff., figs. 121, 122; Muscarella 1979b, 11; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 53, no. 74.

NOTES

1. Cu: 84.6%, Sn: 10.9%, Pb: .778%, Zn: 2.77% (1986). Note the presence of both Sn and Zn.

2. As published, the Samos bell appears to have been left uncleaned: cf. Spear 1978, figs. 121 and 122. I wrote Prof. Jantzen requesting that he attempt to have the Samos bell cleaned to see if it has an inscription: no information on this matter has appeared.

3. In Muscarella 1978a, 63, nn. 10 and 11, I stated that no one hitherto had recognized that the Samos bell was definitely Urartian. However, I later came across Calmeyer 1973b, 130, where he specifically maintained that the Samos bell was Urartian and compared it to the Alishar bell. Thus, he was the first to make the recognition and anticipated my conclusions.

576. Plaque

1976.5; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1976

Bronze; height 15.2 cm, width 6.9 cm, thickness 0.1 cm

THIS PLAQUE is missing its upper right corner, and it was either cut on purpose or broken at the top and bottom (when?); part of a hole in the upper left corner indicates it was originally a larger piece. Inasmuch as the plaque has been published in some detail elsewhere (Muscarella 1979b, 10, with bibliography), a summary description is given here.

The decoration is in repoussé and chasing and consists of two identical procession scenes set within vertically stacked panels that are framed by continuous rows of triangles, a pattern also repeated around the border. Each scene depicts a chariot with two occupants, a charioteer and a passenger who is surely someone of important rank. They are preceded by two warriors, each of whom holds in his right hand a bound bundle of rods or sticks. A cuneiform inscription above the panels reads, "From the arsenal of Argishti" (cf. No. 575); holes along the outer-border indicate that the plaque was riveted to another object. Both the inscription and the style of the execution identify the object as a classic Urartian product.

However, the scene with foot soldiers carrying a bundle before a chariot is not typical for Urartian art; only a seal impression from Toprakkale seems to have such a procession (van Loon 1966, fig. 18:E5). What the bundle consists of or what function it had in the procession eludes us.¹ And not knowing the provenience of the plaque or what was found with it prevents us from speculating about the type of object—a royal chariot box—to which the plaque was attached.

If the Argishti mentioned is the first of that name, then the date of the plaque would be from his reign, about 786/780–764/756 B.C. (cf. No. 575); if it is the second king bearing that name, the date could be about 714–685 B.C. Both Kellner (1976, no. 145) and Özgen (1983, 117) think, without any evidence, that this plaque may have derived from Giyimli.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

H.-J. Kellner, "Ein neuer Medallion-Typus aus Urartu," *Situla* 14/15 (1974), 50, pl. 3; Kellner 1976, no. 145, pl. 7; Muscarella 1979b, 10; G. Markoe, "Barsom or Staff? An Inscribed Urartian Plaque," *MMJ* 17 (1982), 6, fig. 3; Özgen 1983, 117, figs. 4, 5.

NOTE

1. P. Calmeyer in "Barsombündel im 8. u. 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," in *Wandlungen . . . Festschrift E. Homann-Wedeking* (Waldsassen, 1975), 12f., suggests that the rods are barsom, the sacred—but still unidentified—objects used in Zoroastrian rituals in Iran, apparently only by priests. And Özgen (1983, 113) assumes that the soldiers on the Toprakkale sealing also carry barsom. However, these suggestions are merely assumptions for the soldiers in the scenes mentioned could be involved in a secular event. Mary Boyce, *Handbuch*

der Orientalistik, ser. 1, vol. 8, pt. 1^{2A}: *A History of Zoroastrianism II* (Leiden, 1982), 38f., accepts Calmeyer's interpretation (the Boyce reference came to me from G. Markoe). H.-J. Kellner, in *Situla* 14/15 (1974), 50, calls the objects carried "ein Bündel Stäbe," and G. Markoe, in *MMJ* 17 (1982), 5f., comes to the same conclusion.

577. Deity on a Bull

50.163; purchase; Dodge Fund, 1950
Bronze;¹ length 14.6 cm

PRESERVED IS the lower part of a figure standing on a recumbent bull, both hollow cast together, with chased decoration and traces of gold foil in what seem to be thin grooves in the base. The bull, massive and heavy featured, is elaborately decorated with hair curls at the neck, stomach, back, and rump; the legs have simple lines to indicate musculature and the tail curls in relief over the rump. The bull is complete except for the face part of the head, which was originally set into a hollow; cast with the bull are horns that project in a forward curve and ears set at right angles to the head. The face has been restored as that of a bull (see below). The figure standing on the bull—actually depicted as astride it—is cylindrically formed, with an indentation at the waist. He is dressed in an ankle-length garment decorated by square plaques with rosettes for most of the length, and terminating in a rosette-decorated band above a long fringed section; an outer fringed shirt with a diagonal decorated seam across the chest is worn over the long garment. The feet are shod and depicted in relief (cf. van Loon 1966, 92), not properly on the back of the bull, but along its sides. Most of the upper torso and head are missing. The base has a rectangular opening for the insertion of a support.

This figure is one of five almost identical examples that are well known and that have been published and discussed often over the years; they form part of a large group of Urartian bronzes known since the late nineteenth century. In addition to the Metropolitan Museum ample, there is one in the British Museum that was excavated by a British Museum team at Toprakkale in 1880 (Barnett 1950, 15, pl. vii:3; Hermann 1966b, 97, fig. 10; Piotrovskii 1967, fig. 18b); one in the Louvre purchased in 1885 (Barnett 1950, 21, pl. xviii:3; Herzfeld 1941, 250, fig. 354; Bossert 1942, no. 1169; Piotrovskii 1967, fig. 18a); one in Leningrad, acquired in 1886 or earlier by Countess Uvarova (Barnett 1950, 22, pl. xxxi:1; Bossert 1942, no. 1170; Piotrovskii 1967, fig. 18c); and one in the Stoclet collection in Brussels (Barnett 1950, 22; Barnett 1954, 14, fig. 18; van Loon 1966, 92, fig. 11; Piotrovskii 1967, fig. 17). The five pieces fit into two subgroups (Barnett 1954, 14f.). Two examples—in the Louvre and in Brussels—have the face cast with the head;



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these are lion's faces, although furnished with the horns and ears of a bull. Further, and surely significant, on these examples the front legs and feet are those of a bull, the rear legs and hindquarters are clearly those of a lion. The three other examples, which include the Metropolitan Museum's, have their faces inset, and all four legs and feet are those of a bull. Since all the faces of the second subgroup are now missing, we can only surmise what they were—and posit that they were probably the same in all instances. Barnett (1954, 15, 20) restored them, without explanation, as human, and C. K. Wilkinson has restored the Metropolitan Museum example with the face of a bull. It would seem that there are probably two viable choices, a lion's face, like those of



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the first group, or a bull's face; since all the legs of the second subgroup are those of a bull, Wilkinson's restoration may be correct.²

Only one of the five examples, that in Brussels, preserves most of the figure on the bull, and from this piece we are able to restore the others. The face on the Brussels figure was inset and is now missing; the head wore a cylindrical flat crown with a pair of horns, indicating that the figure is a deity (cf. Riemschneider 1965, 103, who suggests they are demons); and there are vertical slots at the sides into which arms (missing on the Brussels figure) were inserted. It is worth noting that if Wilkinson's restoration of a bull's face is correct for the second subgroup, one may ponder whether two differ-

ent deities may have been represented on the two different creatures, although all five deities are dressed exactly the same. Who these deities were, we do not know.

All five figures were originally gilt, only small traces of which now remain (Barnett 1954, 14f.; Piotrovskii 1967, 30, 32f.). And, based on the evidence of other examples of Uratian bronzes, clearly related in form and provenience to the type here, the inset faces were originally of white stone (Barnett 1950, 20, pl. xx; Barnett 1954, 14f.; Piotrovskii 1967, 33).

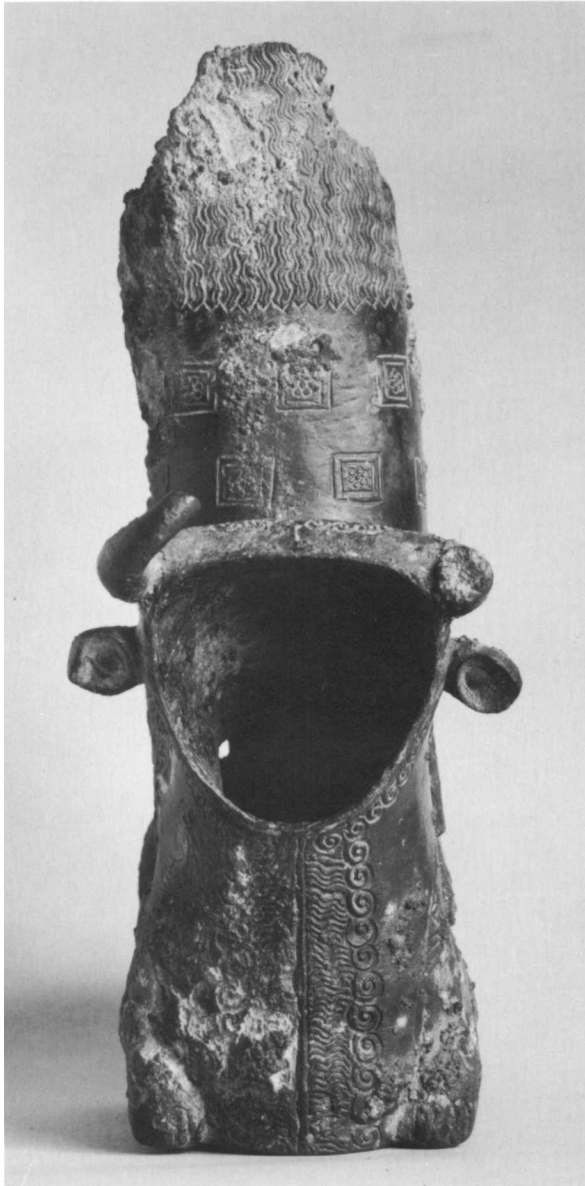
Of the five examples dispersed in as many institutions, only the one in the British Museum was excavated at a recorded site. This piece, along with other bronzes, some clearly belonging to furniture (Barnett



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1950, 13ff., fig. 14, pls. vii:3, xi:1–3), was found in 1880 at Toprakkale, a site near Lake Van in eastern Turkey, in the heartland of the Urartian kingdom. The complex history of both the excavations and the plundering of that site over the years has been painstakingly recorded and discussed by Barnett in two important articles (1950; 1954). Therein Barnett has united a number of bronze figures and furniture elements, seventeen or eighteen in all. These include those actually excavated at Toprakkale and others, unexcavated, but either the same as or related to the excavated ones that had been attributed in the late nineteenth century to that site by local dealers (one, at least, was attributed to Persepolis, Piotrovskii 1967, 107, n. 8). This group consists of the mates to our

piece, as well as lamassu or sphinxes, winged lions and bulls, a griffin, a statuette of a male, and legs and pieces of furniture.³ To my mind, Barnett has convincingly demonstrated that the bronzes deriving from the dealers, a number gilt, were found at Toprakkale as a result of clandestine digging, and that collectively some—if not all—the bronzes assembled by him were once part of some units of furniture, probably one or two thrones, or one throne and its stool. Piotrovskii had previously and independently arrived at the same conclusion in 1939, and all scholars concerned with the material have agreed (Piotrovskii 1967, 26ff.; Riemschneider 1965, 101ff., fig. 17; Hermann 1966b, 95f.; van Loon 1966, 89ff.; Azarpay 1968, 37, 45, 63f.).⁴



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Needless to state, there are problems concerned with the specific nature of the reconstruction of the throne and stool, and two attempts on paper, one by Barnett (1950, 43, fig. 22; with modifications in 1954), the other by Riemschneider (1965, 102, fig. 17), have not satisfied all scholars (viz. van Loon 1966, 89; Piotrovskii 1967, 26; cf. Herrmann 1966b, 96, figs. 15, 16). One of the problems involves the object under discussion here, for there are only five examples known and they form two subgroups, thereby creating confusion regarding their position.⁵ Another problem is the position of the single statuette of a male, which may or may not (Barnett 1954, 21) have belonged to a throne. A third is the fact



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that all the pieces are apparently not preserved and one has to posit mates in some instances (see note 5). Then there is the basic issue, and one that deserves further study, concerning whether there are one or two thrones (Riemschneider 1965, 101) under consideration. For example, an end piece foot with a surmounting winged lion (in the de Vogüé collection) and another, without the lion, in Berlin, excavated by Lehmann-Haupt (Barnett 1950, figs. 14, 22, pl. XIX), have been restored as feet for a stool. But they could be the feet of a throne, especially as the lion on the former has at the back of its head evidence for attachment to some support. And, we may ask, but not answer, if one or two thrones,

were they meant to seat royalty or deities, in either case on a seat supported by deities? In any event, one may conclude that the present example was originally part of an extraordinary and unique piece of furniture, probably a throne.

Regarding attribution, all the bronzes discussed are classical Urartian works of art in both style and iconography. Even the detail on the Metropolitan Museum bronze and its mates, of the feet placed astride rather than on the back of the bull, is an Urartian feature (van Loon 1966, 16, pl. viii). More difficult to resolve is a specific date. It is not always easy to date Urartian objects, especially sculpture in the round, but it seems almost certain that the throne group was made either in the late eighth century B.C. (Barnett 1950, 3rff.; Riemerschneider 1965, 103) or early in the seventh century B.C. (Azarpay 1968, 64), perhaps during the reigns of Rusa I or Argishti II.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

MMAB 10, 7 (1952), 216; Barnett 1954, 15, pl. iii:1; Crawford et al. 1966, 26, fig. 38; Piotrovskii 1967, 31, fig. 18d; Azarpay 1968, pl. 52; H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), 55, no. 109.

NOTES

1. Cu: 95.3%, Sn: 2.89%, Pb: .992%, Zn: .116% (1986).

For a relatively low tin addition of other Toprakkale bronzes from the "throne," see M. J. Hughes et al., "Analyses of Some Urartian Bronzes," *AnatStud* 31 (1981), 141ff. Note that other Urartian bronzes, including furniture fittings, had a high tin composition, while still others were brass: Hughes et al., "Analyses of Some Urartian Bronzes," 143.

2. This interpretation modifies my argument in *AJA* 75 (1971), 444, that a lion's face must be restored. It is of some interest to note that a pair of bronzes from the Toprakkale group also shares the bull-lion leg juxtaposition: the couchant winged creature in the British Museum has four bull's legs and feet, while its mate in Leningrad has bull's front legs and feet and lion's hindquarters; both had inlay faces, now missing. Also, the de Vogüé leg piece couchant creature with a lion face has bull's front legs and feet and lion's hindquarters (Barnett 1950, pls. v, xix; Piotrovskii 1967, figs. 10, 14). And note that the winged sphinx on the Hamburg candelabrum, excavated at Toprakkale by Lehmann-Haupt (Azarpay 1968, pl. 49), seems also to have the bull-lion quarters together, but here the face, cast with the body, is human.

3. These objects are listed and illustrated in Barnett 1950 and 1954, and in van Loon 1966, 28ff., nos. a–q; Piotrovskii 1967, 26ff., figs. 10–19.

4. Barnett 1954, 17f., quotes a letter from a local digger at Toprakkale that mentions a throne found there. This implies that when the bronzes were found they were juxtaposed in a fashion to indicate such an object to untrained eyes. This letter seems to be the basis for the assumption that there was a throne found.

5. C. K. Wilkinson, in Barnett 1954, 15, believes that originally there were six examples of our type, four with inset faces and bull's legs, and two with cast lion's faces and bull's and lion's legs. Since we do not know if originally there was an even number of pieces involved, we cannot support or challenge this suggestion.

578. Belt Fragment

52.123; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1952

Bronze; preserved length 32.7 cm, width 9 cm

THE DECORATION is composed in an orderly and uniform manner: alternating vertical panels of three bulls, goats, bird centaurs with bows and arrows, and lions moving right; the animals are galloping, the bird centaurs are walking. Spacers consisting of three vertical units of six concentric circles surrounding a seventh to form a rosette and horizontal rows of concentric circles and palmettes alternate and separate each panel. The panels are framed along top and bottom by narrow raised bands containing a continuous row of neatly punched dots; the outer edge is flat and uniformly pierced with small holes, no doubt to allow for sewing the belt onto a soft backing. The bodies and heads of the creatures and the concentric circles are executed in repoussé, while the extremities—the legs, tails, ears, and horns of the animals, and the hands, legs, and bows and arrows of the bird centaurs—are traced; faces, hair, and muscles are incised. In all details of style, deportment of figures, and decoration, as well as the combined use of repoussé and incision, the belt is classically Urartian.

The Metropolitan Museum fragment is one of five known to exist in museum collections. Aside from ours, one is in Tbilisi in Soviet Azerbaijan (Hanfmann 1956, pl. xx:2; Barnett 1963, 198, fig. 48), and three are in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Hamilton 1965, 43, fig. 3, top, pls. 1, II). The modern history of these fragments and the alleged circumstances of their discovery have been discussed by Hanfmann (1956, 205ff.), Barnett (1963, 180ff.), and Seidl and Calmeyer (1957–71, 705) based on reports by one Atrpet in 1912 and B. A. Kuftin in 1943. It seems that in 1905 peasants discovered a stone chamber at Guschi on the northwestern shore of Lake Urmia in northwestern Iran (Hanfmann 1956, 205, fig. 1). The chamber, probably a tomb, allegedly contained a skeleton of a bull either mummified or covered in wax, silver vessels, a bronze snake, two bronze bulls, and a belt. Over the years the objects said to come from the find either were dispersed to various private collections or have disappeared. Further, it is probable that the peasants' description of their find as reported by Atrpet is not fully accurate—and one should not expect accuracy. For example, bull heads, not bulls, may actually have been recovered—and probably four heads, not two (and these associated with a bronze cauldron), were in the chamber (Hanfmann 1956; Herrmann 1966b, 129, n. 163; see also Barnett 1963, 181, n. 51, for a caveat regarding the peasants' description). Concerning the belt (originally called an ornament), only the fragment now

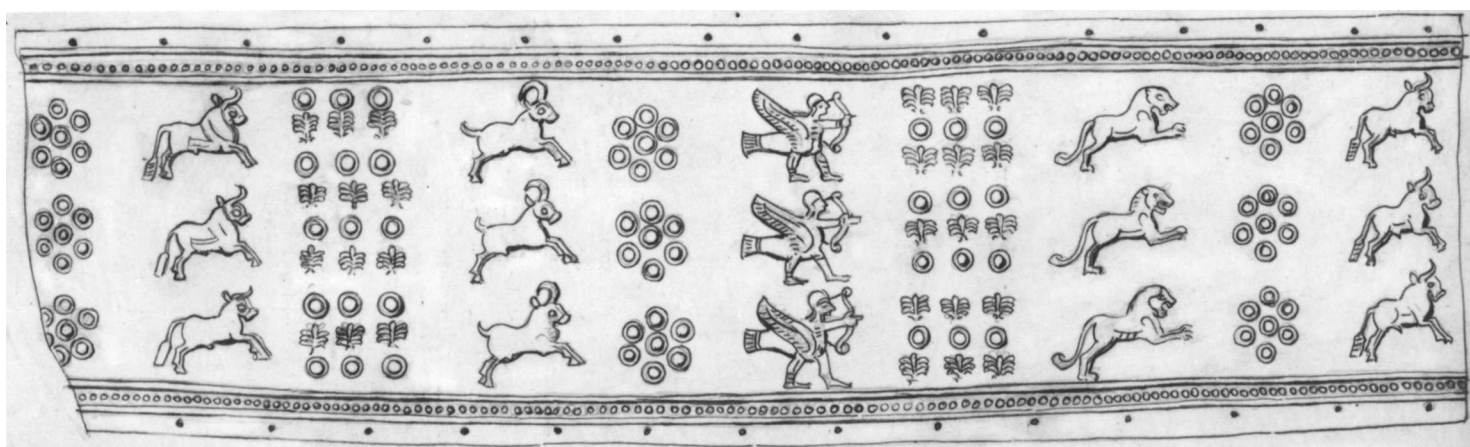


FIG. 38. Drawing of No. 578.

in Tbilisi was published by Atrpet and Kufin. The Metropolitan Museum fragment was purchased from a New York dealer and first published by Ghirshman (1964, fig. 572); the Ashmolean fragments, originally in the collection of Lord Howard de Walden, were first fully published by Hamilton in 1965.

Two of the Ashmolean fragments join to form the largest unit (A, 67 cm), and the right edge of the Metropolitan Museum fragment (B) neatly joins the left edge of the smallest Ashmolean fragment (C, 6.5 cm); a slight gap of two to three centimeters is all that separates a clear join between the right edge of the large Ashmolean and the left edge of the Metropolitan Museum fragments. The Tbilisi fragment does not join any of these fragments. Hamilton, who is responsible for uniting the Ashmolean and Metropolitan Museum fragments (Hamilton 1965, 41ff., fig. 3), correctly concluded that the length of the belt fragments, including the estimate for the gap, is about 110.2 centimeters (see below). We are now able to state that the decoration on the belt was divided into two sections: in seven panels the figures

move left, while in eight panels they move right. In this manner, when the belt was worn, a viewer would see all the figures moving toward him. This division of movement, one group moving left, the other right, is a standard Urartian convention (viz. Azarpay 1968, pls. 7, 18, 19, 56–58).

On the right border of the smallest Ashmolean fragment (C, the one that joins at its left the Metropolitan Museum fragment) is a vertical band with repoussé dots. To its right is a section of a panel that is mostly missing, but on it one may discern palmettes of the same type as those used for spacers on the belt itself. These features led Hamilton to conclude that the panels must have continued and that the vertical band was actually the mid-point of a strip. This strip must then have had an original length of about 220 centimeters, which signifies that it was not a belt but a chariot decoration. To Hamilton the Tbilisi fragment, four panels with the figures moving right, is to be restored as belonging to the otherwise missing section. Hamilton was followed in this interpretation by Azarpay (1968, 50), Moorey (1967, 83, 85),

and still later by B. Goldman (1974–77, 57) and Bunker (1981, no. 939). However, he was first challenged by Amandry (1966, 117f., n. 3), who recognized the vertical band to be a terminal unit, not a midpoint (see also Muscarella, in *AJA* 93, 4 [1969], 473); the Ashmolean and Metropolitan Museum fragments were accepted to form an almost complete belt. But the Tbilisi fragment is still to be explained. Seidl and Calmeyer (1957–71, 706) also addressed themselves to this problem. They perceptively noted a hitherto unnoticed detail that seems to prove that in fact the Ashmolean and Metropolitan Museum fragments constitute a belt of about 110 centimeters: the palmettes on the broken end do not have the concentric circles associated with the palmettes used as spacers. Therefore, they conclude that the palmettes in the vertical band section are not spacers, and indicate a terminal unit. As for the Tbilisi fragment, they suggest that it belongs to a second belt, a position one must accept if Hamilton's interpretation is rejected.

In a Japanese collection there is a complete belt that is almost a mate to the present, Guschi piece, including the vertical end band and palmettes in the end piece (Tanabe, Hori, et al. 1982, 70, pl. II, fig. 1, no. 26); it differs only in the presence of human-deity figures and a deity on a bull in the end panel (it is apparently made in two pieces). The belt is 110 centimeters in length, exactly the same as suggested independently for the Guschi belt: and neatly supporting the conclusions of Seidl and Calmeyer.

The chronology of the Guschi belt has been discussed by previous writers, with the understanding that internal evidence, the style of the execution of the figures, is the primary evidence, which is subject to revision. On the basis of comparisons to more securely dated objects, scholars (Azarpay 1968, 50; Hamilton 1965, 50; Seidl and Calmeyer 1957–71, 706) have dated the belt to the second half of the seventh century B.C., close to the time of the reign of Rusa III (ca. 625–585? B.C.). A similarly decorated belt with vertical panels, but lacking the spacers, from Altintepe, is probably to be dated earlier in the century (Azarpay 1968, 49f., pl. 23), and a stray belt in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, similar to the Guschi belt in the arrangements of panels and spacers, must have been made close in time to it (Kendall 1977, 37f., figs. 7, 8).¹

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Ghirshman 1964, fig. 572; Hamilton 1965, 43, fig. 3; van Loon 1966, pl. xxxi; Azarpay 1968, pl. 26.

NOTE

1. Now see Lorenz 1984, 10, for a seventh-century date assigned to the Guschi belt based on an attempt to arrange some Urartian belts by analyzing their decorative scheme.

579. Belt Fragments

1971.31a–f; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1971

Bronze; preserved length 74.8 cm, width 10 cm

SIX FRAGMENTS of this belt are extant, none of them forming a join. The decoration consists of panels each depicting a single male deity wearing a long gown and a plain polos crown and with his hands raised in benediction, standing either on a bull or on a lion moving right. Each panel is separated by three individual vertical ornamented units. They consist of a stylized tree topped by a disk surrounded by petals and filled with five or six petals formed into a rosette framed by two identical units of entwined branches centering on a rosette disk. These ornamental units join as a continuous pattern bands of branches and rosette disks that form the upper and lower borders of the design; a flat edge outside the border is pierced with small holes for sewing the belt onto a softer material. One fragment is an end piece and still preserves a loop for fastening. The animals, the deities, and all the ornamental decoration are executed in a low-relief repoussé technique; the extremities, hands, legs, tails, are chased (cf. No. 578).

In style, decoration, composition, and technique the belt is classically Urartian and is closely paralleled in all details—tripartite spacers and ornamental borders, deities on bulls and lions in individual panels—by a belt excavated at Karmir Blur (Piotrovskii 1962, fig. 42; van Loon 1966, fig. 14). On the Karmir Blur belt the deities have horns on their crowns and they carry a flower with the head held down, and the petals are rendered in a slightly different manner. Both belts are also paralleled in all details by two stray fragments in the British Museum (Barnett and Curtis 1973, 133, pl. LXIV:a); these fragments do not seem to belong to the Metropolitan Museum fragments.¹ If not made by the same hand, the three belts discussed here may have been made in the same workshop.

The deity on the lion is considered by most scholars to be Haldi, the most important god in the Urartian pantheon. The deity on the bull is most probably Teisheba (Teshub), the storm and war god. And it is possible that the rosette disks symbolically represent the sun god Shirvini (van Loon 1966, 122f.; Kendall 1977, 44f.).²

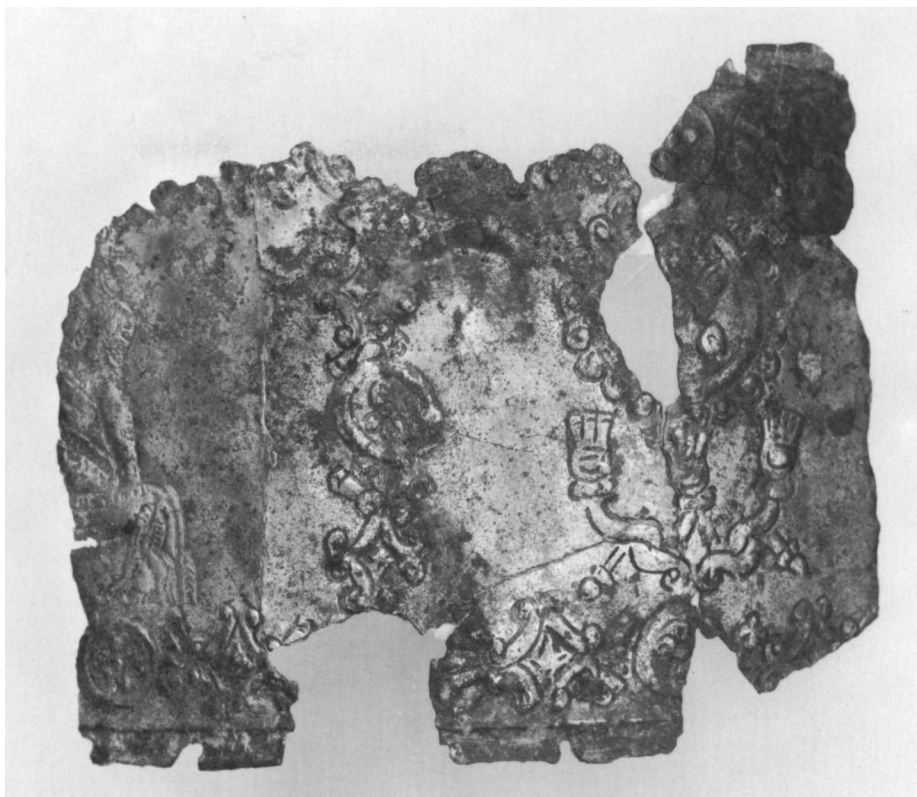
On the basis of the elaborate borders and vertical ornamental motifs so characteristic of the Metropolitan Museum belt, as well as the Karmir Blur and British Museum examples, a date in the seventh century seems most probable. Azarpay (1968, 50) and Seidl and Calmeyer (1957–71, 706) consider them to be a little older than the Guschi belt (No. 578). At the present time there are scores, maybe hundreds, of Urartian belts



579

579c

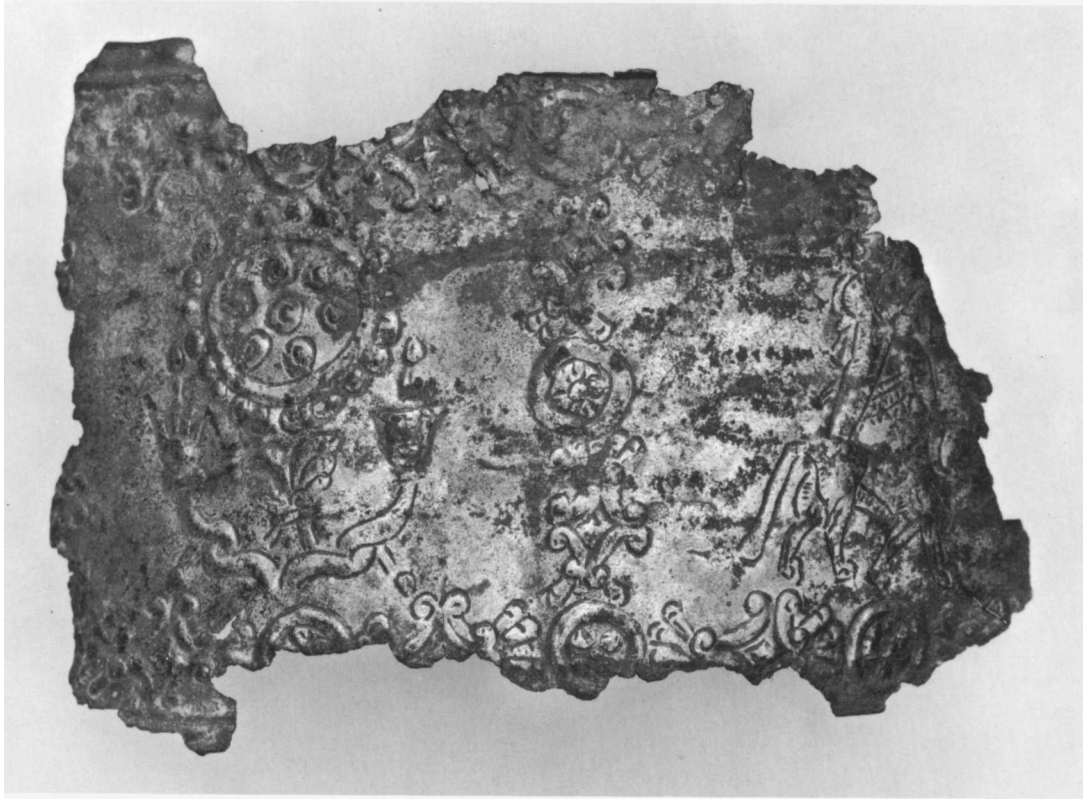




579b

579a





579d

circulating on the art market; dealers claim they come from both eastern Turkey and northwestern Iran, the area of ancient Urartu. For discussions of Urartian belts, both excavated and strays, see van Loon 1966, 121ff.; Azarpay 1968, 47ff.; Taşyürek 1975b; Kendall 1977, 29ff.; Muscarella 1974c, no. 133; Muscarella 1981a, nos. 150–52; Calmeyer 1976, 45ff. (a belt published by Merhav 1981, no. 39, is not Urartian).

NOTES

1. Kendall 1977, 37, n. 30, inadvertently states that the present fragments are the Karmir Blur belt fragments.

2. On the problem of identifying deities, now see M. van Loon, in *BibOr* 44, 1–2 (1987), 228f.

VII CAUCASUS

General Objects

580. Disk

21.166.1; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1921
Bronze; diameter 6 cm

THE DISK has a raised border that frames a scene depicting in relief four running dogs, with collars, surrounding a mountain goat. The collars indicate domestic dogs, and the scene no doubt represents a hunt. At the rear is a rectangular loop.

While other disks exist with animals running after each other—but no central victim (Moorey 1974a, 95f., no. 61; A. Godard 1950, figs. 104–06), I can find no close parallels to the one here. Both Rostovtzeff (1922a, 38) and Miller (1922, 289f.) attribute this disk to the Caucasus and assume that it was a belt or a horse-harness attachment (see also Moorey 1974a, 96).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Miller 1922, fig. 1, pl. XVIII:1; Rostovtzeff 1922a, fig. 1A.



580

581. Belt Clasp

21.166.2; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1921
Unleaded brass;¹ preserved height 8.9 cm, preserved width 10.2 cm

582. Belt Clasp

21.166.5; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1921
Leaded bronze; height 11.4 cm, width 11.4 cm

583. Belt Clasp

21.166.6; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1921
Bronze (? —not tested); height 12.7 cm, width 13.7 cm

584. Belt Clasp

21.166.7; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1921
Alloy of copper, tin, zinc, and lead; height 14.6 cm, width 15.2 cm

THESE FOUR cast plaques share certain formal characteristics that allow one to categorize them together (see also No. 585). They are rectangular in shape, with a

stud on the obverse four corners, and a loop and short tongue on the reverse which indicate that they are belt clasps. The borders are elaborately decorated, respectively a solid double row of S spirals, a solid herringbone pattern, a solid row of pairs of spirals joined by openwork spools to a narrow, solid, herringbone-decorated band, and a solid triple row of S spirals. Each interior is filled with an elaborate openwork design consisting of a highly stylized animal surrounded by subsidiary spirals and figures at the back and chest and between the legs. The principal animal, stags on Nos. 582 and 583, horses on Nos. 581 and 584, has its fore and rear parts emphasized as if swollen, while the waist is pinched; except for No. 583 the bulbous parts have incised circles. Antlers and tails of the stags are decorative, and the feet of all the creatures are rendered in an unnaturalistic fashion. The subsidiary figures emphasize the fantastic nature of the design: spirals and birds with the stags, foals (?), spirals, a bull (?), and a dog (?) with the horses. Note that Nos. 583 and 584, while stylized in body and feet, nevertheless have fairly naturalistically rendered heads; and No. 584 has a bridle.

In the most recent publication on these clasps, Curtis



581



582



583

(1977b), using the previous work of M. Khidashali, has recorded the existence of 181 known examples. These include, as the principal animals, goats in addition to stags and horses; and as subsidiary figures, in addition to bulls, birds, dogs, and foals, there are snakes, fish (?), and animal heads (Miller 1922, 300f., figs. 5–10, pls. xxviii, xxix), and in two cases human figures (W. Speiser 1952, pl. 115). The metal composition of the plaques varies; some are brass, leaded bronze, and other alloys (see also Curtis 1977b, Appendix 2).

The great majority of the clasps have either surfaced or been excavated in Georgia, to the east of the Black Sea, so that there has been no controversy regarding their origin. But given the highly stylized nature of the designs, attempts to derive a correct chronology have until recently not always been successful. Thus, Salmony (1938, 34) saw them as reflecting a pre-Scythian background, dating to the ninth–eighth centuries B.C., while Hančar (1931, 157) saw them as post-Scythian, dating to a time anywhere from about 700 B.C. to the Christian period; and W. Speiser (1952, 136) dated them to the second half of the first millennium B.C. Earlier, Rostovtzeff (1922a, 40) dated them much later, to the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, i.e., second century B.C. to third century A.D., a position later followed by Farkas (1970, 57) and Bunker (1981, nos. 942–44). That this late dating is closer to reality than the other suggestions has been documented by recent research, and it is probable that most, probably all, actually date from the first and second centuries A.D. (Curtis 1977b,

93ff.). Whether there is a progression from the naturalistic (i.e., No. 584) to the stylized (Tekhov in Curtis 1977b, 90), or the reverse (Hančar 1931, 149; Salmony 1938, 33f.), or whether all are roughly contemporary (Kuftin in Curtis 1977b, 90) remains for future research to resolve.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

No. 582: Rostovtzeff 1922a, fig. 1E; D. Carter 1957, pl. 32C; Farkas 1970, 47, 57, no. 32b; Curtis 1977b, pl. 1f (not 1e as listed). No. 583: Rostovtzeff 1922a, fig. 1D; Salmony 1938, 33, fig. 1; A. Bowlin and B. Farwell, *Small Sculptures in Bronze* (MMA, New York, 1950), 6; D. Carter 1957, pl. 32C; Crawford et al. 1966, 29, fig. 45; Schlossman 1968, no. 74; Curtis 1977b, pl. 2b; H. Hibbard, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1980), 61, no. 119. No. 584: Rostovtzeff 1922a, fig. 1C; Miller 1922, pl. xxx:2; D. Carter 1957, pl. 32B; Curtis 1977b, pl. 2a; *MMAB* 41, 4 (1984), 35, no. 43.

NOTE

1. The metal composition given here for Nos. 581–584 is from a report of 1978 from the Metropolitan Museum laboratory which used XRF analysis; no other information was forthcoming. P. T. Craddock in Curtis 1977b, 110f., notes that one example examined “was made of leaded tin bronze,” while two others are brass, with about 10% Zn.

585. Pendant

21.166.4; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1921
Low leaded bronze;¹ diameter 14 cm

THAT THE object is a pendant is evident from the loop seemingly held by three rivets. The openwork design consists of precisely and uniformly arranged geometric motifs. An outer double ring with herringbone patterns is joined by elongated triangles to a single ring decorated like the outer ones. This unit frames a continuous circle of running spirals, each with a central knob, and there is another decorated ring inside. The center is open.

The rows of spirals and herringbone-decorated rings, as well as the openwork technique, clearly relate this pendant to the belt clasps in Nos. 581–584. While no exact parallels are known to me, a related openwork pendant or disk was excavated in the Ural Mountains area of Russia at a site known as Iékatérinovki (Tallgren 1932, 27, fig. 39). Further, solid disks decorated with running spirals, and herringbone-decorated rings and buckles are known from the Caucasus (Uvarova 1900, pls. XLIII:1–2; XCII:3; de Morgan 1927, fig. 332). It is therefore probable that this pendant is from the Caucasus and may be contemporary in date to the belt clasps, as noted by Rostovtzeff (1922a, 38).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Rostovtzeff 1922a, fig. 1B.

NOTE

1. See Nos. 581–584, note 1.



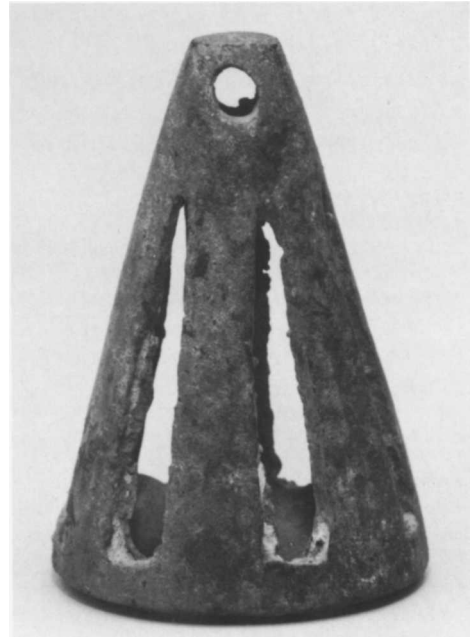
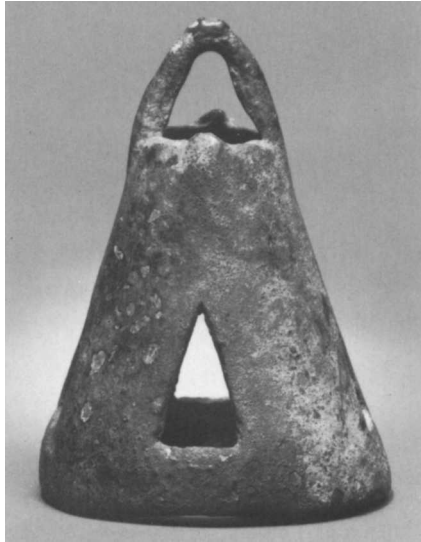
584



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586. Bell

1978.514.25; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978

Bronze; height 6.1 cm

587. Bell

1978.514.32; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978

Bronze; height 9 cm

588. Bell

1978.514.35; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978

Bronze; height 8 cm

THESE THREE bells share a conical or pyramidal shape with triangular cutouts: No. 586, round at the base and conical, has four cutouts; No. 587, square at the base and pyramidal, has two cutouts to a side; and No. 588, conical, with a round base, has seven elongated cutouts. Each bell has a distinct loop at the top, and only No. 588 is a cage, its closed base pierced by six circular holes. The latter has no pellet preserved. The two others, both true bells, are now missing their clappers, which were no doubt suspended from horizontal bars inserted in the holes at the base of the loops.

Bells and cages with triangular cutouts are usually associated with the Caucasus (Smirnov 1934, 58, nos. 89, 90; Calmeyer 1969b, 429; Moorey 1971a, 138; Möbius 1938, pl. 68; Schaeffer 1948, fig. 298:29—note the conical shape and pierced base; Bouzek 1971, fig. 9). An

example was excavated at Zincirli in North Syria (Möbius 1938, pl. 69:6), which Calmeyer (1969b, 429) believes is an import from the Caucasus; and some examples are attributed to Khurvin in northwestern Iran, but without verification (vanden Berghe 1964, pl. xxxvii:251–53). That some straight-sided, conical bells with cutouts do derive from northwestern Iran, however, is documented by two examples from Hasanlu (de Schauensee and Dyson 1983, 72, fig. 19d). It is probable that bells of this type had a widespread occurrence both north and south of the Caucasus (cf. Bouzek 1971, fig. 1:9, 10).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 61, 69, 94f., figs. 32, 41, 92.

589. Bell

1978.514.5; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978

Bronze; height 7.5 cm

590. Bell

1978.514.6; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978

Bronze; height 9.1 cm

591. Bell

1978.514.9; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978

Bronze; height 7.4 cm

592. Bell

1978. 514. 10; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; height 8.6 cm

593. Bell

1978. 514. 39; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr.,
1978
Bronze; height 7.2 cm

FOUR of these five true bells share a more or less conical shape, but No. 590 has walls that are almost straight. They all have vertical slits in the walls. No. 589 has two corroded rings still preserved in its loop and two triangular cutouts in its sides (in addition to casting flaw holes), Nos. 592 and 593 have a thickened base rim, No. 590 a grooved base rim, and No. 592 may have stylized ducks' heads decorating the loop terminals. No clappers are extant except for No. 592, which has an iron fragment preserved inside at the top; the clapper here was added through a hole just below the holding loop. Nos. 590, 591, and 593 each have one or two (No. 590) holes below the holding loop, no doubt to hold the clapper. No. 589 has instead a hole drilled at opposite ends—but not at the same height—presumably to hold a horizontal bar or wire for the clapper.

A number of bells with wall slits derive from the Caucasus, and it is usually assumed that all (or the majority) derive from there (Smirnov 1934, 59; Calmeyer



589

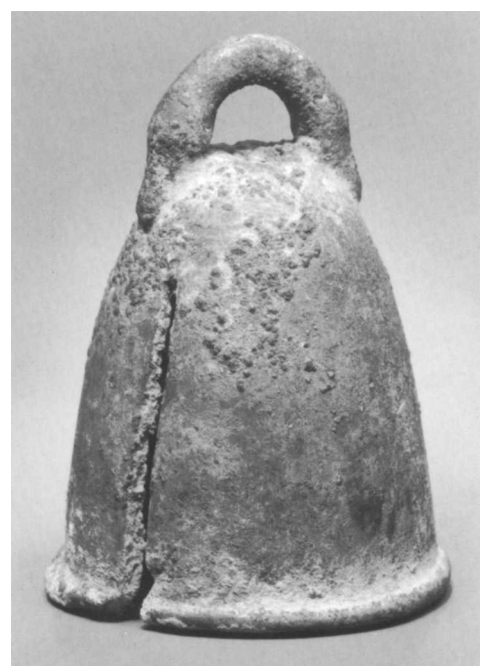
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1969b, 428; Bouzek 1971, fig. 10:2; Spear 1978, figs. 124, 126, pl. 16; Möbius 1938, pl. 67:4, 6). An example was excavated at Nimrud (Möbius 1938, pl. 67:5), and another at Samos (Jantzen 1972, 82, pl. 79:B1093: with two holes at the top to hold the support for the clapper), where they are rare enough to be considered as imports.

The addition of “windows” on No. 589 reminds us of the Urartian bells, in which this feature is characteristic (Muscarella 1978a, figs. 1–3, 5–10; see No. 575), further support for a northern background of this bell. It is probable that these five bells ultimately all derive from either the Caucasus or a neighboring region and date no earlier than the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. For stray bells similar to Nos. 590 and 593, see vanden Berghe and De Meyer 1928–83, nos. 62, 63, and 72; cf. also to No. 592 a stray rattle bell in the Godard collection that has animal heads at the loop terminals (De Waele 1982, 246, no. 413).

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 70–72, figs. 44, 45; 94–97, fig. 91, pl. 15, left, right.

VIII MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

594. Animal-Head Handle

51.178; Gift of Khalil Rabenou, 1951
Bronze;¹ length 9.9 cm

HOLLOW CAST in one piece, the handle is divided into three parts. Prominent is the tip in the form of a naturally rendered ram's head with swept-back horns incised with natural undulating lines (see Nagel 1963, pl. LXXX:2, 3) and with the tips in the round; hair is indicated on the throat and the top of the head by raised circles and at the ears by punched dots; no mouth is depicted but the area here is pierced. Behind the head is a band framed by thin beaded rings, behind which is the handle proper, which is ribbed except for a smooth area at the top and the bottom; each of the smooth areas is perforated.

This object seems to be a handle that was attached to something by its sleeve, although only a small hand would have had a comfortable grip. Several Assyrian reliefs of the ninth century B.C. depict servants attending the king and holding fly whisks with handles that are formally the same as the present example: animal-head tip, framed ring, and ribbed handle proper (Wilkinson 1952, 237, who made the apparently obvious parallel noted here; Paley 1976, pl. 18b); other Assyrian fly whisks seem to lack the ribbing (Paley 1976, pl. 19b, c).² But is our handle from a fly whisk? It is almost surely not an Assyrian fly whisk handle, nor can it be ninth century B.C. in date. The Assyrian relief examples have animals with a different horn and ear structure and position, no hair is depicted, and they are longer than this piece.

Actually, the closest formal and stylistic parallels to this handle are patera handles dating primarily to the Roman period. An example in the British Museum (Walters 1899, pl. xxv) appears to duplicate No. 594 exactly, except for the lack of a hole in the upper flat area of the ribbed handle. Still other such handles parallel this one in most details, especially the form of the ram's head.³ Yet the handle here is shorter than those on the vessels, and no collar is preserved to indicate how it may have been joined to the latter, nor do the vessel handles appear to be pierced at the head.



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I prefer to leave open the question of the handle's function but suggest that, given its stylistic parallels with the patera handles, it seems closer to a vessel handle than to a fly whisk. If this is so, then the date of manufacture will have been within the Roman period, between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Wilkinson 1952, 237, right.

NOTES

1. Cu: 84.8%, Sn: 13.5%, Pb: .850%, Zn: .032% (1986).
2. Fly whisks are also depicted in the art of North Syria (Orthmann 1971, pls. 19d, 45d, 45g, 63b, 66d) and of the Achaemenians (Schmidt 1953, pls. 75, 76, 98, 99, 135-41, 193, 194), but they are of different types and cannot be confused with the Assyrian examples.
3. A. Radnóti, *Die römischen Bronzegefäße von Pannonien* (Budapest, 1938), 86ff., pls. xxvi:2, 3, 5; xxvii:3; lvi:1; J. Mertens, "Une Riche Tombe Gallo-Romaine, découverte à Tirlemont (Belgique)," *L'Antiquité classique* 21, 1 (1952), figs. 2, 4, pls. i:2, iii:1. Cf. what may be an earlier example (late Achaemenian/Hellenistic?), B. D. Filow, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij* (Sofia, 1934), 177, fig. 196; see also Richter 1915, 173, no. 444.

595. Ewer

55.121.1; Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Bronze;¹ height to top of handle 35.5 cm

PIRIFORM (*Birnenform*) in shape, this ewer has two distinct sections, a convex lower body with a low, hollowing foot, and a tapering upper section, the neck, which continues the inward curve of the body; separating the sections is a narrow raised band, or ring, that encircles the vessel 15.8 centimeters above the base (thereby de-



termining the area below it). The handle joins at the lip and at the body below the raised band and has a remarkable form. It is divided lengthwise into three ridges terminating below in a plain rectangular area marked off by ridges placed above a palmette; curving out gracefully from the two volutes are tendrils that droop and partially encompass the palmette. At the top of the handle the three ridges divide into three snake heads, the center one projecting straight onto the lip, the two outer ones looped once before they too join the lip, which is round and flat and projects beyond the top of the neck (Garcia y Bellido 1964, figs. 31, 32, for a drawing of the palmette and snakes).

The vessel is very thick walled and heavy (six pounds

and ten ounces; 2.98 kilograms), and macroscopically seems to have been cast in one piece. B. Grau-Zimmermann (1978, 174), who has written the most extensive and detailed study to date of vessels of this type, suggests that the one discussed here and at least one other, in Madrid, attributed to Niebla, Spain,² were cast in two parts: the neck and handle proper were cast together in one piece, the lower body with the palmette cast in another (see Grau-Zimmermann 1978, fig. 15 and pl. 46a); both parts were then joined by soft solder (she says nothing about the ring, but it seems she believes it was cast with the upper part, as she notes a seam below the ring of the Madrid vessel; this ring would then mask the join). Aside from a line at the ring level seen with some

595



595



difficulty in the interior of the Metropolitan Museum's vessel, I see no clear evidence of a seam on the outside wall below the ring, nor do I see a seam on the lower part of the handle. Discoloration may be faintly seen on the side of the plain rectangular area at the lower part of the handle, at the place where a join might be expected if Grau-Zimmermann is correct (but the Madrid vessel allegedly has a seam across the ridges above the palmette).

Following macroscopic examination, the Metropolitan Museum's ewer was subjected to X-ray analysis (by James Frantz). This revealed that the ewer was indeed cast in one piece, that there is no indication of solder or joining at the handle area or the ring, and that there are iron core casting pins scattered around the body and neck. The foot base was removed in recent times and carefully reattached with soft solder, and two modern repair patches were added to fill in damaged areas. Whether Grau-Zimmermann is correct about the Madrid vessel having been cast in two pieces remains to be resolved by X-ray analysis, but the evidence from the Metropolitan Museum's ewer suggests that the Madrid piece, too, and probably others, was cast in one piece. This casting is surely an intricate and highly skilled accomplishment.

Our ewer forms part of a class of primarily bronze and silver vessels of similar shape and construction that have been excavated in Cyprus, Italy, and Spain, with related ceramic examples deriving from Cyprus and the Levant.³ Their background is undoubtedly Phoenician (Culican 1968, 283ff., pl. xxi; Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 164ff., for discussion and documentation). The vessels have been studied and classified into subtypes by a number of Spanish scholars, for example Garcia y Bellido (1956, 88ff.) and Blanco Freijeiro (1956, 6ff.), who recognize the basic body form as being divided into two distinct sections by a ring, and with a palmette handle, but who make a typological distinction by focusing on the form of the mouth—trefoil, flat and plain, and zoomorphic.⁴ In the most recent publication, Grau-Zimmermann (1978, 162ff., figs. 1–5) has suggested a different ordering, basing her typology on body construction and proportions. She recognizes two essential types, A and B, each with two subtypes, I and II, which results not only in a viable typological categorization, but which also allows one to observe that there is a concomitant relation between typology and the geographical distribution of each subtype (Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 165, chart; also 164ff., 166ff., 194, 200f., 202). The vessel shown here fits into her Type B II (Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 169f.), wherein the transition between the body and the neck is smooth, the lip is round and flat,

and the handles terminate at the top in snakes' heads.⁵ The related Type B I has the same body shape, central ring, and palmette handle as does B II, but the upper profile is slightly different, there is a trefoil mouth, and there are no snakes; it is found primarily in Italy, Cyprus, and Spain, the Italian examples being made primarily of silver rather than bronze.

Within the B II group there are three vessels that are the same in all features (shape, snakes, palmette with tendrils) and, one would assume, construction as well, though they differ in size and placement of the central ring: the Metropolitan Museum's example, an example in Madrid, attributed to Niebla and mentioned above (Blanco Freijeiro 1953, 239, figs. 2, 11; Garcia y Bellido 1964, 53f., figs. 30–32; Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 169, 215, K17, fig. 15, pls. 39b, c, 46a), and an example from Siruela, Spain (Garcia y Bellido 1964, 54, figs. 30–32; Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 169, 215, K18, pls. 40a, b, 45b); two of the three definitely derive from Spain. Both the Metropolitan Museum ewer and the Madrid ewer have looped snakes' heads on the lip, the Siruela ones are all straight.

In addition, a vessel from Villanueva de la Vera, Cáceres, in Spain, an oenochoe shape (Garcia y Bellido 1964, 54, figs. 30–32; Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 178, 194), has the very same handle form as those of Type B II (although here soldered on, not cast with the sections), including the looped snakes' heads and a palmette, which except for the lack of the tendrils is almost the same in form as the one discussed here. Another vessel, from Huelva, Spain (Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 169f., 216, K22, figs. 9, 10), has two snake heads curving in opposite directions at the top of the handle and a typical palmette base; it is riveted to the vessel.

Collectively the evidence is conclusive, if circumstantial, that the Metropolitan Museum ewer derived from Spain, where other examples exactly like it (and some similar to it) occur—and nowhere else—and where the snake-palmette handle with tendrils is at home (Culican 1968, 276, 290; Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 169f., 183, 204f.). This is the conclusion reached by all the scholars who have studied the vessels. These same scholars have also convincingly documented the Phoenician (western rather than eastern) background of our vessel and the related classes, and the evidence they provide for Phoenician trade in the Mediterranean area (see Brown 1960, 38f., n. 1; Culican 1968, 276ff.; Garcia y Bellido 1964, 77; for a summary of opinions and the evidence see Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 161, 185ff., 194). Grau-Zimmermann (1978, 194, 199) dates Type B II to the first half of the sixth to the mid-sixth century B.C.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Parke-Bernet, New York, sale catalogue, 11–14 May 1949, the Brummer collection, pt. 2, no. 134 (ex-Simkhovitch); Garcia y Bellido 1964, 51ff., figs. 1–5, 30–32; D. Harden, *The Phoenicians* (New York, 1962), pl. 53; Grau-Zimmermann 1978, 169, 216, K19, pl. 41.

NOTES

1. Cu: 78.7%, Sn: 11.1%, Pb: 9.65%, Zn: .000% (1986). Note the high percentage of Pb.
2. Blanco Freijeiro (1953, 239, 241) and Garcia y Bellido (1956, 88f., n. 2; 1964, figs. 30–32) correctly note the problem of specific provenience within Spain of this vessel. Culican (1968, 290) and Grau-Zimmermann (1978, 174, 215, K17, *passim*) simply refer to it as coming from Niebla. There is no doubt concerning its Spanish provenience.
3. For a terracotta example recently excavated in a Cypriote tomb dated to the Cypro-Classical I period, see V. Karageorghis, in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 105 (1981), 1017f., fig. 118.
4. Each scholar gives a different designation to the mouth form: Blanco Freijeiro's group A is trefoil, B is plain and flat, and C is zoomorphic; Garcia y Bellido's group A is plain and flat, with the snakes' heads, and B is trefoil. Grau-Zimmermann does not note the difference.
5. Grau-Zimmermann (1978, 170f., 195) places the zoomorphic group within her Type B II, based on body and mouth form: to my mind, a separate category for the zoomorphic vessels, say B III, would seem to be appropriate, as originally noted by the Spanish scholars (see note 4).

596



596. Handle (?)

57.13.6; purchase; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1957
Bronze; length 12.1 cm

THIS UNIQUE and rather strange object was clearly part of a large unit. It is composed of three parts: a round metal unit that tapers to a rectangle, a strip of bronze, a small section of which is now extant, and a cast U-shaped unit, each end of which terminates in an animal head; a rivet holds the three pieces together.

I am not sure which end is the top, but the animal protomes seem best viewed if they are at the bottom. Perhaps this object was part of a vessel, or even some structural unit, and served as a handle. No parallels are known to me.

597. Bell

1978.514.11; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978
Bronze; height 10.8 cm

598. Bell

1978.514.28; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978
Bronze; height 16 cm

599. Bell

1978.514.29; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978
Bronze; height 16 cm

600. Bell

1978.514.30; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978
Bronze; height 10.5 cm

601. Bell

1978.514.34; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., 1978
Bronze; height 9.6 cm

No. 597 is square in shape and tapers toward the top where there is a semi-oval suspension loop. The clapper is not extant, but there are two small openings that held the wire for its suspension.

No. 598 is a classic "bell shape" example and has near the top a raised band with a prominent lower ridge. The round suspension loop rests on a molding with spherical protrusions. There are remains of an iron clapper inside.



597

No. 599 is similar to No. 598 in form but has no raised band or moldings; there is a ridge at the base. Of interest are two small, identical female faces in relief on the upper part of one side of the bell. There are remains of an iron clapper inside.

No. 600 is elliptical. The flat, protruding top has on it a rectangular pierced loop for suspension. On either side is a raised rectangular decoration with a horizontal ridge. Inside is an iron wire that held the now missing clapper.

No. 601 is faceted, with eight sides, and tapers toward the top, which is surmounted by a rectangular pierced suspension loop. On each of four sides is a narrow projection. A fragment of a suspension wire is still preserved inside.

These five bells were among the forty examples generously given to the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art by Nathaniel Spear, Jr. I have not located parallels that would place them both geographically and chronologically and so publish them here without commentary.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Spear 1978, 90, fig. 89 (No. 597); 58–60, figs. 30, 31 (Nos. 599, 598); 58, fig. 29 (No. 600); 67, fig. 39 (No. 601).

598



599





600



601

602. Vase

57.13.4; purchase; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1957
Bronze; height 9.2 cm

THIS SMALL vessel is cast and has a slightly bulbous body, a slightly flaring, relatively high neck, and a low ring base. The neck is decorated with three metope panels, each with an animal in relief, a ram, a lion, and a dog.

The vessel circulated on the art market with No. 345, and the vendor claimed they were found together in Azerbaijan (the same or another vendor claimed it for Luristan: Ghirshman 1964, 79, fig. 106). Both objects are cast and both are containers, which alone connects them, for the execution of the animals on the present vessel is crude compared to the realistic rendition on the boar's head cup. I have no parallels to hand and leave dating and attribution open.

PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

Ghirshman 1964, 79, fig. 106.



602



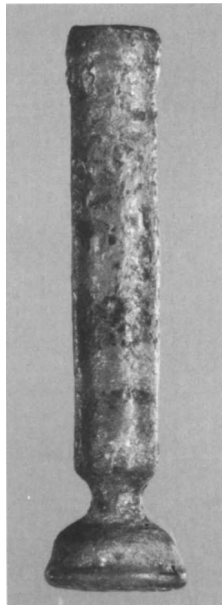
602



602



603



604

603. Mortar

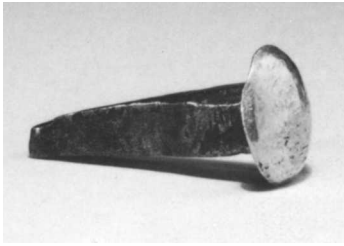
62.225.2; Gift of Robert B. Forrest, 1962
Bronze; height 4.3 cm, diameter 4.4 cm

604. Pestle

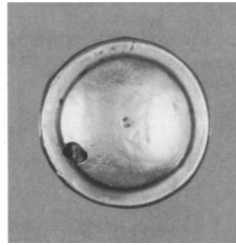
62.225.3; Gift of Robert B. Forrest, 1962
Bronze; height 7.5 cm

WHETHER these objects belonged together originally is not known. The apparent mortar is relatively small, and if its function is correctly interpreted it was used to grind small quantities of some material. The lip is prominent and the sides taper to a wide, flat base. The pestle is hollow, indicating that something was inserted; the head is flat and is separated from the handle area by a narrow neck. Of interest is the fact that the pestle may be brass, with no evidence of pitting, which might indicate that it is modern (see No. 150 for a comment on the alleged findspot of these objects).

Typologically, it is not easy to date and attribute these objects. At Persepolis, Schmidt (1957, 53ff., fig. 6, pls. 23, 24, 80) excavated a large number, including some made of stone and bronze; none of the illustrated examples shares the shape of ours.



605



606

605, 606. Nails

62.181.1, 2; Gift of Charlotte M. Bradford, 1962
Bronze, gold; lengths 3.9, .9 cm

ONE UNIT is complete with its tang, the other preserves only the head; both are bronze with gold leaf added to the heads. The preserved tang is flattened on two long sides and tapers to an edge.

It is impossible to date and attribute these nails, and one may only state that they had a decorative function (Achaemenian?).

607. Bowl

57.120; purchase; Rogers Fund, 1957
Bronze; diameter 11.7 cm

LIGHTWEIGHT and made of thin sheet metal, this small bowl is decorated in repoussé with two zones of petals or leaves separated by a raised border. The base is flat except for a low raised border. I know of no parallels; the vendor claims it for Azerbaijan.



607

608. Disks

1970.222.2, 3; Anonymous Gift, 1970
Bronze, gold; diameter 3.7, 3.8 cm

THE DISKS, manifestly a pair, have a repoussé decoration of a rosette of many petals surrounded by a double band of dots. The center of each is covered with gold foil. A double pair of holes on one and two extant holes on the other indicate that the disks were sewn onto cloth, most probably as clothing decoration. The donor claimed the disks were acquired in Iran.

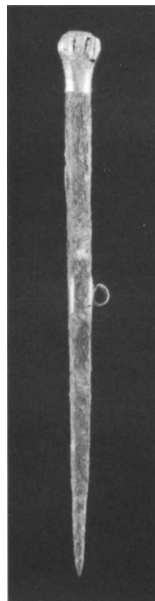


608

609. Pin

1970.222.1; Anonymous Gift, 1970
Bronze, gold; length 9 cm

THE SHAFT is square in section and has a round, ribbed head that is covered with gold leaf. A gold band with toggle loop midway on the shaft probably held a thin cord to secure the pin on a garment. The donor claimed the pin was acquired in Iran.



609

CONCORDANCE

of Accession and Catalogue Numbers

86.10	422	32.161.1	316	32.161.39	282	43.102.23	207
86.11.3	475	32.161.2	304	32.161.40	283	43.102.24	208
89.2.553	421	32.161.3	305	32.161.41	294	47.32.1	347
11.166.1	472	32.161.4	513	32.161.42	292	47.49	436
21.166.1	580	32.161.5	235	32.161.45	491	47.100.80	494
21.166.2	581	32.161.6	237	37.140	326	47.100.81	465
21.166.3	153	32.161.7	233	39.30	474	47.100.85	478
21.166.4	585	32.161.8	217	39.96.1	309	48.98.19	324
21.166.5	582	32.161.9	223	39.96.2	310	48.154.6	276
21.166.6	583	32.161.10	224	39.96.3	311	48.178.1	342
21.166.7	584	32.161.11	215	39.96.4	312	48.178.2	468
23.10.2	510	32.161.12	227	41.156	308	48.180	495
30.97.1	268	32.161.13	298	41.160.213	517	49.23.5	334
30.97.2	269	32.161.14	238	43.102.1	195	49.48	385
30.97.3	270	32.161.15	243	43.102.2	209	49.71.2	476
30.97.4	231	32.161.16	244	43.102.3	199	49.78.1	221
30.97.5	228	32.161.17	240	43.102.4	201	49.78.2	246
30.97.6	232	32.161.18	241	43.102.5	194	49.78.3	291
30.97.7	229	32.161.19	245	43.102.6	197	49.112.1	428
30.97.8	222	32.161.20	226	43.102.7	196	49.112.2	429
30.97.9	220	32.161.21	219	43.102.8	200	49.112.3	502
30.97.10	242	32.161.22	271	43.102.9	214	50.163	577
30.97.11	260	32.161.23	266	43.102.10	193	50.167	315
30.97.12	261	32.161.24	256	43.102.11	191	51.29.2a	473a
30.97.13	257	32.161.25d,e	250	43.102.12	192	51.29.2b,c	473c
30.97.14	360	32.161.28,29	255	43.102.13	210	51.44.3	521
30.97.15	354	32.161.30	258	43.102.14	211	51.72.7	306
30.97.16	287	32.161.31	262	43.102.15	212	51.72.8	352
30.97.17	284	32.161.32	297	43.102.16	213	51.114	146
30.97.18	281	32.161.33	285	43.102.17	198	51.159	333
30.97.19	293	32.161.34	286	43.102.18	204	51.174	466
32.18.1	488	32.161.35	356	43.102.19	203	51.178	594
32.18.2	486	32.161.36	290	43.102.20	202	52.119.1	348
32.18.3	490	32.161.37	277	43.102.21	205	52.119.7	503
32.18.4	489	32.161.38	279	43.102.22	206	52.119.8	504

456 *Concordance*

52.119.9	330	55.137.28	553	57.51.41	234	59.178.1	341
52.119.11	340	55.137.29	554	57.51.42	259	59.178.2	169
52.119.12	338	55.137.30	555	57.51.43	300	60.20.7	28
52.123	578	55.137.31	556	57.51.44	263	60.20.8	29
53.47.2	477	55.137.32	557	57.51.45	225	60.20.9a-f	30
53.117.1	359	55.137.33	558	57.51.46	487	60.20.14	35
53.120.1,2	493	55.137.35	559	57.51.47	239	60.20.21a-d	54
53.128	349	55.137.36	560	57.51.48	280	60.20.25	31
54.55.7	392	55.137.37	561	57.51.49	273	60.20.28	16
55.60.3	387	55.137.38	562	57.96	473b	60.20.29a,b	65
55.65.2	267	55.137.39	563	57.99.22	176	60.20.30	13
55.65.3	278	55.137.40	564	57.117.23	444	60.20.31	69
55.121.1	595	55.137.41	565	57.120	607	60.20.35	12
55.136	344	55.142	464	57.179a,b,c	365	60.20.41	22
55.137.1	527	55.198	501	58.8	350	60.20.46a-c	109
55.137.2	528	56.28	299	58.30.7	251	60.20.47	3
55.137.3,4	529	56.42.1	361	58.31.31	459	60.20.48	127
55.137.5	530	56.42.2	252	58.31.32-37	457	60.20.50	134
55.137.6	531	56.45	325	58.31.38	453	60.20.51	118
55.137.7	532	56.81.54	328	58.31.39	461	60.20.52	17
55.137.8	533	56.81.55	329	58.31.40	446	60.20.54a-f	110
55.137.9	534	56.85	274	58.31.41	447	60.20.56a-d	130
55.137.10	535	56.102.1	516	58.101	430	60.20.66	136
55.137.11	536	56.102.3	167	59.14	154	60.20.67	137
55.137.12	537	56.131.1,2	253	59.28	155	60.20.68	138
55.137.13	538	57.3	313	59.41.1	435	60.20.70	117
55.137.14	539	57.13.1,2	332	59.41.3	440	60.20.71a,b	111
55.137.15	540	57.13.4	602	59.41.4	438	60.82.1	166
55.137.16	541	57.13.5	515	59.41.5	441	60.82.2	388
55.137.17	542	57.13.6	596	59.41.6	442	60.109	570
55.137.18	543	57.27.10	463	59.41.7	443	60.137a,b	353
55.137.19	544	57.27.65-81	455	59.41.8	437	60.141	426
55.137.20	545	57.27.82	448	59.41.9	439	61.29	511
55.137.21	546	57.27.83	449	59.107.28a	451a	61.60.2	505
55.137.22	547	57.27.84	450	59.107.28b	452	61.60.8	363
55.137.23	548	57.27.85	460	59.107.29a,b	451b,c	61.60.11	520
55.137.24	549	57.27.86-98	456	59.107.30a,b	454	61.62	303
55.137.25	550	57.27.99	445	59.107.31,32	458	61.66.1	522
55.137.26	551	57.34	432	59.107.33	462	61.66.2	523
55.137.27	552	57.51.40a,b	254	59.169	508	61.66.3	524

61.66.4	525	61.100.45	37	61.261.5	170	62.225.5	150
61.66.5	526	61.100.46	38	61.261.6	164	62.252	391
61.100.2	5	61.100.47	51	61.265	386	63.30	424
61.100.3a,b,c	6	61.100.48	34	62.40.1	302	63.74	331
61.100.8a-d	7	61.100.49	128	62.40.2	396	63.102.6	173
61.100.9	123	61.100.50	90	62.40.3	397	63.102.16	175
61.100.10	42	61.100.51	76	62.40.4	398	63.102.17	174
61.100.11	43	61.100.52	77	62.40.5	399	63.109.1	1
61.100.12	44	61.100.53	62	62.40.6	400	63.109.2	2
61.100.13	45	61.100.54	63	62.40.7	401	63.109.3	4
61.100.14	46	61.100.55	40	62.40.8	402	63.109.4	64
61.100.15	47	61.100.56	67	62.40.9	403	63.109.5	48
61.100.16	125	61.100.57	115	62.40.10	404	63.109.6	49
61.100.17	68	61.100.58	113	62.40.11	405	63.109.7	121
61.100.18	73	61.100.59	116	62.40.12	406	63.109.8	39
61.100.19	71	61.100.60	66	62.40.13	407	63.126	264
61.100.20	72	61.100.61	61	62.40.14	408	63.134.1	497
61.100.21	112	61.100.62	78	62.40.15	409	63.134.2	393
61.100.22	119	61.100.63	79	62.40.16	410	63.147.1	566
61.100.23	114	61.100.64	80	62.40.17	411	64.4.3	519
61.100.24	14	61.100.65	81	62.40.18	412	64.7	160
61.100.25	15	61.100.66	82	62.40.19	413	64.56	327
61.100.26	24	61.100.67	83	62.40.20	414	64.99	159
61.100.27	25	61.100.68	75	62.40.21	415	64.139	247
61.100.28	26	61.100.110	32	62.40.22	416	64.257.1a	145
61.100.29	27	61.100.127	140	62.40.23	417	64.298	395
61.100.30	18	61.100.128	139	62.52	346	65.9	314
61.100.31	23	61.100.129	33	62.70.79	433	65.10	364
61.100.32	20	61.100.130	135	62.70.80a	434	65.24	337
61.100.33a-f	55	61.100.131	131	62.78.3	499	65.32	336
61.100.34a-d	59	61.100.132	132	62.116.1	423	65.144	162
61.100.35	56	61.100.133	133	62.155	418	65.145.1	335
61.100.36	57	61.100.134	129	62.170.5	496	65.145.2	158
61.100.37	58	61.100.139	19	62.181.1	605	65.163.54	70
61.100.38	11	61.147	500	62.181.2	606	65.163.55	52
61.100.39a-m	60	61.184	358	62.215	419	65.163.56	53
61.100.40	93	61.261.1	165	62.225.1	172	65.163.57	124
61.100.41	122	61.261.2	171	62.225.2	603	65.163.59	94
61.100.42	41	61.261.3	518	62.225.3	604	65.163.60	92
61.100.43	36	61.261.4	168	62.225.4	307	65.190.2	394

458 *Concordance*

65.227.1,2	569	1974.47.1	390	1977.234.1	481	1978.514.17	370
66.12	567	1974.190	467	1977.234.2	480	1978.514.18	371
66.15	568	1975.362.2	144	1977.234.10	479	1978.514.19	374
66.31.2	163	1975.362.3	143	1977.234.11	482	1978.514.20	382
66.31.3	389	1976.5	576	1977.234.22	485	1978.514.21	383
66.104.1	218	1976.233.21	84	1977.234.23	483	1978.514.22	366
66.104.2	492	1976.233.22	85	1977.234.24	484	1978.514.23	156
66.235	427	1976.233.23	86	1978.93.15	321	1978.514.24	376
67.19	288	1976.233.24	87	1978.93.16	322	1978.514.25	586
67.38	289	1976.233.25	88	1978.93.24	320	1978.514.26	295
67.106	351	1976.233.26	89	1978.93.25	318	1978.514.27	384
67.154.3	362	1976.233.27	91	1978.93.52	188	1978.514.28	598
67.182.4	571	1976.233.28	74	1978.93.53	189	1978.514.29	599
67.247.9	142	1976.233.29	96	1978.93.54	185	1978.514.30	600
67.247.10	141	1976.233.30	97	1978.93.55	190	1978.514.31	506
67.259.1	572	1976.233.31	98	1978.93.56	184	1978.514.32	587
68.121'	355	1976.233.32	99	1978.93.57a	178	1978.514.33	507
69.24.12	317	1976.233.33	100	1978.93.57b	179	1978.514.34	601
69.24.13	319	1976.233.34	101	1978.93.58	186	1978.514.35	588
69.24.23	180	1976.233.35	105	1978.93.59	181	1978.514.36	367
69.24.24	187	1976.233.36	106	1978.93.60	177	1978.514.37	368
69.24.25	183	1976.233.37	107	1978.514.1	151	1978.514.38	296
69.24.26	182	1976.233.38	108	1978.514.2	152	1978.514.39	593
69.181	512	1976.233.39a,b	21	1978.514.3	375	1978.514.40	157
69.185	514	1976.233.40	50	1978.514.4	380	1979.352.2	148
69.243	425	1976.233.41	102	1978.514.5	589	1980.225.2	357
1970.33.3	161	1976.233.42	103	1978.514.6	590	1980.225.3a,b	272
1970.182	249	1976.233.43	104	1978.514.7	369	1980.225.4	275
1970.222.1	609	1976.233.44a-w	95	1978.514.8	381	1980.225.5	265
1970.222.2,3	608	1976.233.45	120	1978.514.9	591	1980.225.6	509
1970.231.1	573	1976.233.46	8	1978.514.10	592	1980.324.3	147
1970.231.2	574	1976.233.47	9	1978.514.11	597	1980.324.4	236
1970.241	149	1976.233.48	10	1978.514.12	372	1980.324.5	230
1971.31a-f	579	1976.233.50	126	1978.514.13	379	1980.324.6	248
1971.69	498	1977.48	420	1978.514.14	377	1980.407.1	469
1971.129	343	1977.186	575	1978.514.15	378	1980.407.2	471
1971.223a,b	431	1977.187.1	301	1978.514.16	373	1980.407.3	470
1973.26	339	1977.187.2	216				

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AnatStud	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
ArAsiae	<i>Artibus Asiae</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BibOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMRAH	<i>Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire</i>
ILN	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
IranAntiq	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications, University of Chicago
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, University of Chicago
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i>
SPA	Pope, Arthur U. <i>A Survey of Persian Art</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft

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